B. 3.

THE HISTORY OF WALES,

IN NINE BOOKS:

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM WARRINGTON,

CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BESBOROUGH.

"Wherever Nature, though in narrow ſpace,
Foſters, by Freedom's aid, a liberal race;
Sees Virtue ſave them from Oppreſſion's den,
And cries, with exultation, 'Theſe are men;'
Though in Bœotia or Batavia born,
Their deeds the ſtory of the world adorn."

HAYLEY'S ESSAY ON HISTORY.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

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TO HIS GRACE

WILLIAM

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE,

IN WHOSE PERSONAL AND PUBLIC CHARACTER

ARE PRESERVED UNIMPAIRED,

THE HONOURS OF A FAMILY

ILLUSTRIOUS BY DESCENT,

AND

DISTINGUISHED, THROUGH SEVERAL AGES,

FOR A STEADY AND TEMPERATE ADHERENCE

TO THE CONSTITUTION AND LIBERTIES

OF GREAT BRITAIN,

AS WELL AS EXEMPLARY FOR THE

MILDER VIRTUES OF PRIVATE LIFE,

THIS HISTORY

OF A PEOPLE WHO LONG DEFENDED

THE RIGHTS OF NATURE AND OF FREEDOM,

IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS GRACE'S MOST OBEDIENT

AND DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,

WILLIAM WARRINGTON.

PREFACE.

THE circumſtances and actions of the People, whoſe hiſtory is related in this work, ſtand ſingle and original in the annals of the world. A nation, who, from remote antiquity, were diſtinguiſhed by their independency of ſpirit, defending for ages the rights of nature and of liberty in the boſom of their native mountains, affords a ſpectacle ſufficiently intereſting, to awaken curioſity, to excite admiration, and to call forth every liberal ſentiment.

IT is therefore a juſt occaſion of regret, as well as of ſurpriſe, that the Hiſtory of Wales is no where to be found, to this day, but in the Chronicle of the monk Caradoc of Llancarvan; in which nothing farther is given, than a ſimple detail of facts. In this intereſting field of hiſtory, no attempt has

has yet been made, to inveſtigate the motives of policy, to trace back effects to their cauſes, to delineate with juſt diſcrimination perſonal or national characters, and to digeſt the materials of the narration into that perſpicuous order which is eſſential to the grace and utility of hiſtorical compoſition.

THIS deficiency, the author has attempted to ſupply, in the work now offered to the world. The deſign will be allowed to be laudable; with what ſucceſs it has been executed, it remains for the public to determine. He flatters himſelf, that he has opened many new ſources of information; he has alſo been careful to examine the old; and it is with confidence he can ſay, that he has neither ſervilely tranſcribed, nor implicitly followed the modern hiſtorians. What he has done, neither precludes, nor is intended to preclude, the future labours of other writers who are deeply read in the Welſh language and manuſcripts. The field is ſtill open to a more able hiſtorian, and to the profound reſearches of the learned antiquary.

FROM an idea, that minute inquiries into the antiquities of a country are not properly within the province of the general hiſtorian, the author has purpoſely declined them; and therefore hopes

he ſhall not be charged with deficiency, in not having executed what it was never his intention to undertake.

It is not the leaſt praiſe of an hiſtorian, that his writings do not diſcover his country: leſt from the ſentiments which breathe through the following pages the author ſhould be thought to have failed in this eſſential point, he thinks it neceſſary to declare that he is an Engliſhman; and whatever preponderancy may be diſcovered in this work to the ſide of the Welſh, it is neither the partiality of an author to his ſubject, nor the prejudice of a native; but the voluntary tribute of juſtice and humanity which is due to the cauſe of freedom, and the violated rights of nature.

In the courſe of this work the author has been much indebted, for the peruſal of the works of many valuable writers, to Thomas Faulkner, Eſq; of Cheſter; a gentleman who mingles with deep erudition the liberal deſire, of giving his aſſiſtance to any deſign, which may be uſeful to the republic of letters. He is under the like obligation to Philip Yorke, Eſq; of Erthig, near Wrexham, in Denbighſhire; whoſe taſte and knowledge in literature, whoſe gentleneſs of manners and benevolent ſpirit, render him

him an amiable friend, and a valuable man. For the improved orthography of the Welſh words interſperſed through the work, the author has been indebted to the ingenious Mr. William Owen, of London.

Neceſſary

Neceſſary DIRECTIONS *to the* READER *who is a Stranger to the* WELSH LANGUAGE; *ſhewing the* RIGHT PRONUNCIATION *of all the* LETTERS *that differ from the* ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY.

TO read Welſh, a right Knowledge of the Alphabet is all that is neceſſary; for, (not going to a nicety) all the Letters retain one invariable Sound, which muſt be diſtinctly pronounced, as there are no Mutes. Letters that are circumflexed muſt be pronounced long, as *Bôn* like the Engliſh Bone; *Bŵn*, Boon; *Bîn*, Been, &c.

C, as *C* Engliſh in *Cat*; but never ſoft as in *City*.

Ch, as the Greek χ properly pronounced. If inſtead of touching the Palate with the Tip of the Tongue to pronounce K, you touch it with the Root, it will effect this ſound.

Dd, as *TH* Engliſh in *Them*; that is very ſoft; not hard as in *Thought*.

F, as *V* Engliſh.

Ff, as *F* and *Ff* Engliſh.

G, as *G* Engliſh in *God*, but never ſoft as in *Genius*.

I, as *I* Engliſh in *King*, and *ee* in *Been*; but never as *I* in *Fine*. Fine, according to the Welſh Orthography, would be pronounced Veenè.

Ll, as *L* Aſpirated; and can be repreſented in Engliſh only by Lh or Llh.

Th, as *Th* Engliſh in *Thought*; but never ſoft as in *Them*.

U, as *I* Engliſh in *Bliſs*, *This*, *It*, &c.

W, as *Oo* Engliſh in *Good*.

Y, as *U* Engliſh in *Burn*, though in the laſt Syllable of a Word, and all Monoſyllables, except Y, Ydd, Ym, Yn, Yr, Ys, Fy, Dy, Myn, it is like I in Sin, It, &c. both its Powers are nearly ſhewn in the Word Sundry, or Syndry.

ERRATA.

Page 46, line 19, for *Suffolk*, read *Suſſex*.
48, 14, for *which was allotted*, read *which had been allotted*.
149, 9, for *when land*, read *when lands*.
219, 9, for *and with it*, read *and with them*.
310, 12, for *without attendance*, read *without attendants*.
454, 25, for *devaſtion*, read *devaſtation*.
481, 2, for *fo*, read *for*.
481, 5, for *though*, read *thought*.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH HISTORY BEFORE THE RETREAT OF THE ROMANS OUT OF BRITAIN.

It is probable, that Britain was firſt coloniſed by the Gauls,[1] about one thouſand years before the birth of our Saviour;[2] a period of time coeval with the reigns of David and Solomon. The names of Albion,[3] and of Britain,[4] are ſuppoſed to have been given to the iſland by the Belgic Gauls, who inhabited the oppoſite ſhores.

[1] Verſtegan, cap. IV. p. 88. Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum hiſtoria, p. 67. Amſterdam edit.

[2] Whitaker's hiſtory of Mancheſter, 2d edit. vol. I. p. 7. [3] Ibid. p. 10.

[4] On the etymology of this name, ſee ibid. p. 11. and Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 8. N. B. He wrote in the year 1568.

It is common to all people, who derive their ideas from the few objects which ariſe in a ſtate of nature, to give names to perſons and to things, from the peculiar circumſtances incident to them. Accordingly, the Gauls gave to this country the name of Albion, from the eminences and chalky cliffs, which were conſtantly expoſed to their view.[1]

It was ſomewhat more than three centuries before the Roman invaſion of Britain, that the northern tribes of Europe began that ſpirit of emigration, which afterwards like a deluge overwhelmed the weſtern world. It was likewiſe about that period, that the Belgæ, forſaking their native ſeats upon the banks of the Rhine, migrated into Britain,[2] and ſettled in the weſtern, and in the ſouthern parts of the iſland.[3]

The language of the ancient Britons, their religion and Druidical inſtitutions, as well as their attachment to that *Order* of men called *Bards*,* were exactly ſimilar to thoſe which prevailed among their probable anceſtors the Gauls.[4]

Before the time of Cæſar's invaſion, the iſland was divided into three parts, Lloegria or England, Albania or Scotland, and

[1] Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, 2d edit. p. 10.
[2] Rowland's Mona Antiqua, Dublin edit. ſect. IV. p. 19.
[3] Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, ſecond edit. p. 232. Buchanan Hiſt. Scot. Rer. p. 55. * *Beirdd.* [4] Buchanan's Hiſt. Scot. Rer. p. 53, 67.

Cambria or the province of Wales.[1] Each of these was subdivided into districts under their respective *Reguli*, over which they presided with a limited authority.[2] The principles of civil liberty are discerned in the polity of ancient Britain, in the restraint which was laid upon the sovereign power by general assemblies, whose concurrence with the royal authority was necessary to enact or to abrogate laws. The order of succession in the British states was commonly hereditary. But the idea of indefeasible right had not, in that early period, affected the principles of government; for the line of succession was frequently broken by the king and nobility, whose concurrence for this purpose was absolutely necessary.[3] The equal division of property by *Gavel kind* uniformly took place in the disposition of private inheritance.[4]

Such was the regulation of the British states in times of tranquillity, when no domestic or foreign danger threatened the public safety. But in seasons of emergency, when the Common-Weal called for the union and the force which result from the government of one head, the confederated princes elected a supreme sovereign;[5] and the person who was called to this dignity

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 10.

[2] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 171. Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, 2d edit. vol. I. p. 336. vol. II. p. 6, 92, 206.

[3] Whitaker, ibid. vol. I. p. 335. [4] ibid. p. 363.

[5] Rowland, p. 171. Whitaker, ibid. vol. I. p. 206, 207.

had the title of *Brenhin Prydain Oll*, or the king of all Britain.[1] This occaſional honour, by a maxim of ſtate, was originally confined to one Imperial line; and in later times was continued through its two branches, the *Cynethian* and *Cornwall* families, until it finally cloſed in the perſon of Cadwalader, the laſt king of the ancient Britons.[2] As unlimited authority was veſted in the ſupreme ſovereign, it is probable, that the Britons did not ſuffer ſuch a power to continue beyond the ſeaſon of neceſſity and danger.

The love of glory, like every other paſſion, is heightened by indulgence, and becomes inſatiate in proportion to the extent and variety of conqueſts. Under the impulſe of this ſpirit, Julius Cæſar invaded Britain. The ſeaſon of the year not allowing him to extend his conqueſts, he concluded a peace with the natives; and, having taken hoſtages for its obſervance, he ſuddenly embarked in the night for Gaul.[3] The ſpring following he returned with a conſiderable reinforcement. On this occaſion, Caſſivellaunus * was veſted with the ſupreme command of the war, by a general aſſembly of the Britiſh States. Having received conſiderable loſſes, his territories having been laid waſte, and eſpecially being alarmed at the revolt of the auxiliary Britons, he was ſoon after obliged to ſue for peace.[4] Before that time

About fifty years before the Chriſtian Æra.

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 171. [2] ibid. p. 171.
[3] Cæſar's Comment. Grævius' edit. lib. IV. p. 145, 154.
* *Caſwallon.* [4] Cæſar, ibid. lib. V. p. 176.

Cæſar

Cæſar had marched into the country as far as the Thames,[1] and having forded that river near Windſor, he ſtormed Verulamium,[2] the principal town in the territory of Caſſivellaunus. After this expedition, being afraid of commotions in Gaul, he received the ſubmiſſion of the Britons; and taking with him hoſtages for the ſecurity of the peace, he returned to the continent.[3]

The death of Cæſar, with the ſucceeding troubles in the Empire, allowed the Britons to enjoy, ſome years, a ſeaſon of tranquillity; and which was continued through the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, produced by the rational policy of reſtricting the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

The great preparations which Caligula made for the invaſion of Britain, ended in a vain parade upon the ocean, and in offering inſult to the dignity of a Roman Senate.[4] A. D. 40.

In the reign of the Emperor Claudius, the Romans gained a permanent footing in the Iſland, owing to the diviſions, which

[1] Tafwyſc or Tame Water.

[2] Verolanum takes its name from the river VVer, called in Britiſh Gwernlan, Caer Municipium by the Romans, and Verlamceſter by the Saxons, by whom it was deſtroyed. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 24.

[3] Cæſar's Comment. Grævius' edit. lib. V. p. 161, 164, 165, 175, 176.

[4] Dion Caſſius, Leunclavii edit. lib. LIX. p. 659. Inſtead of invading Britain, Caligula employed his ſoldiers in gathering cockle-ſhells into their helmets, from the ſea-ſhore, as the ſpoils of the enemy; and ſent letters to the Roman Senate, demanding a triumph, as if he had obtained a victory over the enemy.

had

had ever ſubſiſted among the Britons. The Belgic inhabitants, who were engaged in commerce, and who reſided in the towns of the Iſle of Wight,[1] and in thoſe which lay upon the weſtern coaſt, were with ſome difficulty ſubdued by Veſpaſian.[2] The native Britons, more independent and brave from their different habits of life, continued their reſiſtance againſt Plautius and
A. D. 43. Oſtorius Scapula, who ſucceſſively commanded the Roman armies. On the arrival of Plautius in his government, he defeated the Britons in ſeveral actions; but finding that his victories proved indeciſive, and ſeeing them prepared for further reſiſtance, he deſired that the Emperor would take in perſon the command of the forces.[3] When Claudius joined the army, which lay encamped upon the banks of the Thames, he found the paſſage of that
A. D. 44. river diſputed. The Britons, however, were at length obliged to give way, and he advanced into the country of the Trinobantes,* and took the ſtrong fortreſs of Camulodunum,† which had been the reſidence of the Britiſh king Cunobeline.‡ Theſe fortunate events were immediately followed by the ſubmiſſion, or the conqueſt, of other nations.

When the affairs of the Provinces were ſettled, the Emperor returned to Rome, leaving the newly ſubdued ſtates, and the

[1] Called Wight by the Saxons, but Gwydd by the Britons, ſignifying, a conſpicuous place. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 17.

[2] Suetonius, Oxford edit. book VIII. p. 240.

[3] Dion Caſſius, Leuncl. lib. LX. p. 679.

* *Tre'n-obantwys.* † *Camaled-ddin* and *Camddin.* ‡ *Cynfelyn.*

further

further conqueſt of Britain, to the direction of Plautius. The name of Britannicus which Claudius aſſumed, on his return into Italy, and the ſplendour of his triumph, mark the formidable idea, which had been conceived of the Britiſh arms, by the Roman people.[1]

During the remainder of the government of Plautius, no conſiderable advances were made in the conqueſt of the country; and he ſoon after returned to Rome, and was ſucceeded by Oſtorius Scapula.

This general found the affairs of his province in the greateſt confuſion. The winter had already commenced: the Iceni,* the Brigantes,† and other nations, thinking they had little to dread from a new general who was unknown to the army, revolted and had recourſe to arms. After ſeveral bloody encounters, theſe nations were reduced to obedience, and Oſtorius carried his arms into many parts of Britain, which had been hitherto unknown. A. D. 50.

In this expedition he forced his way through the Cangi,[2] who oppoſed him, in whom the principal ſtrength of each nation

[1] Dion Caſſius, Leuncl. lib. LX. p. 679.

* *Ucbyniaid*, Upper ſettlers. † *Brigyntwys*, Firſt-comers.

[2] *Goeangiaid*. Each nation or tribe had numbers of ſtout young men, called Cangi, whoſe buſineſs was to protect the cattle, and remove them from one paſture to another. Baxter's Gloſſary, p. 73.

con-

conſiſted; and, continuing his march, he penetrated as far as the coaſt which lies upon the Iriſh ſea.[1]

In the courſe of this war, the fate of Britain depended upon the virtues and military talents of Caractacus.* This prince was ſovereign of the territory inhabited by the Ordovices[2] † and the Silures,‡ and was the ſon of the late king Cunobeline.[3] Having with infinite reſources, and with variety of fortunes, oppoſed, nine years,[4] the Roman arms, he was at length obliged to retire among the Silures. And this brave people, whom neither mildneſs nor ſeverity had ſubdued, eagerly ranged under his conduct. In order to preſerve their territories from being made the ſeat of war, Caractacus marched into the country of the Ordovices, where he ſtationed his army in a ſituation, choſen with great military ſkill.[5] At this place, he was oppoſed by Oſtorius with the legionary troops. The few moments which preceded this important action, were employed by Caractacus in animating his ſoldiers. But their valour was unequally oppoſed to the force of diſcipline; and the Britiſh camp was ſtormed with great

[1] Taciti Annales, Antwerp edit. lib. XII. p. 195, 196.

* *Caradog.* [2] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 32, 33.

† *Arddyfieich*, the inhabitants who had ſettled beyond or north of the Dyfi. Lewis Morris.

‡ *Iſelwyr*, Lowlanders, being the inhabitants of the lower part of Wales, between the Severn and Wye. L. Morris.

[3] Baxter's Gloſſary, p. 67. [4] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 32.

[5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 33, 34, called *Caer Caradog*, an eminence ſituated between the rivers Clue and Clevidia in Shropſhire.

ſlaughter,

Engraved for Mr. Warring

20' 10' 5° 50' 40' 30' 20' 10' 4° 50'

30'

20'

10'

0

53

50'

40'

30'

20'

I R I S H

S E A

CARDIGAN BAY

MENAI STRAIT

ANGLESEY

Ynys-y-Moedrhoniaid

Holyhead

Llanfair Yng hornwy

Llanbadrig

Llanelian

Llanfechell

Llanfaethlu

Llanfwrog

Llanerchymedd

Llanfachreth

Llanaegrad

Ynys Seiriol

Caergybi

Rhoscolyn

Llanfihangel

Llangefni

Llanddyfnan

Llangwyfan

Aberffraw

Llangaffo

Llanedwen

Newburgh

Llanddeiniolen

BANGOR

Llandegai

Llanllechyd

Llandudno

Penrhyn

Llandrillo

Llanrwst

Penmachno

Capel Garmon

Pentregidog

Llanfrothen

Maentwrog

Ffestiniog

Llanfihangel

Harlech

Llanfair

Llanbedr

Llanenddwyn

Llanddwywe

Aberma

Llanymowddwy

Llanfihangel

Llangelynin

Craig-y-Deryn

Dyrynni R.

Tywyn

Aberdovey

Sarn-y-Bwch

Sarn Badrig

Sarn Gynfelyn

Dyfi R.

Caer Wyddno

Llanaelhaiarn

Llan-y-Cynfelyn

Llanychaiarn

Llanbadarn

Llanfihangel

Llanfihangel

Llanfihangel

A MAP of WALES,

according to the MODERN DIVISIONS of COUNTIES

By Will.m Owen.

FLINT SHIRE
DENBIGH SHIRE
MONTGOMERY SHIRE
MERIONETH SHIRE
CHESHIRE
SHROPSHIRE
PART OF FLINT SH.
PART OF STAFFORD SH.
Chester
Flint
Mould
Denbigh
Ruthin
Wrexham
Holt
Bangor Iscoid
Rhiwabon
Whitchurch
Ellesmere
Llanrwst
Llandrillo
Corwen
Dolgelly
Llanymowddy
Llanfyllin
Welsh Pool
Montgomery
Chirbury
Bishops Castle
Shrewsbury
Severn R.
Dee River
Wat's Dyke
Offa's Dyke

SEA

CARDIGAN BAY

BRISTOL CHANNEL

Lundy I.

Scale of British Statute Miles.

5 10 15 20 25 30

West Longitude from London

20' 10' 5° 50' 40' 30' 20' 10' 4° 50' 40'

10' 30' 20' 0 52 10' 20' 30' 40'

Published as the Act directs, April 3. 1788, by J. J

MONTGOMERY SHIRE
RADNOR SHIRE
BRECKNOCK SHIRE
GLAMORGAN SHIRE
MONMOUTH SHIRE
HEREFORD SHIRE
WORCESTER SHIRE
GLOCESTER SHIRE
SALOP SHIRE
SOMERSET SHIRE
SEVERN RIVER
Llanfyllin
Llanfihangel
Llanwddyn
Llanwyddelan
Llanerfyl
Llanfair
Llanwyddelan
Llanfechan
Llanfihangel
Llanfihangel
Llanfihangel

Engraved for Mr. Warring

20' 10' 5° 50' 40' 30' 20' 10' 4° 50'

MOR

YWERDDON

Explanation.

X Places where Battles have been fought.

The Boundary of Gwynedd, Powys, & Dinefawr.

Boundaries of Provinces.

Do. of Cantrevs.

Do. of Comots.

Vinys y Moelrhoniaid

Pen Caergybi

Rhos Meloc

Llifon

Tindaethwy

Menai

Aber Menai

Isgwyrfai

Uwchgwyrfai

Dinas Dinlle

Dinllein

Cymytmaen

Bodfarn

Anys Gwtfyn

Anys Enlli

St. Tudwal

Sarn Badrig

Aberdaron

Nantconwy

Llechwedduchaf

Llechwedisaf

Conwy

Bangor

Caernarfon

Llanrwst

Uwchaled

Rhos

Rhuddlan

Mignant

Arddudwy

Harlech

Cas. Prysor

Coeten Arthur

Dinas Cor...

Abermaw

Sarn-y-Bwch

Sarn Gynfelyn

Caer Wyddno

Geneur Glyn

Creuddyn

Anhanog

Pennal

Mabwyn...

Teifi R.

Llyn Tegid

Meirion

Cantre'r Gwaelod

This tract was overflowed about the end of the Sixth Century.

A MAP of WALES,

according to the Antient Divisions

of GWYNEDD, POWYS, and DINEFAWR;

with their respective CANTREVS,

subdivided into COMOTS.

By Will.m Owen.

10' 30' 20' 10' 3.0 50' 40' 30' 20' 10'

Prestatyn
Pr
Tr
Cas Diserth
Cas Rhuddlan
Rhudd
Abergeleu
Bryn-yr-ein
Llanelwy
sdulas
E D W
Dinbych
Isaled
Cynmeirch
Maesmynan
lannerch
C. YSTRAD
C. LLWYD
Dogfeilyn
Hiraethog
DYFF
Coleigion
Dinmael
P O W Y S F A D O G
C. YBENGLOG
Glyndyfrdwy
Sycharth
Ismeloch
gnant
Uwch Ismeloch
Edeyrnion
Cas Corndochan
Gwanas
Cymmer Abbey
Mawddwy
Llannerch
Hudol
Dinas Mawddwy
Penegoes
Machynllaeth
Cyfeiliog
Glyn
Hafren R.
Llanidloes
Iscoed
EDIG
erfedd
Cas Carnedhynion
Rhiwalallt
Glyn Dinas Powys
Llanwrthol
Ieuthon
Ismynydd
Caereinion
Cas Caereinion
Dyfi R.
C. Cynan
Carno
Uwchcoed
Cas Caerwys
Cas Rhodwydd
Tal
Maelor Gymraeg
Dinas Bran
Llangwestl
Berwyn
Nanheudwy
Cas Bregyntyn
Cas Dinas Bran
Cas Trefyngnon
Cas Gymylltt
Cas Eyto
Cas Penygelleh
Moel-y-gaer
Penardd-lalet
Caergwrle
Caergwrle
Cas Estyn
Wrexham
Dyke
Caerlleon-ar-Ddyfrdwy
Dyfrdwy R.
Merford
Broxton
Maelor Saesneg
Hanmer
Eglwyswen
Elismere
Croesaen
Trefy Waun
Selatyn
Whitington
Gobowen
Whittington
Cynllaeth
Croesyswallt
Llanforda
Oswestry
Knockin
Mochnant Uwchrhaiadr
Mochnant Isrhaiadr
Cas Carreghofa
Maesbrook
Mechain Iscoed
Mechain Uwchcoed
Deuddwr
Meifod
Corddwr
Trallwng
Ystrad Marchell Abbey
Caurs Cas.
Caurs
Ystrad Powys
Cefn Digoll
Chirbury
Cas Trefaldwyn
Marchell
Hafren
Cas Dolforwyn
Criadia Abbey
Bridgnorth
Amwythig
Bishops Castle
Llanienwan
Clun
Cas Dinan'd
Cas Dol-y-forwyn
Machienydd
Ceri
Llanidloes
Iscoed
Cas Carnedhynion
Bettws
Clun
Llanfair
Penygwern
Caer Caradog
Llwydlo
Wigmore
Cas Wigmore
Uwchmynydd
Ismynydd
Rhiwaedog
Cas Cefnllys
Cas Tre-y-clawdd
Cas Bridgnorth
Cas Trefaldwyn
Cas Dolforwyn
Cas Dinan'd
Cas Carreghofa
Cas Powys
Cas Eyto
Cas Penygelleh
Cas Gymylltt
Cas Caereinion
Cas Rhodwydd
Cas Caerwys
Cas Dolforwyn
Cas Trefaldwyn
Cas Carreghofa
Cas Bregyntyn
Cas Trefyngnon
Cas Corndochan
Cas Carnedhynion
Cas Dinan'd
Cas Cefnllys
Cas Tre-y-clawdd
Cas Bridgnorth
Cas Wigmore
Cas Caurs
Cas Caereinion
Cas Powys
Cas Eyto
Cas Penygelleh
Cas Gymylltt

YWERDDON

Explanation.

- Places where Battles have been fought.
- The Boundary of Gwynedd, Powys, & Dinefawr.
- Boundaries of Provinces.
- Dº ..... of Cantrevs.
- Dº ..... of Comots.

Sarn-y-Bwch
Pennal
Cyfeiliog
Machynlleth
Sarn Gynfelyn
Caer Wyddno
Aberystwyth
Genevr Glyn
Creuddyn
Perfedd
Aberpeithyg
Anhunog
Mefenydd
Mabwynion
Cilcennin
Teifi R.
Cas. Gwythen
Cas. Nadolig
Cas. Aberteifi
Iscoed
Trefdraeth
Cas. Cilgerran
Llechryd
Gweinionydd
Caerwedros
Llanbedr
Pencraig
Caeo
Pencaer
Isnefer
Uwchcuch
Bangor
Cethiniog
Elfed
Uwchnefer
Lleffethr
Cynfil Elfed
Maenor Deilo
Llandeilo
Pybidiog
Mynyw
Dewi
Llan Fynyw
Amgoed
Llanhuadain
Uchdrud
Dinwyllir
Dinefawr
Hwlffordd
Cas. Hwlffordd
Cas. Arberth
Wydigada
Yr Elays
Tyvi R.
Isgeuen
Cas Pendaer
Castell Gwalchmai
Ysgarn
Talacharn
Cas. Llacharn
Carnwyllion
Derfedd
Rhwngnedd
Esterolef
Taf R.
Aberllyw
Cydweli
Llanelly
Llychwyr
Aberllyfrwm
Coed Yr Haf
Penfro
Maenorbyr
Ynys Pyr
Penrhyn Gwyr
Rhosili
Pendawdd
Gwyr
Penrhys
Cas. Penarth
Cas. Gwyr
Porth Einion
Pen-y-bont
Aberogwr
Ynys Wair

Scale of British Statute Miles.
5 10 15 20 25 30

West Longitude from London.
20' 10' 5º 50' 40' 30' 20' 10' 4º 50' 40'

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Ystrad
Powys
Digoll
Caurs
Chirbury
Marchell
Crucidia Abbey
Bridgnorth
C. Cynan
Hafren
Penegos
Carno
Uwchcoed
Drenewydd
Dol-y-forwyn
Machienydd
Ceri
Bishops Castle
Llanidloes
Iscoed
Dunawd
Llanienuan
Clun
Bettws
Llanfair
Penygwern
Caer Caradog
Llwydlo
Uwchmynydd
Wigmore
Rhiwalallt
Glyn Dinichthon
Llanwrthol
Ieithon
Llechryd
Ismynydd
Llanfihangel
Maen
Pennant Bachwy
Penwelli
Wye R.
Arthurs Table
Hereford
Caernrvanaon
Dreulys
Isoreyn Bugilli
Selyf
Talgarth
Ystradwy
Drefdir
Llanfihangel
Euas
Brwynllys
Tir
Cerrighywel
Raulff
Teirtref
Uwchcoed
Llanllwyda
Erging
Caerleyn
Glynrhonddu
Merthyr Tudfyl
Talafan
Yr Ardd Ganol
Blaen Gwent
Brynbvga
Cas Rhaglan
Briafel
Trefy-Grug
C. COCH
Llangan
Rhuthyn
Bedwes
Caerphili
Eithaf
Dylogion
Llanfihangel Fedw
St. Mylin
Iscoed
Llanwaren
Llanfihangel
Llesnvdd
Caernent
Cemaes
Strigyl Cas.
Caerodornant
Uwchcaeth
Dinas Powis
Iscaeth
Aberthaw
Cas. Penveri
Laerdyf
MOR HAFREN
Og wr
Pontfaen
Cas. Dunawd
Cas. Menych
Cas. Coch
Cas. Senghenydd
Cas. Coch
Cas. Llanquian
Cas. Llanvaes
Cas. Llanvihangel
Cas. Llanvihangel
Cas. Llanvihangel

ſlaughter, though not without conſiderable reſiſtance. In this battle, the wife and daughter of the Britiſh king were taken priſoners; and his brothers, ſoon after, ſurrendered themſelves. Caractacus himſelf ſurvived this misfortune, to experience a more cruel deſtiny. After his defeat, retiring to the country of the Brigantes, Cartiſmandua, the queen of that territory, with a view of gaining the friendſhip of the Romans, or afraid of their reſentment, betrayed him into the hands of Oſtorius; and he was ſent to Rome as a priſoner of the utmoſt importance. A general curioſity was excited in Italy, to behold the figure of this extraordinary man, whoſe ſuperior talents and virtue had been ſo long, and ſo ably employed in oppoſing the Roman power.[1] The magnanimity of this prince, when he was exhibited a public ſpectacle at Rome, has been a frequent ſubject of encomium.* A. D. 52.

1 Taciti Ann. lib. XII. p. 196, 197.

* The ſpeech of Caractacus to the Emperor Claudius. Tacit. Annal. lib. XII. "If the moderation of my mind in proſperity had been anſwerable to my quality "and fortune, I might have come a friend rather than a captive into this city; and "you without diſhonour might have entered into league with me, royally deſcended, "and then at the head of many nations. As my ſtate at preſent is diſgraceful; ſo "yours is honourable and glorious. I had horſes, men, arms and riches; why then "is it ſtrange I ſhould be loath to part with them? But ſince your power and "empire muſt be univerſal, we of courſe among all others muſt be ſubject. If I "had immediately yielded, neither my fortune nor your glory had been ſo eminent "in the world. My grave would have buried the memory of it as well as me: "whereas if you ſuffer me to live now, your clemency will live in me for ever, as "an example to after ages."

The habits of war and of conqueſt, with the cruel nature of their popular amuſements, had introduced into the character of the Romans a degree of ferocity, inconſiſtent with juſt ideas of heroiſm; and which, too frequently, ſteeled them againſt the impreſſions of pity, and led them to diſdain, as unmanly weakneſs, the finer feelings of humanity.

A. D. 53. This defeat of the Silures was ſoon revenged, by ſeveral victories which they gained over the Roman forces; and in this ſituation Oſtorius died, worn out with anxiety and fatigue.[1]

After his death, the Emperor ſent Aulus Didius into Britain: but the age of that general prevented any extraordinary A. D. 57. exertions againſt the enemy;[2] and he was ſucceeded by Verannius, who, dying a little time after he had taken the command, left the Roman concerns in the greateſt confuſion.[3]

A. D. 58. In this ſtate of affairs, Suetonius Paulinus was ſent to command the Roman forces in Britain. His firſt undertaking was to ſubdue the Ordovices, who inhabited that part of the iſland which is now called North Wales; and he ſecured the conqueſts he had made, by ſettling garriſons in the country. Suetonius was the firſt Roman, who penetrated as far as Mona.[4] Being oppoſed by the Druids* on his entrance into the iſland, and

[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XII. p. 198. [2] Ibid. p. 198. [3] Ibid. lib. XIV. p. 250.
[4] Taciti Vita Agricolæ, Op. p. 457. * *Derwyddon*, or *Dryzvidion*.

influenced

influenced alſo by national and religious animoſity, he maſſacred many of thoſe people, cut down their groves, laid level their altars, and deſtroyed the ſeminary of that ancient ORDER.[1] After this event, the Druids are ſaid to have retired into Ireland, to the Iſle of Man,* and into the Orkneys and Hebrides.[2] In a ſubſequent period being driven out of theſe retreats, by chriſtian zeal, they are likewiſe ſaid to have ſought an aſylum in Norway, Iceland, and other regions of the north:[3] at length, the Druidical ſyſtem was univerſally aboliſhed, after it had long eſtabliſhed a boundleſs tyranny upon the ruins of human reaſon.

It was an uniform principle, in the policy of the Roman ſtate, to exerciſe a mild dominion over the nations they had conquered, but this was changed to a ſyſtem of ſeverity, when the ſubdued provinces, from a ſenſe of injury or of freedom, revolted from their obedience. The nature of their government was likewiſe ſtained, by the rapacity, and by the ſevere adminiſtration of individuals. Thus the Roman yoke, however lightly it might be borne by *Aſiatics*, who were tamed to ſubmiſſion by hereditary ſlavery, was an oppreſſive burden to the Britons, bred in the ideas and in the habits of a wild independency. At this juncture, their native ſpirit, impatient of reſtraint and reſentful of injury, was urged into fury by a train of evils, which acted equally upon their feelings, as on their national pride and ſuperſtition.

[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 151. Rowland, p. 100. * *Maraw.*
[2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 101, 107. [3] Rowland, p. 110.

An impoſition of taxes upon their lands and cattle, the arbitrary violation of property, with the frequent indignities offered to their women, were cauſes which kept alive a ſenſe of reſentment.[1] They were likewiſe affected by the treatment of Boadicea, a powerful ſovereign of the Iceni. This princeſs had juſt become a widow, and was left to the protection of the Roman ſtate; her huſband alſo, by his teſtament, had made the Emperor Claudius coheir with his daughters, in hopes that it might render him indulgent to his family. But that prince was no ſooner dead, than his treaſures were ſeized, and his territories deſolated;[2] the foulneſs of the procedure being coloured by the indecent pretence, that the Roman law permitted only citizens to bequeath their property.[3] The remonſtrance of the queen againſt theſe injuries, produced no other effect than to accumulate indignities upon her family; the chaſtity of her daughters was violated, and her own perſon diſhonoured, by being publicly ſcourged.[4]

These evils, however enormous, were only partial, and they did not extend to every part of the iſland. But the late deſtruction of the Druids, it is probable, gave a general ſhock to the
A. D. 60. feelings of the Britons; and with the fury of enthuſiaſts, they ruſhed to the ſtandard of Boadicea. The firſt impreſſion of this multitude was aſtoniſhingly great: like the ſea overſwelling its

[1] Galgacus's Speech, Taciti vit. Agric. Op. p. 462.
[2] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251.
[3] Heineccius Element. Jur. lib. II. Tit. XII. [4] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251.

bounds,

bounds, they carried with them irreſiſtible force, and deſolated the country. The two cities, Camulodunum and Verulamium, firſt experienced their fury,[1] the inhabitants of which colonies were ſlaughtered without any diſtinction of rank or ſex, and under circumſtances of uncommon barbarity:[2] almoſt an entire legion were cut in pieces, coming to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen; and eighty thouſand perſons, either Roman citizens or allies, are ſaid to have periſhed in the general carnage.[3] It is to be lamented, that in attempting to recover the freedom of her country, ſo much cruelty ſhould have ſtained the character of this princeſs; but ſome extenuation may be found in the nature of her own wrongs, in the injuries which her ſubjects had ſuffered, and in the fierceneſs of uncultivated life.

SUETONIUS, at this time, was engaged in the conqueſt of Monâ. A. D. 60. Hearing of the revolt, he marched with confidence, through an irritated country, to London,[4] a place of extent, and of great commercial importance.[5] Finding himſelf unable to keep poſſeſſion of the town, he was obliged to take the field with a few cohorts of auxiliaries, with a ſingle legion, and the *Vexillarii*[6]

[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251, 252. [2] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXII. p. 700.

[3] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXII. p. 704.

[4] THIS city was originally called *Troenwydd*, or New Troy: afterwards *Dinas Beli*, from having been the reſidence of Belus; then it was called Caer Ludd, from king Lud; but its general appellation was Llundain.

[5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 20.

[6] VARIOUS are the opinions reſpecting the Vexillarii, the moſt probable is, that they were light armed troops belonging to each legion.

of

of another, and to leave the women, the aged, and the infirm, to the fury of the enemy.[1] With this army, conſiſting only of ten thouſand men, Suetonius oppoſed Boadicea, at the head of two hundred and thirty thouſand Britons.[2] On this deciſive day, that princeſs appeared in a chariot, with her daughters by her ſide; and, in a military dreſs, rode through the ranks, to animate the ſoldiers.[3] Beſides this, the Britons had another incitement to victory, as they were to fight for the ſafety of their families, and in the preſence of their wives, all of whom, agreeably to the cuſtom of their country, were ranged in waggons upon the rear of the army.[4] But valour alone, unſupported by diſcipline, was not able to make any impreſſion on the firmneſs of veteran troops; and after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, the Britiſh army was entirely defeated. Near eighty thouſand of the Britons fell in this day's action, or in the purſuit. Boadicea, unwilling to ſurvive the ruin of her country, ſuddenly diſappeared, having put an end to her own life, as is imagined, by poiſon.[5] It is aſtoniſhing, that after the ſevere defeats which the Britons had received, they ſhould be able to keep their national ſtrength unbroken, and their ſpirit unſubdued.

A. D. 62. The danger and difficulty of the war were ſo great, that Nero was inclined to relinquiſh the conqueſt of Britain. Being informed that the rough demeanour of Suetonius might be ſome

[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 252. [2] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXII. p. 704. [3] Ibid.
[4] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 252. [5] Ibid. p. 253.

obſtacle

obſtacle to a peace, he recalled him into Italy; and he placed ſeveral officers ſucceſſively in command, whoſe inactivity or milder temper gave time for reſentments to ſubſide.[1]

THESE generals were ſucceeded by others, of more active and martial diſpoſitions. Petilius Cerealis ſubdued a great part of the Brigantes, who inhabited the northern diſtricts of England; and Julius Frontinus, conquered from the Silures, the foreſt of *Dean,[2] and the preſent counties of Hereford, and Monmouth.[3] A. D. 75.

DURING the time that the Roman intereſt thus fluctuated in Britain, the inhabitants were expoſed to every injury and inſult, which might be expected from the rapacity of luxurious governors, and the will of a licentious ſoldiery. To remedy theſe evils, to give ſtability to conqueſt, and to introduce peace and order, with the mild habits of ſocial life, required the virtues, and the well tempered policy of Julius Agricola.

THIS Roman was ſent by Veſpaſian to command the forces in Britain, where he had already acquired a conſiderable reputation by his military ſervices. On his arrival, he found the Ordovices revolted, who had begun their hoſtilities, by cutting off a ſquadron of horſe, ſtationed upon the frontiers. It was late in the ſummer when he opened the campaign, ſupported only by A. D. 78.

[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 253.

* In Britiſh, *Cantref Coch*. [2] So called from the Danes, Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 75.

[3] Taciti in vit. Agric. Op. p. 458.

the *Vexillarii* of the legions, and a body of auxiliary troops. On his approach, the Ordovices, not daring to face him in the field, retired to the mountains; into which difficult places, they were immediately purſued, and the country laid waſte with great
A. D. 78. ſlaughter of the inhabitants. This ſucceſs induced Agricola to attempt the ſecond conqueſt of Mona. The chiefs of the Ordovices had retired into that iſland, in which they thought themſelves perfectly ſecure, the Romans not having any ſhips upon the coaſt, and regarding the ſtraits of *Menai* as impaſſable: but the auxiliaries of the army, by order of Agricola, having croſſed that arm of the ſea on horſeback, the Britons were ſo aſtoniſhed at a ſpectacle to them altogether new, that they immediately laid down their arms.[1]

When Agricola had finiſhed the conqueſt of Mona, he directed his views to the milder deſigns of peace and reformation. Well inſtructed in the art of governing, he was more deſirous of preventing the cauſes of diſcontents than of puniſhing their effects: and equally tempering lenity with rigour, he aboliſhed that ſyſtem of tyranny which had ſo frequently driven the Britons to revolt, and had fixed in their breaſts the moſt fatal reſentments.[2] To theſe examples of juſtice and humanity, he added others of an extenſive and liberal policy. With the moſt engaging manners and addreſs, he drew many of the Britons out of their deſerts into ſocial communities; and perſuaded them to change their rude habits, and precarious ſubſiſtence, for the

[1] Taciti vita Agricola, Op. p. 458. [2] Ibid.

arts

arts of peace, and the comforts of civilized life.[1] The Roman people, from a ſingular policy, were uſed to extend with their conqueſts the ſciences and the arts; were accuſtomed to ſoften the ferocity of war, and to diſarm it in ſome meaſure of its evils, by introducing their milder manners, with the refinements and elegancies of life; with a view, no doubt, to poliſh, to enervate, and to enſlave mankind.

In attentions like theſe to civilize the Britons, and to alleviate their ſufferings, Agricola employed the winters which he paſſed in the iſland; and in the courſe of ſeven ſummer campaigns, he extended his conqueſts into Caledonia. He likewiſe erected two different lines of fortifications; one of which was formed near the river Tay,[2] and the other along that narrow iſthmus which lies between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde.[3] But Domitian, who hated virtues which he would not emulate, and ſickened at the glory he could not attain, recalled Agricola to Rome; A. D. 85. and this great man ſoon after died of a lingering diſorder, with the ſuſpicion of having been poiſoned at the inſtigation of that tyrant.[4]

Tacitus, by a few ſtrokes of his inimitable pencil, has given the portrait of this amiable Roman.

[1] Taciti vita Agricolæ, Op. p. 459.

[2] Buchanani. Rer. Scot. lib. IV. p. 101, 102. Camden, Holland's tranſlation, p. 789.

[3] Langhorni. Ant. Albion, p. 112, 113.

[4] Taciti vit. Agricolæ. Op. p. 459, 465, 466.

A. D. 98. During the latter part of the life of Domitian, and in the ſhort reign of Nerva, the Roman intereſt was neglected in Britain.

More important objects, on the eaſtern frontier of the empire, employed the martial genius of Trajan.

The wiſe policy of limiting, and of preſerving its boundaries, was the leading principle in the government of Adrian. In the
A. D. 120. courſe of his reign, however, he came into Britain; and the more effectually to ſecure, he narrowed the bounds of the Roman conqueſts; ordering the more northern forts to be deſerted which had been raiſed by Agricola, and placing their garriſons on the line of fortifications, which he then formed from the Tyne to Solway Frith.[1]

To preſerve dominion by the influence of a juſt and mild adminiſtration, was well ſuited to the philoſophic ſpirit, and benevolent temper of the two Antonines. But a commotion having ariſen in Caledonia in the reign of Antoninus Pius, he ſent
A. D. 138. Lollius Urbicus into Britain; who, after he had ſuppreſſed the inſurrection, confined the Picts to their former boundary.[2]

The diſſolute reign of Commodus having had an influence
A. D. 183. on the diſcipline of the legions, the Caledonians broke over the wall of Adrian, and cut in pieces a Roman general with his

[1] Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. IV. p. 103. Spart. vit. Adriani in Script. Auguſt. p. 6.

[2] Julius Capitolinus in vit. Antonini Pii in Scriptoribus Auguſt. hiſt. p. 19.

army; but the inſurgents were ſoon after driven back with great ſlaughter, and continued quiet during the remainder of that reign.[1] A. D. 185.

The precarious ſituation of Pertinax and of Didius Julianus, who in ſucceſſion poſſeſſed the empire, giving them no leiſure to attend to the affairs of Britain, the natives of that iſland enjoyed a ſeaſon of tranquillity; in which ſtate they remained to the latter end of the reign of Severus. A. D. 192.

Under pretence of reſtraining the irruptions of the northern Britons, but probably to withdraw his ſons from the pleaſures of Rome, Severus came into the iſland; and though advanced in years, and ſo broken with infirmities as to be carried in a litter, he proceeded through foreſts and moraſſes to the fartheſt parts of Caledonia.[2] After having ſurmounted the difficulties of the march, and many fierce encounters with the Picts, and not being able, himſelf, to finiſh the war, on account of his increaſing infirmities, he left one of his ſons to conclude a peace with that people; and on his return rebuilt with ſtone, and more ſtrongly fortified the rampart of Adrian. Soon after Severus had finiſhed this imperial work, he died in the city of York.[3] A. D. 207. A. D. 208. A. D. 212.

From the death of this Emperor to the reign of Dioclesian, few incidents occur in the hiſtory of Britain; the Romans having A. D. 284.

[1] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXXII. p. 821. [2] Herodian, lib. III. p. 133, 135, 137.

[3] Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. Joannis Roſſi, Antq Warwic. Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 49. Oroſius, lib. VII. cap. XVII. p. 502. Hiſt. Auguſt. Script. Spartian, p. 71.

been too much employed by convulſions in their own empire, to
A. D. 298. attend to the diſtant provinces. In the courſe of this reign Carauſius,[1] and afterwards Allectus,* aſſumed an independent ſovereignty in Britain.[2] But when Conſtantius was elevated to the rank of Cæſar, in that ſingular ſyſtem of government formed by Diocleſian, he reduced the iſland to its former ſtate of a
A. D. 307. province of the empire.[3] This prince died in the city of York,[4] ſoon after he had ſucceeded to the purple as emperor of the weſt; and during the greateſt part of his reign, he kept the Britons in quiet, by the influence of his mild virtues.[5] The more de-
A. D. 337. ciſive qualities of Conſtantine the Great continued to enforce their obedience.

At this period a ſtorm began to gather in the north, which gradually acquiring greater force and a deeper gloom, at length overſpread the Britiſh hemiſphere.

As the dread of the Roman power declined with the retreat of the legions, ſeveral nations, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, made incurſions into Britain. The Picts were natives of the iſland, and inhabited the country near to the wall of Antonine, upon the eaſtern, and weſtern coaſt, and on the mountains of

1 *Caron.* Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 91, 84. * *Aleth.*

2 Flores Hiſt. p. 91, 84. 3 J. Roſſi, Ant. War. p. 50.

4 Called Eboracum by the Romans, Caer Efrog by the Britons, and Euerwyke by the Saxons. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 30.

5 Randolph. Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale's Script. Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 92, 96, by Math. Weſtminſter.

Cale-

Caledonia.[1] The Scots were a recent colony from Ireland, and had ſettled by invitation of the Picts, upon the weſtern ſhore of Scotland very early in the fourth century.[2] The Saxons, one of the moſt warlike nations in Germany, had emigrated from the northern parts of that country, and had ſettled along the ſea coaſt from Jutland to the mouth of the Rhine.[3]

The hiſtory of this period is barren of important incidents, and exhibits very little agreeable information: we ſcarcely meet with any thing, but pictures of rude life and manners, or melancholy details of war and devaſtation.

With a policy peculiar to the Romans, they had permitted the kingly office in the full extent of its ancient authority, to remain in many of the provinces of Britain.[4] In the courſe of this period, two princely families had ariſen into pre-eminence, above the reſt of the Britiſh Reguli; appearing in their ancient luſtre on the decline of the Roman power, and attaining to that royal diſtinction which had formerly belonged to their anceſtors.[5] Theſe were the princes of the Cynethian and Cornwall families.[6] The former were ſovereigns of the territory belonging to the Strath-Clyde* Britons, and of the principality of North Wales;†

[1] Whitaker, ibid. edit. vol. II. p. 209.

[2] Whitaker's Hiſt. Manchester, vol. II. p. 248, 249, 250.

[3] Verſtegan, chap. III. p. 20, 55, 56, 82, 84.

[4] Hiſt. Manchester, vol. I. 2d edit. p. 331. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 115.

[5] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 145, 171. [6] Rowland, p. 171.

* *Yſtrad Clwyd.* † *Gwynedd.*

and

and were deſcended from Coel, a northern prince; who, by his marriage with the heireſs of North Wales, became the ſovereign of that principality.[1] The daughter of this prince ſucceeded to his dominions, and was called Helena, and was afterwards married to the Emperor Conſtantius;[2] who, having gained by that union a natural right to the crown, the Roman government became for a time very popular. In after times, the line of the princeſs Helena becoming extinct in Britain, the ſucceſſion of the Strath-Clyde kingdom, with the principality of North Wales, devolved upon Cynetha* her nephew.[3] The ſons of this prince, leaving their northern territories to the government of the eldeſt branch of their own family, retired to their dominions in North Wales; where their deſcendants ſupported the cauſe of freedom and of nature, until the royal Britiſh blood became extinct as to ſovereignty, in the perſon of David the laſt prince of Wales.[4]

The Cornwall family were derived from Bran-ap-Llyr, a duke of that province; who was afterwards choſen the king of Britain.[5] Out of this princely family deſcended the illuſtrious names of Aurelius Ambroſius, Uthur Pendragon, Arthur and Conſtantine; a line of heroes, who ſucceſſively, but with different fortunes, oppoſed the Saxon arms.[6]

1 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 145, 163.

2 Ran. Higden, lib. XIV. p. 219. Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 92. Rowland, p. 161, 162, 163, 166

* *Cynedda Wledig*, or the Illuſtrious. 3 Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 90.

4 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 146, 162. 5 Ibid. 145, 146, 170. 6 Ibid.

The

The naval force of the kingdom in the preceding period, during the reigns of Conſtantius and his ſon Conſtantine, had been the object of policy and of regular attention; by which means the coaſts had in general been ſecured from invaſion;[1] but as the Roman intereſt declined, the navy was ſuffered to decay; the Britons having paid no attention to this great object of national ſecurity.

At this period the Picts, acting in conjunction with the Scots, and the Saxons, invaded the Roman territories in Britain. The diſtraction and miſery cauſed by this invaſion were aſtoniſhingly great: for not confining their ravages to the ſea coaſts, as had hitherto been their cuſtom, they ſpread wide their depredations through the interior parts of the country. They were inſtantly oppoſed by the Count of the Saxon ſhores; but after that officer had done all in his power to withſtand their fury, he bravely fell, where he could not conquer. The next perſon that oppoſed them was the general of the Roman forces; who, having collected ſuch a power as the urgency of the time would allow, marched againſt the enemy; but being drawn into an ambuſcade, this general, likewiſe, experienced the ſame fate. Theſe circumſtances creating alarm, the emperor Valentinian ſent Theodoſius into Britain; and this officer, uniting military talents with great policy and addreſs, ſoon put an end to the war, and reinſtated the provinces in their former tranquillity.[2] On the return of Theo-

A. D. 364.

A. D. 367.

[1] Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 91. Selden Mare Clauſum, lib. II. cap. VI. 7. Campbell's Naval Hiſt. Brit. vol. I. p. 26.

[2] Langhorni. Ant. Albion, p. 224.

doſius

doſius to Rome, he was attended to the ſea ſhore by the acclamations of a grateful people.[1]

This tranquil ſtate of their affairs was ſoon interrupted by the ambition of a popular individual. For the Britons, engaging
A. D. 383. in the cauſe of Maximus* on his uſurpation of the empire, rekindled the flames of war, and haſtened their own ruin. This perſon had ſerved a long time in Britain with great military reputation;[2] but the cauſe which of all others had been the means of riveting him in the affections of the natives, and of more cloſely uniting his intereſts with their own, was his marriage with Helena,[3] the daughter of Euda duke of Cornwall,[4] and who was afterwards elected to the ſovereign dignity.[5] In conſequence of which, Maximus[6] drew to his ſtandard the flower of the Britiſh youth; who along with the legionary ſoldiers were tranſported into Gaul.[7] His endeavours were at firſt crowned with ſucceſs, by an advantage he obtained over Gratian, one of the Roman emperors,[8] and by the expulſion of Valentinian the
A. D. 388. other emperor out of Italy; but his army was afterwards routed by Theodoſius, and he himſelf, with his ſon Flavius, put to death,

[1] Appendix Poſt Bœdam, p. 671. Ammianus Marcellin. lib. XXVIII. p. 525.

* *Macſen Wledig.* [2] Zoſimus, lib. IV. p. 248. [3] Born at Segontium.

4 Cornwall, called Cerniw by the Britons; by the Saxons Cornwall, or the Welſh of Cornavia. See Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 18.

[5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 90. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 166, 169. Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 105.

[6] Zoſimus, lib. IV. p. 248. [7] Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 106.

[8] Zoſimus, p. 248. Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, p. 25.

after

after having been, five years, in poſſeſſion of the imperial dignity.[1] Theſe princes fell victims to their ambition; and with them fell likewiſe the hopes, and ſplendid views of the Britons. The remains of this unfortunate army, for want of the means, it is probable, of returning into their own country, ſettled in Armorica.*[2] A. D. 388.

A SEASON of weakneſs and miſery enſued; but it was not every part of Britain which had been involved in the general calamity. On the diſſolution of the Roman power, the Britiſh governments had reverted to thoſe Reguli who were deſcended from the ancient ſovereigns. The moſt eminent of theſe princes, at this period, was Einion Urdd, the ſon of Cynetha; who reſided, like his father, in his northern territories.[3] This prince united in his government the kingdom of the Strath-Clyde Britons, the province of North Wales, and, it is probable, likewiſe, thoſe parts of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire lying upon the Iriſh channel.[4] The union of theſe dominions, under a vigorous adminiſtration, formed a force ſufficiently powerful to repel the invaders; and to keep his own kingdom in general ſecurity, as long as it continued unbroken by the cuſtom of Gavel-kind. In the courſe of this reign, however, the Iriſh Scots, under the command of Sirigi,[5] landed on Mona; and having defeated the A. D. 389.

[1] Zoſimus, p. 266, 267.

* *Llydaw*, or along the water. [2] Girald. Cambrenſis, lib. V. p. 41. The name is derived in the Britiſh from Ar-morica, or upon the ſea. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 10.

[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 183. [4] Ibid. p. 146. [5] Or the *Kover*.

natives, took poſſeſſion of that iſland.[1] On this invaſion, Einion Urdd ſent his eldeſt ſon *Caſwallon**[2] to the relief of Mona;[3] who ſoon executed his orders, by routing the enemy at Holyhead, where their fleet was depoſited, and ſlaying Sirigi in a perſonal encounter.[4]

During the reign of Theodoſius, his juſt and vigorous adminiſtration preſerved in general the public tranquillity. But on the death of that prince, and in the minority of Honorius, a more general and formidable invaſion took place. The Picts, the Iriſh Scots, and the Saxons united their powers, and infeſted the ſouthern coaſts of Britain; they divided into different parties, and ſpread, with infinite fury, over the interior parts of
A. D. 393. the kingdom. This invaſion, however, was ſoon checked, and
A. D. 395. the peace of the iſland eſtabliſhed, under the conduct of Victorinus; an officer who had been ſent into Britain by Stilico, and who had, himſelf, directed, in the minority of his maſter, the concerns of the Roman empire.[5] Among other marks of his attentions to the true intereſt of the iſland, he repaired the navy, which for ſome years preſerved the coaſts from being invaded.[6]

A calm interval having ſucceeded this ſtormy ſeaſon, an event occurred the moſt important and deciſive; and which gave ſo

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 146. *[2] *Caſwallon-law-hir*, or the long-handed.
[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 183. [4] Ibid. p. 146.
[5] Claudian de laud. Stilicon. cap. XI. Langhorni. Ant. Alb. p. 237.
[6] Secund. Paneg. de laud. Stilic. p. 516.

rude

rude a ſhock to the center of the Roman ſtate, as to convulſe the moſt diſtant parts of that wide and extenſive empire. This was the invaſion of Italy by *Alaric* the *Goth*. To ſuſtain the central parts, the legionary troops in the provinces were recalled; and of courſe the greateſt part of thoſe which had been ſtationed in Britain were withdrawn into Italy.[1] A. D. 403.

In deſpair of receiving aſſiſtance from Rome, the Britons themſelves elected ſeveral ſovereigns, to take the direction of affairs in ſuch a perilous ſeaſon.[2] The laſt of theſe princes, named Conſtantine, was raiſed to that dignity on account of the popularity of his name; and though of mean rank, being no more than a common ſoldier, he was a perſon of ſpirit and of enterprize, and poſſeſſed a genius above his condition.[3] A. D. 408.

Elated with his early proſperity, Conſtantine extended his views to the continent; and in order to ſupport his claim to the empire, and to take advantage of the preſent favourable juncture, he paſſed over into Gaul with an army.[4] Honorius, being obliged to give way to the preſent emergency, agreed to receive him as his aſſociate in the empire;[5] but that prince having concluded a peace with the Goths, oppoſed the pretenſions of Conſtantine, and finally took him priſoner, and put him to death.[6] The re- A. D. 409.

[1] Claudian de bello Getico, p. 593.
[2] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 92. Zoſimus, p. 371.
[3] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 50. [4] Ibid. p. 50. Zoſimus, p. 371.
[5] Zoſimus, p. 359. [6] Polidore Virgil, p. 350.

mainder of the Britons, who had followed the fortunes of the
A. D. 410. uſurper, ſettled in Armorica, which at this time was erected into a kingdom, independent of Rome.[1]

The Britons, ſtill more expoſed than ever to invaſions, applied to Honorius for aſſiſtance; but that emperor, himſelf ſorely
A. D. 410. preſſed by Alaric the Goth, left them to the management of their own affairs, and renounced the ſovereignty of the iſland.[2]

A short gleam of proſperity riſing upon the Romans, in the
A. D. 423. reign of Valentinian the third, a legion was ſent into Britain by Ætius, who commanded in Gaul; with no view of making any permanent ſettlement, but only in pity to the immediate diſtreſſes of that country. When this legion had performed the neceſſary ſervice, it was recalled into Italy.[3] Before their departure, the Romans fortified the wall of Severus, and erected towers for obſervation upon the ſea coaſts; they exhorted the Britons to inure themſelves to war; and aſſured them, that on their own virtue and manly exertions, their future ſafety muſt depend.[4]

At this period, when the Romans bade a final adieu to Britain, the country lay expoſed to the inroads of numerous enemies; after its native ſtrength had been exhauſted in ſupport of foreign wars, its numbers farther waſted by famine and peſti-

[1] Zoſimus, lib. VI. p. 376. [2] Ibid. 376, 381. [3] Ibid. 376.
[4] Bede's Eccleſiaſtic. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. Gildas, p. 5. Gale's Script.

lence,

lence,[1] and its navy, that natural bulwark of its ſafety, had fallen into decay:[2] and, under all theſe external diſadvantages, the people, too, were in want of that union ſo neceſſary in times of emergency; and the Britiſh princes themſelves, inſtead of uniting to oppoſe the common danger, by concerted plans of operation, were only anxious to ſecure their ſeparate intereſts.[3]

[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 115, 116. Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51, 52. Gildas, p. 7.

[2] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Britain, p. 43.

[3] Bede's Eccleſiaſtic. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XII.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH HISTORY FROM THE FINAL RETREAT OF THE ROMANS, TO THAT PERIOD WHEN THE ANCIENT BRITONS WERE DRIVEN INTO WALES, CORNWALL, AND ARMORICA.

A. D. 430. In a ſtate of weakneſs and confuſion the Britons recovered their liberty, after having, in ſome degree, been dependent on the Roman empire four hundred and eighty years, from the firſt invaſion under Julius Cæſar.[1] But they were no longer that rough, brave, or virtuous people which the Romans found them; they might be poliſhed, it is true, by the Roman arts, but theſe had left them without valour or public ſpirit, enervated, indolent, and dejected. They in general were elated at the *idea* of being free; but their minds were too much debaſed, to form juſt conceptions of freedom, or to enjoy for the preſent, or render permanent, the full benefit of its invaluable fruits.

[1] Selden Mare Clauſum, lib. II. cap. IX. p. 1310.

Amidst

AMIDST the confuſion natural in ſuch a ſituation, it is ſaid, that the Britons were ſtruck with a ſenſe of their true intereſts; and that they determined to eſtabliſh a powerful navy, as the moſt ſolid means of ſecuring the public tranquillity. This ſalutary meaſure, though undertaken at firſt with alacrity, was never carried into execution: the deſign, it is probable, might in ſome meaſure fail, through the natural levity of a people, unacquainted with buſineſs, averſe to labour, and unaccuſtomed to great attempts.[1]

THE ſudden attack made by the Picts on the wall of Severus, allowed them, it is true, but little leiſure to engage in naval deſigns. And thoſe Britons, who defended the forts upon the wall, unacquainted with this kind of war, and not poſſeſſing the cool intrepidity neceſſary in ſuch a ſituation, abandoned their ſtations; and, forſaking that part of the country, retreated to the ſouth. Inſtead of the ſpoils, which had hitherto been the object of their inroads, the Picts determined to ſettle upon the territories which had been lately abandoned:[2] but this dangerous deſign was ſuſpended, for the preſent, by a peace concluded with the Britons; that wretched people having purchaſed a temporary quiet, for a conſiderable ſum of money. By this treaty, the wall of Severus was to be the boundary between the two nations. The peace was however of no long duration, for the means which were employed to procure it, were naturally the cauſe of its infraction;[3]

[1] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Britain, p. 43, 44.

[2] Bede's Eccleſiaſtic. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. [3] Rapin, vol. I. p. 24, 25.

and

and a war enſued more deſtructive in its conſequence, than any in which the Britons had been engaged. In one battle alone they ſuſtained the loſs of fourteen thouſand men; an irreparable injury in their weak ſituation. Reduced to extremity, they ſolicited peace of their conquerors,[1] and obtained one indeed, but upon very mortifying terms; for by the new treaty they were obliged to yield up the country which lies to the north of the
A. D. 438. Humber, and on which territory the Picts immediately made ſettlements.[2]

The Britons being thus deſpoiled of a great part of their territories, and ſenſible that every reſiſtance of their own was vain, applied to the king of Armorica for aſſiſtance; who ſent his brother Conſtantine, with a body of troops, into the iſland.[3] That prince having defeated the enemy, was promoted, in a public council,
A. D. 443. to the Britiſh throne.[4] But this ſupply only afforded the Britons an occaſional relief; and ſtill preſſed by the increaſing power of their enemies, they had recourſe for the laſt time to the Romans, and ſupplicated aid from Ætius the *Præfect* of Gaul; who, with great valour, and a tranſient ſucceſs, had ſuſpended for ſome time the deſtiny of Rome. The Britiſh deputies carried to him the following letter of their countrymen, written in a ſtrain of diſhonourable lamentation:

[1] Rapin, vol. I. p. 24, 25. [2] Ibid.

[3] Girald. Cambrenſis, lib. VI. p. 43.

[4] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 171. Engliſh tranſlation. Ranulph. Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale's Script. Math. Weſt. Flores Hiſt. p. 212.

" To Ætius, thrice conſul, the groans of the Britons. We " know not which way to turn us. The *Barbarians* drive us " to the ſea, and the ſea forces us back to the *Barbarians*; be- " tween which we have only the choice of two deaths, either to " be ſwallowed up by the waves, or butchered by the ſword."[1]

But Ætius, at this time engaged in oppoſing the formidable Attila, was not in a ſituation to afford them relief.[2]

Dejected with this repulſe, and ſtill harraſſed by the inroads of the Picts and Iriſh Scots, the Britons were at length reduced to deſpair; deſerted their habitations, abandoned tillage, and relinquiſhing the habits of ſocial life, retreated to the woods and mountains; in which ſolitary wilds they gained a precarious ſubſiſtence by hunting.[3] To add another evil to their ſufferings, a famine enſued, owing to inceſſant devaſtation and the neglect of cultivating their land.[4] To avoid this complicated miſery, numbers of the Britons yielded themſelves up to the mercy of their enemies: others more brave, continued to oppoſe them from the places of their retreat; and the miſerable remainder, indulging the laſt effort of deſpair, fell to injure and deſpoil one another.[5]

[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIII. p. 51. Gildas, cap. XVII. Girald. Cambrenſis, lib. VI. p. 42.

[2] Bede, ibid. [3] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 116. [4] Gildas, p. 6.
[5] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51.

The invaders themſelves, unacquainted with the arts of agriculture, and perpetually harraſſed by the ſudden incurſions of the Britons, began to feel the preſſure of that famine which they had occaſioned; and were obliged to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions, and retire into their own country.[1] During this interval of peace, the Britons returned to their habitations, and to their uſual employments in huſbandry. Favourable ſeaſons having ſeconded their labours, an aſtoniſhing plenty enſued; when, forgetful of their paſt misfortunes, and improvident for the future, they are ſaid to have fallen into luxury, and into vices of every kind, the moſt atrocious; a circumſtance, which not only marks the manners of the age, but alſo proves them to be unworthy of that freedom they had lately recovered.[2]

There is a point of depreſſion as well as of exaltation, as has been obſerved by an acute philoſophic ſpirit,* which in general limits the progreſs of human affairs; and from which they uſually return, either by a ſlow or a rapid movement, to the oppoſite extreme. Though reduced to the loweſt ſtate of weakneſs and miſery, the Britons, rouſed by the virtue of ſucceeding princes, recovered their native ſpirit; and, riſing again into freedom and importance, aſſerted for many ages the rights of injured humanity.

About this period, Caſwallon, the prince of Cumbria, made choice of Mona[3] for his reſidence; and being the eldeſt branch

[1] Gildas, cap. XVII. [2] Bede, cap. XVII. * Mr. Hume.

[3] The ruins of his palace were to be ſeen near Llan Elian in the Rev. Mr. Rowland's time.

of the *Cynethian family*, he had of courſe a preeminence in dignity; the other Cambrian princes paying him homage and obedience as their ſuperior lord.[1] From this æra we may fix the date of a diſtinct ſovereignty in North Wales.

Among the various evils accumulated upon the Britons, we may alſo add the miſeries of religious diſſenſion. It is equally deplorable as it is ſtrange, that the Chriſtian religion, ſo well adapted to ſoften and to meliorate the human heart, ſhould, by a fatal perverſion, be made the means of deſtroying the mildneſs of its ſpirit, and of injuring its purity; by calling into action the malignant and angry paſſions, and by confining the natural freedom of the mind, within the narrow limits preſcribed to it by prejudice and the pride of opinion. The hereſy of the Pelagians had, at this time, ſpread in the Chriſtian church; and the diſputes which it produced were carried on with much animoſity and rancour; evils, which have always ariſen from the paſſions whenever they mingle in theological controverſy.[2]

To remedy theſe evils, and to reduce to one ſtandard religious opinions, the Britiſh clergy applied for aſſiſtance to a Gallican council; which deputed St. Germain, attended by another biſhop of the name of Lupus, upon that miſſion.[3] The former prelate, who was a man of learning and piety, and ſeems to have poſſeſſed A. D. 447.

[1] Rowland, p. 146, 147, 148. [2] Matt. Weſtm. p. 114.
[3] Ibid. Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XVII. p. 54. Ran. Higden's Polychron. lib. V. p. 223.

a ſolid and extenſive genius, having for the preſent given a check to the Pelagian innovations, fixed his reſidence in Cambria; where, it is probable, that at this early period, many of its inhabitants ſtill remained in ignorance, and had ſcarcely any knowledge of chriſtianity.[1]

During the converſion of the Britons in Cambria, and while St. Germain was introducing learning with ſome degree of order into the church, the Saxons joined in confederacy with the Picts, and invaded that part of the country. At this juncture, many Britons were aſſembled to be inſtructed by St. Germain in the principles of chriſtianity, and to receive baptiſm at his hands on the feſtival of Eaſter. Supported by this multitude, who were fired with religious enthuſiaſm, St. Germain calmly waited the approach of the enemy, at a place called *Maes-Garmon*, near Mold in Flintſhire; and at the moment, when the Saxons were ruſhing to the attack, he ordered the Britons to call aloud, three times, *Allelujah*. The ſound having increaſed by the reverberation of the adjacent mountains, threw the Saxons into ſo great a panic, that they were ſoon routed.[2] We eaſily conceive that a ſuperſtitious people, would impute this ſingular victory to the extraordinary interpoſition of the Almighty; and that they eſteemed their leader, like Gideon, to be armed with celeſtial power. But the mind, at the preſent period, not ſeeing objects through the medium of either ſuperſtition or enthuſiaſm,

[1] Conſtantius' Life of St. Germain.

[2] Bede's Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XX. p. 57. Langhorni. Ant. Albionenſes, p. 259.

will

will conclude this event to have ariſen out of natural cauſes, always under the direction of Divine Providence. The Saxons, it is poſſible, from the nature of the outcry, might ſuſpect an ambuſh, or that the number of the Britons was increaſed: beſides, the mind of man, in an uncultivated ſtate, is liable to fears the moſt ſudden, abſurd, and contagious. Having thus preſerved the public tranquillity from foreign enemies, and by civil and religious regulations having ſecured in ſome meaſure the peace of the country, St. Germain attempted before his departure to eſtabliſh a naval force; aſſuring the Britons, that it muſt be upon their fleets alone they could rationally depend for their future ſecurity.[1]

Constantine, the king of Britain, was, at this time, murdered by the treachery of a Pict, while he was engaged in the pleaſures of the chace. His ſon Conſtans, though a monk, was raiſed to the throne, through the machinations of Vortigern* his couſin; in hopes of directing the government of a prince, who, having been bred in the receſſes of a cloiſter, was of courſe uninſtructed in the management of public affairs, and in the laws of his kingdom.[2] There was ſomething bold in the genius of Vortigern. He poſſeſſed qualities which uſually decide in great and turbulent ſcenes; but he was led by them into a ſeries of A. D. 448.

[1] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Britain, p. 44.

* *Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau*, lord of *Gwent Erging* and *Euas* in South Wales. L. Morris.

[2] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 173. Rowland, p. 169, 184. Ranulph. Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale's Script. Math. Weſtm. Flores Hiſt. p. 113.

crimes,

crimes, which have marked his life with misfortune, and his character with infamy.

As ſoon as Vortigern had taken the reins of government into his hands, he diſdained to act a ſecondary part in its affairs; but, allured by the proſpect of the crown, he determined to reach that point of his ambition by the murder of his ſovereign.[1] In purſuance of this deſign, the king's guards, who had been recommended by Vortigern himſelf, and were inſtigated by rewards and his artful ſuggeſtions, entered the prince's bed chamber; and having cut off his head, carried it bleeding to the regent. Vortigern, however delighted with the ſpectacle, feigned the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and horror, wept over the ghaſtly viſage, and by a maſter-ſtroke of policy, as if affected with honeſt indignation, commanded the heads of the aſſaſſins to be ſtruck off.[2] The ſingular addreſs of Vortigern, in the conduct of this affair, might cauſe the death of Conſtans, in ſome degree, to remain inveloped in uncertainty and darkneſs. It removed however the
A. D. 448. obſtacle to his ambition, and he immediately aſcended the throne;[3] but whether by his own uſurpation, or that he was called to the vacant dignity by the voice of the Britiſh ſtates, is a point which remains undecided.

[1] Jo. Roſs. Ant. Warw. p. 55. Math. Weſtm. Flores Hiſt. p. 113.

[2] Polychronicon, lib. IV. p. 221. in Gale's Scriptores. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 178. Evan's Mirrour of paſt Ages, in Welſh, p. 95.

[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184.

Here

Here let us pauſe a moment over an *epoch* diſtinguiſhed in the Britiſh annals, when the Saxons were invited into Britain to be the guardians of its ſafety, and point out the probable cauſes of a meaſure ſo deluſive, and fatal. The rapid changes of ſeveral princes from the ſceptre to the grave, had ſhewn the precarious tenure under which the Britiſh ſovereigns had held their power. The fear, likewiſe, of falling a ſacrifice to the juſtice of his country, might be a powerful motive with Vortigern, to unite his cauſe with the ambitious views of the Saxons; whoſe number and valour might protect him from danger, and ſupport their mutual intereſts. Superadded to theſe motives of a perſonal nature, the public ſafety, at this time threatened with an invaſion of the Picts and Scots, ſerved Vortigern as a plauſible pretext to convene the ſtates of the kingdom, and to propoſe in that aſſembly the neceſſity of ſuch an alliance.[1] Nothing could ſo ſtrongly mark the fear and diſtraction, which at this time, influenced the general council, as adopting ſo haſtily a meaſure, repugnant to every principle of ſound policy. The ſucceeding hiſtory of the Saxon wars, replete with human miſery, and the ruin of the Britiſh empire, the effect of this day's counſels, are melancholy leſſons to mankind; that a people, who have not themſelves the virtue to defend their country, are not likely by adventitious aid to preſerve its freedom.

[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51, 52. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55. Math. Weſtm. Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 115. Gildas, cap. XXIII. p. 7. Gale's edit.

A WEAK

A WEAK credulity, and a temper haſty and impetuous, were the leading qualities of the Britons; which frequently excited them to reſolutions the moſt precipitate and ill founded. Theſe defects, which have been ruinous to their liberties in every period of their annals, laid them open to the machinations and intereſted views of this crafty uſurper; and it was an eaſy matter for Vortigern, by ſounding the alarm of danger, to obtain the conſent of the Britiſh ſtates, that deputies ſhould be immediately diſpatched to ſolicit aid of the Saxons.[1] Some nobler ſpirits, endued with greater ſtrength of diſcernment, ſaw the fatal tendency of the meaſure, and exerted their utmoſt efforts to oppoſe the current of this general infatuation. But the evil genius of Britain prevailed, and deputies were ſent to the Saxons, to ſolicit their aſſiſtance againſt the common enemy, the Picts and the Scots.[2]

THE various tribes of the Saxons,[3] at this period, were governed in the ſame manner as the Celtic nations. An aſſembly, compoſed of twelve of the moſt eminent chieftains, formed the great council of the nation, and during peace directed the public adminiſtration; but in times of war, one perſon of this body, pre-eminent in valour and other talents for command, was choſen by the common ſuffrages to take upon him the conduct of the ſtate.[4] At this period, Hengiſt and Horſa were

[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 52. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55.

[2] Evan's Mirrour of paſt Ages, written in Welſh.

[3] So called from uſing military weapons that were in the ſhape of a *ſcythe*, and called in their language *ſeaxes*. Verſtegan, chap. I. p. 21, 22.

[4] Verſtegan, chap. III. p. 62.

princes

princes of great diſtinction. They were the deſcendants of Woden,[1] the founder of the nation, and regarded by the Saxons as the deity who preſided in war,[2] agreeably to the cuſtom of the early ages, of paying divine honours to any diſtinguiſhed individual, who had been the inſtrument of glory or of utility to his country.

When the Britiſh deputies appeared before the aſſembly of the Saxon ſtates, they opened the nature of their commiſſion, and ſolicited aſſiſtance.[3] Struck with this favourable opportunity of diſplaying their valour, and of gratifying their avidity, and probably diſcerning the conſequent advantages, the Saxons agreed to ſend the Britons immediate aid; and a large body of troops was embarked under the command of Hengiſt and Horſa.[4] The former of theſe warriors, by his valour and abilities, was every way qualified to ſupport the expectations of his country. On the character of Horſa, hiſtory is ſilent; except that, along with his brother, he had ſerved in the Roman armies under Valentinian the third.[5]

When the deputies returned into Britain, and reported the ſucceſs of their embaſſy, there was great rejoicing in the court

[1] From Woden is derived Wedneſday, being the day dedicated to the honour of that Saxon deity. Friday likewiſe is derived from the Saxon goddeſs Fria, being the day dedicated to her worſhip; and in the ſame manner, every other day in the week, has taken its derivation from the Saxon deities. See Verſtegan, cap. III. p. 69—77. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Sammes's Britiſh Ant. 352.

[2] Ran. Higden Polychron. Gale's Script. lib. V. p. 222. [3] Gildas, p. 7.

[4] Gildas, cap. XXIII. p. 7. Gale's edit. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

[5] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 118.

A. D. 449. of Vortigern.[1] Soon after their arrival, the Saxon auxiliaries landed at Ebsfleete in the iſland of Thanet; the place which, by previous agreement, had been allotted for their reſidence.[2] Under the influence of thoſe fears which ever agitate guilty minds, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the arrival of his new allies, would be a matter of pleaſure and comfort to the Britiſh king.[3] To ſhew them greater honour, he repaired in perſon to meet the Saxons, and waited their landing on the ſea ſhore; he there received them with extraordinary careſſes, entertained them with feaſts ſeveral days; and after he had ſettled their ſtipulated pay, to avoid the cauſes of future diſcontents, he led them againſt the Picts and Scots,[4] who at this time had penetrated as far as Stamford.[5] That they might give an early impreſſion of their valour, Hengiſt placed the Saxons in the front, as the ſtation of danger; and the Britons formed the rear of the army. In this ſituation, they waited the attack of the enemy; who began the aſſault, as was uſually their cuſtom, by a diſcharge of lances and darts; which made no impreſſion upon the Saxons, who were accuſtomed to fight in a cloſer order, with long ſwords and battle axes. At length, after an engagement obſtinately diſputed and bloody, the Picts and Scots were entirely defeated.[6] By this victory the Saxon princes obtained a high reputation for valour and military con-

[1] Evans's Mirrour, in Welſh, p. 98.

[2] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 117. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Saxon Chron. by Gibſon, p. 12. [3] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 13. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122.

[5] Gale's Script. Ranulph Higden Polychron. lib. V. p. 222.

[6] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Gale's Script. ibid.

duct.[1] A few ſubſequent efforts, which were always unproſperous, obliged the Picts and Scots to relinquiſh their conqueſts, and to retreat into their own country. If, upon this fortunate turn in their affairs, the Britons had united under a ſovereign of ability and virtue, had enforced the immediate departure of the Saxons, at a time when they were few in number, and had alſo eſtabliſhed a naval force; they might have preſerved the public tranquillity, and have ſecured, for a time at leaſt, the national independence.

Instead of theſe deciſive and politic meaſures, a ruinous and irreparable one enſued. For Hengiſt, whoſe penetrating mind had ſeen into the deſigns, and critical ſituation of Vortigern; and who had obſerved the luxury, the negligence, and effeminacy of the Britons; and had noticed the richneſs of their country compared with his own; began at this time to extend his views towards a permanent ſettlement in it. With this deſign, he invited a freſh body of his countrymen to aſſiſt in the enterprize, and to partake in the fruits of the conqueſts which he meditated.[2] He likewiſe repreſented to the king the neceſſity of being poſſeſſed of ſome fortified place, as a ſecurity for his troops, and as a repoſitory of their ſpoils; and accordingly deſired that he might erect ſuch a fortreſs. The requeſt of Hengiſt was at firſt refuſed by Vortigern, through fear that it might excite a jealouſy

[1] Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 122.

[2] Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Saxon Chron. p. 12. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122.

among the Britons; however, at length he accompliſhed his deſign, by means of an artifice, which if it be true, marked the exceeding ſimplicity of the times.[1]

Latter End of A. D. 450.

Induced by the flattering deſcription which Hengiſt had given of Britain, a large body of Saxons came over;[2] and among theſe was the daughter of that prince, the beautiful Rowenna.[3] The arrival of theſe troops was ſeen with a jealous eye by many of the Britons, who were juſtly alarmed at the conſequences of introducing into the country ſo great a number of foreigners.[4] But Vortigern, the preſiding demon in the fate of Britain, and whoſe ſecret machinations, it is probable, had introduced this reinforcement, either deſpiſed the remonſtrance of his ſubjects,[5] or had the addreſs to ſilence their fears; and to perſuade them of the neceſſity of ſuch a meaſure, on the plauſible pretext that the firſt body of Saxons, from their late loſſes, would be inſufficient to protect them from their enemies.[6]

The intercourſe ſubſiſting between Hengiſt and the Britiſh king, had given him the opportunity of obſerving the conſtitutional character of that monarch; and on this baſis he hoped

[1] Fabian, p. 71. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 185. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122. Hengiſt only deſired of Vortigern as much land as the hide of an ox would ſurround. This requeſt being agreed to, the artful Saxon (it is ſaid) cut the hide into ſmall thongs, with which he encompaſſed a ſpace of ground ſufficient to erect a fort.

[2] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52.

[3] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55. Wm. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9.

[4] Matth. Weſtm. p. 118. [5] Ibid. [6] Evans's Mirrour, p. 99.

to

to form an alliance, which ſhould ſerve as a cement to their common intereſts, and ſhould give ſolidity to his own future deſigns. Having frequently acknowledged his obligations to Vortigern, he requeſted the honour of his company to a feaſt, at the caſtle he had lately erected; that by every entertainment in his power, he might expreſs his reſpect and gratitude.[1] Vortigern accepted the invitation to a *ſupper*, and the carouſal was highly magnificent. In the height of their feſtivity, when the wine had circulated, and the mind was open to no other impreſſion than pleaſure; the fair Rowenna appeared in the hall, magnificently dreſt, and holding in her hand a golden cup which was full of wine. Having gracefully preſented herſelf upon one knee before the king, ſhe thus addreſſed him in her own language, "*Waes heal hlaford Cyning*, or, Be of health lord king." Agreeably ſurpriſed with the ſudden appearance of a beautiful lady kneeling before him, the king demanded of his chamberlain, who was the interpreter, the nature of her ſuit.[2] He was informed, that the princeſs Rowenna accoſted him after the manner of her country; where it was uſual at carouſals, for any one who ſhall drink to another, to cry *waſheil*; the perſon to whom he thus ſpeaks ſhall anſwer, *Drynk-heil*; then he who firſt cried *waſheil*, drinks, and preſents him with the cup. While the interpreter was explaining to Vortigern the nature of this gothic feſtivity, that prince ſmiled upon Rowenna, and ſaid to her in

1 Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 56. Wm. Malmſbury, p. 9. Verſt. chap. V. p. 126.

2 Jo. Roſs. Ant. Warw. Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 56. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 127.

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the Saxon language, "*Drynk heil*, or *drink the health*."[1] Upon this the princeſs drank a little out of the cup, and preſented it gracefully to the king; who then, agreeably to the cuſtom, gave her a ſalute. She immediately retired, with the profoundeſt reſpect, out of the king's preſence.[2] The uncommon beauty of the Saxon princeſs, the gracefulneſs of her manners, and the touching ſingularity of the action, impreſſed upon him when he was heated with wine, entirely faſcinated the ſoul of Vortigern; and left no traces of any other impreſſions in his mind, than thoſe of love and deſire. To increaſe ſtill more this amorous frenzy, many impediments were artfully thrown by Hengiſt in the way of his paſſion.[3] But the infatuated monarch, inflamed with deſire, diſregarded every obſtacle, which the dictates of honour, prudence, and religion had oppoſed to his wiſhes. He removed the chief impediment by divorcing his wife, who had borne him three ſons;[4] and having married the Saxon princeſs, he inveſted Hengiſt with the ſovereignty of Kent, violently wreſting that territory from its original proprietor; he likewiſe put him in poſſeſſion of the three counties of Eſſex, Suffolk and Middleſex.[5]

The marriage of Vortigern, ſo oppoſite to the ideas of a ſuperſtitious age; his late munificence to Hengiſt, ſo contrary to

[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 127. [2] Fabian, p. 72. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 187.
[3] William Malmſbury, p. 9.
[4] Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 56. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 127. Warton's Engliſh Poetry, from Geoff. Monmouth.
[5] Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128. William Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9.

juſtice,

juſtice, with his open partiality for the Saxons, had ſpread in every place indignation and alarm.[1] But while the Britons employed themſelves only in complaints and unavailing diſcontent, the politic Hengiſt, ſenſible that guilt had made the king ſubſervient, and of conſequence a dupe to his deſigns; induced him to give his conſent for a further reinforcement of Saxons.[2] And to promote this deſign, he infuſed into his mind the danger of his ſituation, from the revolt of his ſubjects univerſally diſaffected; and from the probable deſign of Ambroſius,[3] of aſſerting his right to the crown, and of revenging the murder of his brother Conſtans.[4] In conſequence of this, a large body of Saxons arrived under the command of Abiſa, the brother of Hengiſt, and of his ſon Octa.[5] Theſe leaders landed in the iſlands of the Orcades; and having ſubdued them, and obliged the Picts to evacuate the Northumbrian territory, they ſettled in the country which had been abandoned.[6] The Saxons, at firſt, only occupied the land upon the eaſtern ſhore, which lies to the north of the Tyne; they afterwards advanced by ſlow degrees to the ſouth, and diſpoſſeſſed the Britons of the country as far as the Humber.[7]

A. D. 452.

1 Matth. Weſt. p. 117. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 59. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 128.

2 Fabian, p. 72.

3 *Emrys Wledig*. The ſon of the Britiſh king Conſtantine, who, after his brother's death, retired into Armorica for protection.

4 Matth. Weſt. p. 117.

5 W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128. Saxon Chron. p. 12. Nennius, cap. XXXVII. Bertram's edition.

6 W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9. Nennius, cap. XXXVII.

7 Rapin, vol. I. p. 32.

A FRIEND-

A FRIENDSHIP cemented by principles ſo intereſted and baſe, as thoſe which ſubſiſted in the minds of Hengiſt and Vortigern, muſt be of neceſſity precarious; and was not likely to be of longer duration than the motives which formed the alliance. On the acceſſion of ſtrength which he received by the arrival of ſo conſiderable a force, Hengiſt immediately threw off the maſk. He no longer paid any reſpect to the perſon of Vortigern, and under the pretence of keeping up the number of his forces, he continually increaſed them by freſh[1] ſupplies which were ſent him from the continent; without the knowledge, and even without deigning to aſk the permiſſion of the king. When the firſt body of Saxons came into Britain, they had a ſtipulated pay allowed them;[2] which, it is probable, conſiſted both of money and proviſions; beſide the iſland of Thanet, which was allotted for their reſidence.[3] The firſt condition not having been duly performed,[4] or perhaps under that pretext, Hengiſt at this time demanded the pay or proviſions for the whole number of Saxons in his army; and inſolently threatened, in caſe of refuſal, that they would do themſelves juſtice by the force of arms. This demand, however oppreſſive, was inſtantly complied with, to take from the Saxons every plauſible ground of contention. Still riſing in their demands from the late conceſſion, their hoſtile deſigns appeared without diſguiſe, and were diſcovered to be of the moſt dangerous tendency.[5] In this moment of danger, when

[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. [2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 116.
[3] W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9. [4] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 128.
[5] Gildas, p. 8. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128.

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the Britons ſeemed deſtitute of every manly and virtuous exertion, they ſuddenly roſe into a degree of wiſdom and public ſpirit, which, for a time, gave a fortunate turn to their affairs.

The folly and the crimes of Vortigern had rendered him the object of univerſal deteſtation. In conſequence of which, he was depoſed from the throne by a general aſſembly of the Britiſh ſtates, and the crown was given to his eldeſt ſon Vortimer.[1] A. D. 464.

The talents of this prince, exerciſed in a vigorous oppoſition to the Saxons, fully juſtified the choice of his country. The firſt meaſures of his reign were prudent and deciſive. He propoſed to the Saxons, that they might retire unmoleſted out of Britain; he ſeparated his own ſhips from theirs; and having protected his fleet with a large body of his troops, he poſted the remainder of his army in a ſtrong ſituation.[2] Alarmed at this formidable appearance and ſpirited activity of Vortimer, the Saxons applied to the Picts and Scots to join in alliance againſt the common enemy.[3] Theſe people readily agreed to the invitation; and with the Saxons already ſtationed in thoſe parts, formed a conſiderable force in the north. In the mean time, that a junction might not be formed of the two armies, Vortimer ſuddenly attacked the Saxons on their own ground in Kent, under the command of

[1] *Gwrthefyr Fendigaid.* Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128. Fabian's Chron. p. 73. Matth. Weſtm. p. 118.

[2] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. p. 49.

[3] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 57. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222.

Hengiſt and Horſa. This battle was fought at Ailsford, and diſputed with great obſtinacy, but was at length decided in favour of the Britons.[1] Amidſt the ſlaughter of the day, Horſa, and Cartigern* the younger brother of Vortimer, fell by each other's ſword.[2] The Britons, little accuſtomed to the ſmiles of fortune, were animated by this victory to purſue their ſucceſs; and in ſeveral battles which followed, they ſeem in general to have had the advantage.[3] The laſt action is ſaid to have been ſo deciſive, that the Saxons were forced to retreat into the iſland of Thanet.[4] The ſame good fortune likewiſe, favoured their arms in the north, againſt the combined forces of the Picts, and the Saxons under Octa.[5] Diſpirited by ſo many defeats upon land, Hengiſt, changing his plan of operation, determined that the diſpute ſhould be decided at ſea; and as ſoon as his ſhips were manned with the choiceſt of his ſoldiers, he ſailed in purſuit of the Britiſh fleet. Vortimer, equal to every emergency, and whoſe activity and valour had infuſed a ſpirit into his ſoldiers, was prepared to receive him, though inferior to the Saxon prince in the number and ſize of his veſſels. In this action, contending for the fate of Britain on its proper element, Vortimer gained the advantage, took ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, and entirely diſperſed their fleet.[6] Purſuing his good fortune, he renewed his attacks upon land, and drove the Saxons into the iſland of Thanet; and at

1 Matth. Weſtm. p. 119. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129. * *Cyndeyrn.*
2 Fabian, p. 75. 3 Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Scriptores.
4 Fabian, p. 76. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129.
5 Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Eng. p. 49. 6 Ibid.

length

length obliged Hengiſt with his troops, who on this occaſion deſerted their women and children, to retire into Germany, in order to procure farther ſupplies.[1] After this event, the Britiſh prince collected his fleet, which had been diſperſed in the late action; and his army was ſoon reinforced by numbers who crouded to his ſtandard on account of his brilliant ſucceſs.[2]

The proſperity, which had juſt begun to dawn upon Britain, was ſoon clouded by the reſentment and ambition of a woman. Since the diſgrace of Vortigern, that monarch had been impriſoned in the city of Cheſter;* and during his confinement had behaved with general propriety, having given his ſon wiſe and faithful counſels, and having paid him a reſpectful obedience. This decent or politic conduct, and the recollection of the great qualities which he really poſſeſſed, or perhaps the natural fickleneſs of the people, formed a party in his favour, and drew him out of that general odium in which he had been for ſome time immerſed.[3]

In this ſtate of affairs, Rowenna, incited by revenge, and anxious to regain the dignity ſhe had loſt, meditated the murder of Vortimer. For this purpoſe, ſhe engaged in her ſervice by the promiſes of a great reward a young man, who, diſguiſed in the habit of a gardener, it is ſaid, appeared before the king

[1] Grafton's Chr. p. 89. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129. Matth. Weſtm. Flores Hiſt. p. 119.

[2] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. p. 49.

* *Caer Lleon ar Ddyfrdwy.*

[3] Fabian, p. 76.

one morning, while taking the air in his garden; and preſented him with a noſegay of flowers, which was ſprinkled with poiſon.[1] As ſoon as the king was ſenſible of its effects, and that his death was inevitable, he called into his preſence the Britiſh nobility; exhorted them to a manly defence of their country; and required, that after his death they ſhould erect a ſepulchre on the ſea ſhore, and fix it in the port where the Saxons uſually landed;[2] deluded by the vain imagination, that the image and relics of a dead warrior, would infuſe the ſame terror, which he himſelf had inſpired when alive. The Britiſh nobles, however, not adopting the idle deluſion of their maſter, or, what is more probable, negligent of his commands, interred him in London.*[3]

A. D. 468.

The levity, which we have frequently noticed as a natural defect in the Britiſh character, appears at this juncture to have influenced the national council. For in that aſſembly, by an unaccountable caprice, Vortigern was re-elected to the ſovereign dignity;[4] the ſame man who a few years before had been ſolemnly depoſed from the throne, as a traitor to his country.

Thus far the machinations of Rowenna had ſucceeded to her wiſhes. She had at length attained to her former grandeur by

[1] Evans's Mirrour, p. 106, from an old Manuſcript. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129. Fabian, p. 76. Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. Flores Hiſtoriarum. Theſe writers all agree that he was poiſoned. [2] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 192.

* *Caer Ludd.* [3] Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 192.

[4] Fabian, p. 76. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 193. Gale's Script. Polychron. R. Higden, p. 222. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 229.

wading

wading through the blood of her ſon-in-law; and what is but too probable, with the connivance of her infatuated huſband. For this prince, at the inſtigation of his wife, ſent intelligence of the late events into Germany, and deſired that Hengiſt her father would come into Britain, privately, and with a ſmall train; leſt, if he came over with a larger force, he ſhould be oppoſed by the united power of the Britons.[1] When Hengiſt acquainted his followers with this intelligence, and propoſed to them the conqueſt of Britain, they expreſſed great reluctance to the enterprize, on account of its uncertainty and danger; as they had found by experience, that the Britons were brave when properly rouſed and led into action. Hengiſt had the addreſs to remove theſe impreſſions, and to raiſe the hopes of his countrymen; by telling them, that though the Britons were brave, they were nevertheleſs inferior to themſelves in policy, and in the ſtratagems of war.[2]

Thus allured by the flattering aſſurances of Hengiſt, four thouſand Saxons embarked under his command.[3] When the Saxons approached the Britiſh coaſt, they found that the inhabitants, under the command of Vortigern, appeared fully determined to oppoſe their landing.[4] Intelligence of this being privately ſent by Rowenna to her father, the Saxon prince had recourſe to an expedient ſuggeſted by his wily and fertile imagination; as well as from a knowledge of the people, with whom he

[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. [2] Evans's Mirrour, p. 107.
[3] Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 129.
[4] Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 130.

had

had to act. In this artifice, the weakneſs or the treachery of Vortigern was employed. Hengiſt ſent to aſſure that monarch, that his purpoſe in coming into Britain was not to offer any violence to the kingdom; but only to make a vigorous oppoſition againſt his ſon Vortimer, whom he artfully pretended to believe was yet alive.[1] It was likewiſe propoſed by Hengiſt, that an interview ſhould take place between them, and that each of the princes ſhould meet at the place appointed, attended by the moſt eminent of his train;[2] and in order to baniſh every idea of hoſtile intention, it was artfully ſuggeſted by the Saxon chief, that both parties ſhould appear without their arms. The propoſal was agreed to by the king; the time of meeting was fixed for the May following; and the place appointed for the interview was probably at Stone-henge* upon Saliſbury plains.[3]

In the mean time, Hengiſt, having aſſembled the leaders in his army, laid open to them his deſign;[4] that under the colour of meeting the Britons for the purpoſes of peace, and of eſtabliſhing a laſting alliance, he intended to maſſacre thoſe chieftains who ſhould attend Vortigern to the interview;[5] that by ſtriking ſo deciſive a blow, he might cut the ſinews of future reſiſtance. At the ſame time he gave orders, that his train who attended the carouſal, ſhould carry knives concealed in their ſleeves; that when the ſignal was given, each of them ſhould inſtantly ſtab-

[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 120. [2] Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 130. * *Caer Gawr.*
[3] *Maes Mawr.* Matt. Weſtm. p. 130. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 130.
[4] Evans's Mirrour, p. 109. [5] Fabian, p. 77.

the perſon who ſat upon his left hand;[1] and he cloſed this infernal command by requiring them to "behave like men, and to ſhew no mercy[2] to any perſon but to the king."

Notwithstanding the many proofs which the Saxons had given of their perfidy, the Britons, with a degree of credulity peculiar to themſelves, fell into the ſnare, and came unarmed to the place appointed for the interview;[3] where, by the contrivance of Hengiſt, they were placed with his train alternately at the tables, under the pretence of confidence, and of a friendly intercourſe with each other.[4] When the feſtivity was at the height, and probably in the unguarded moments of intoxication, Hengiſt gave the ſignal which had been agreed on, *Hem cowr ſeaxes*, or take your *ſeaxes*. At that inſtant every Saxon drew out his knife, and plunged it into the boſom of the perſon who ſat next to him. A. D. 472. Above three hundred of the Britiſh nobility, the moſt eminent for their talents in the council or in the field, periſhed in this bloody carouſal.[5] Vortigern was ſpared in the general carnage, though detained a priſoner by Hengiſt;[6] probably with no other deſign than as a cover to a ſubſequent act of the Britiſh king, which carries with it a ſtrong appearance of baſeneſs; for in order

1 Matt. Weſtm. p. 120. 2 Fabian, p. 77.

3 Matt. Weſtm. p. 120. 4 Evans's Mirrour, p. 109.

5 Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9. Gale's Script. R. Higden, lib. V. p. 222. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 130. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13. Theſe writers differ reſpecting the number ſlain.

6 Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 131. W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 10. R. Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Fabian, p. 77.

to

to obtain his liberty, he made an aſſignment to the Saxon prince, of the preſent counties of Eſſex, Suſſex, and Middleſex, and alſo confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of his former territories.[1]

The news of this maſſacre, we may eaſily ſuppoſe, ſpread among the Britons the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and horror; which was probably heightened by a deep ſuſpicion of their ſovereign having acted a ſecondary part, in a ſcene ſo cruel and perfidious. The evident partiality which Vortigern had ſhewn to the Saxons,[2] and his general flagitious conduct,[3] had by this time rendered him almoſt univerſally deteſted.[4] Covered with confuſion and reproach, he withdrew into the wilds of Caernarvonſhire;[5] but though that ſolitary deſert might conceal him from his injured country, it could not protect him from the conſciouſneſs of guilt, or of folly in the moſt pernicious extreme.

The Britons, having been deceived by the late appearance of friendſhip, and neglecting alſo to provide againſt future contingencies, had diſmiſſed thoſe forces, which under Vortimer their late prince had gained ſo many victories, and had nearly eſtabliſhed their freedom. At this juncture, it is ſaid, they had only ſeven thouſand men in arms who were fit for ſervice;[6] which was by no means a force equal to the great power of the Saxons,

[1] Nennius, cap. XLVII. Rapin, vol. I. p. 31. [2] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 37.
[3] Matth. Weſtm. p. 128. [4] Ibid. p. 121.
[5] Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 310. in Script. poſt Bedam.
[6] Evans's Mirrour, p. 110.

rendered

rendered now more fierce from a ſenſe of their late barbarity. That event was only the prelude to a ſcene of more extenſive miſery; for the Saxons, at this time, ravaged the whole country from the weſtern to the eaſtern ſea.[1] In the courſe of their ravages, private dwellings and public edifices were levelled with the ground: the common people were put to death without mercy: even venerable prelates ſhared the ſame fate; and the prieſts themſelves were ſlain at the altar, performing the ſacred duties of their office.[2] The bitter animoſity, which uſually attends difference in religion, increaſed the natural fierceneſs of a barbarous people. From this ſcene of miſery, many of the Britons having fled for ſhelter into the mountains or woods, were purſued by the enemy and ſlain; others retired into foreign countries, probably to Armorica their uſual aſylum in diſtreſs; and numbers of them, driven to the laſt extreme of wretchedneſs, gave themſelves up to ſlavery.[3]

Vortigern having deſerted, or what is more probable, having been depoſed from the throne; the Britons turned their eyes to Ambroſius,[4] of the houſe of Cornwall, and the brother of Conſtans their late ſovereign; who had been murdered by Vortigern. This prince, and his brother Uthur Pendragon, had retired from the tyranny of that uſurper, to their uncle the king of Armorica.[5] By the aſſiſtance of that prince, Aurelius Ambroſius, with his

[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. [2] Gildas, p. 8.
[3] Gildas, p. 8. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.
[4] Gildas, p. 9. Bede, lib. I. cap. XVI. p. 53. [5] Matth. Weſtm. p. 113.

A. D. 481. brother, landed in Britain at the head of a large body of forces, and was inſtantly raiſed to the throne.[1] This prince, influenced by motives of a private and of a public nature, deteſting Vortigern as the murderer of his brother, and as a traitor to his country, and afraid of the cabals[2] of a powerful party in his favour, determined in his firſt enterprize, to free himſelf from a dangerous rival. By a rapid movement, he came ſo ſuddenly upon Vortigern, that the Britiſh king had ſcarcely time to fly to his retreat in North Wales. To this place he was purſued by Ambroſius, and his caſtle* inveſted; which was burned to the ground, either by accident, or by the means employed in the ſiege.[3] And here, in his old age, and after a turbulent reign of

A. D. 481. thirty-three years, he periſhed in the flames;[4] together with all his women, one of whom it is ſaid was his own daughter,[5] who lived with him in a ſtate of inceſt.[6] The odium which purſued the memory of Vortigern, mingling with the ſuperſtition of the age, hath imputed his death to the immediate interpoſition of heaven.

In the mean time, many of thoſe Britons who inhabited the country poſſeſſed by Hengiſt, in abhorrence of the cruel and

[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 128. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. [2] Fabian, p. 72.

* *Caſtell Gwrtheyrnion*, on the river Wye in *Arwyſtly*.

[3] Matth. Weſtm. p. 329. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 231.

[4] Nennius, cap. XLVIII. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 132.

[5] Nennius, cap. XXXVIII.

[6] Fabian, p. 79. This prince had by his firſt wife three ſons, Vortimer, Catigern, and Paſcen; and he had one ſon named Fauſtus, it is ſaid, by his own daughter.

perfidious ſcene he had lately acted at Stone-henge, fled into other provinces; and by their deſertion left his territories in a great meaſure without people or cultivation.[1] To remedy this evil, and to oppoſe the popular adminiſtration and ſpirited conduct of Ambroſius, Hengiſt invited over a freſh body of Saxons; offering them a part of his dominions for their reſidence. In conſequence of this offer, a chieftain, named Ella, arrived with a body of forces, and landed on the coaſt of Suſſex; and after a conteſt of ſeveral years, eſtabliſhed his followers in that country. The name of Suſſex was given to this territory, on account of its being the reſidence of the ſouth Saxons.[2] This ſupply having given ſtability to his new dominions, Hengiſt planted a colony to the eaſt of his own ſettlement in Kent, which took the name of Eſſex from the eaſt Saxons; he likewiſe placed another in that diſtrict which lies between Suſſex and Eſſex, and which was from thence called Middleſex, or the middle Saxons.[3]

The death of his rival ſeated Ambroſius more firmly on the throne. So very popular was the name of this prince in Britain, that numbers crouded to fight under his ſtandard.[4] The Britons of Cambria likewiſe united in the common cauſe, and joined his army.[5] With this force he marched againſt the Saxons in the country beyond the Humber, and entirely defeated them. Hen- A. D. 481.

[1] Rapin Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 35.

[2] Gale's Scriptores. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 224. Matt. Weſtm. p. 130. Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 311. Script. poſt Bedam. Saxon Chr. p. 14.

[3] Rapin, vol. I. p. 35. [4] Matt. Weſtm. p. 128. [5] Evans's Mirrour, p. 116.

giſt their leader was taken priſoner. The Saxon prince being brought into the preſence of Ambroſius, was inſtantly beheaded,[1] as an act of juſtice which was due to his deſolated country, and to the maſſacre at Stone-henge; the army likewiſe threw a heap of ſtones over his grave, as a memorial of his infamy, and as a monument of their indignation.[2] The Britiſh prince then laid ſiege to the city of York; in which place, Octa the ſon of Hengiſt, and Eſca his brother had taken refuge; but theſe leaders were ſoon obliged to ſurrender, upon condition, that they and the Saxon ſoldiers ſhould retire into the country near Scotland.[3] After this event, Ambroſius turned his arms againſt Ella the king of the South Saxons; over whoſe forces, it appears, that at firſt he gained ſome advantage.[4] He then recovered London, Winchеſter, and Saliſbury;[5] all which cities had been ſeized by the Saxons after the maſſacre at Stone-henge.[6]

On the diſgrace or the death of Vortigern, his third ſon named Paſcen, retired into Germany; with a view to induce the Saxons to ſupport his claim upon the crown, and to join the common cauſe in the conqueſt of Britain. Having had the addreſs to procure a body of troops, he landed upon the coaſt of Scotland, to join the Saxons who had lately been permitted by Ambroſius to ſettle in that country.[7] This prince, receiving intelli-

[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 131, 132. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Script.
[2] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 240. Sammes's Ant. Brit. p. 474.
[3] Matt. Weſtm. p. 132. [4] Matt. Weſtm. p. 134.
[5] Geoff. Monmouth, cap. IX. p. 243. [6] Matt. Weſt. p. 120. [7] Ibid. p. 135.

gence

gence of the invaſion, inſtantly marched to oppoſe the ſon of Vortigern, whoſe army he entirely routed. On this defeat, Paſcen ſailed over into Ireland, to procure aſſiſtance from a king of that country; by this prince he was cordially received, and ſupplied with a body of ſeven thouſand men. With this reinforcement he landed at Milford Haven,* and from thence ravaged the city of St. David' in the preſent county of Pembroke, and all the country around it.

At this time, Ambroſius lay ſick in the city of Wincheſter.†[2] The news of his ſickneſs being brought to Paſcen, he determined to derive ſome advantage from ſo favourable an incident, and inſtantly ſuggeſted the deſign of murdering the king. There was at that time in his train a Saxon, named Eppa, who was an artful perſon, and of great addreſs; he had likewiſe ſome knowledge of the Britiſh language, and was acquainted with phyſic. This man was choſen as a proper inſtrument for his purpoſe; and, that he might more eaſily gain acceſs to the king, appeared in the characters of a prieſt and a phyſician.[3] Under favour of this diſguiſe, Eppa was introduced into the palace of Ambroſius, and had the addreſs to preſcribe a medicine for that prince in quality of phyſician, in which he had taken care privately to mix poiſon.[4] Ambroſius being dead, in conſequence

* *Aberdaugleddau.* † *Caer Went.*

[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 135. Fabian, p. 81.

[2] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 252.

[3] Matt. Weſtm. p. 135. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Scriptores. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 253.

[4] Geoffry Monmouth, p. 253. Fabian, p. 82.

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of the poiſonous medicine he had taken, the traitor inſtantly made his eſcape.[1] This gallant prince was interred in the convent of Ambrius,* ſuppoſed to be on Saliſbury plains.[2]

A. D. 495. About this period Cerdic a Saxon chieftain, with his ſon Cenric, landed in Britain; and at length founded the kingdom of Weſſex, or the Weſt Saxons.[3]

A. D. 500. On the death of Ambroſius, his brother Uthur Pendragon was elected to the ſovereign dignity.[4]

On the acceſſion of this prince, the Saxons having gathered ſtrength, had again recourſe to arms; and deſtroying all the fortified places from Scotland to the city of York, they at length laid ſiege to Caer-Ar-Clwyd,[5] the capital of the Strath-Clyde kingdom. Uthur Pendragon marched to the relief of that place, where a battle enſued; which after a doubtful conflict, ended in favour of the Britons.[6] In this action, the Saxon leaders Eſca and Coſa, the ſon and couſin of Hengiſt, were taken priſoners,[7] and confined in London: but theſe chiefs did not remain long in captivity; for having corrupted their guards, they eſcaped out of priſon, and paſſed over into Germany; whence

[1] G. Monmouth, p. 253. * The preſent Ameſbury. [2] G. Monmouth, p. 274.
[3] Saxon Chron. p. 15. Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 313. Script. poſt Bedam. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 224.
[4] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 58. Matt. Weſtm. p. 136. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185. [5] The preſent Dunbarton.
[6] Matt. Weſt. p. 136. [7] Ibid.

they

they returned into Britain with a freſh ſupply of ſoldiers. The two Saxon generals tried the fortune of war, once more, with Uthur, in a bloody and well diſputed action at Verulam.[1] On that day, which again might have given a deciſive iſſue to their fortunes, the Britons obtained a compleat victory; and the two leaders Eſka and Octa, were ſlain amidſt the general ſlaughter of the Saxons. During the action, Uthur being indiſpoſed, was carried in a litter through the ranks, to encourage the army by his preſence. This event was immediately followed by the ſiege of Verulam, and after a bloody reſiſtance, that city was taken by the king of Britain.[2] At length, after a reign of ſeventeen years of ſervice and of glory, Uthur Pendragon ended his days by poiſon. His death happened at Verulam, and after the victory he had obtained there. His indiſpoſition having increaſed, it had been his cuſtom every day to drink water out of a certain fountain at a little diſtance from that city, into which ſome of the Saxons, ſuborned for that purpoſe, had contrived to infuſe poiſon.[3] The body of this Britiſh king was carried to the convent of Ambrius, and was interred there, near to the grave of his brother Ambroſius.[4]

A. D. 517.

The recital of the extraordinary manner in which theſe princes have ended their days, may poſſibly be attended with the charge of credulity, or of affecting to enliven the ſubject, by exhibiting pictures of whatever is ſtriking or uncommon. In extenuation

[1] Matt. Weſt. p. 138. [2] Ibid. p. 139. [3] Ibid. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 273. [4] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 274.

of

of this charge it is replied, that the facts have been taken from ancient writers, and are conſiſtent with the manners of that barbarous age; and that ſuch acts of violence were certainly frequent in the more enlightened period of the ſixteenth century; at which time, it is well known, that the art of poiſoning had attained a high degree of refinement.

A. D. 517. At this period, Maelgwyn, the eldeſt ſon of Caſwallon-lawhir, reigned in that diſtrict which afterwards formed the principality of North Wales; and like his father had a pre-eminency over the other ſovereigns of Cambria.[1] This prince was nephew to king Arthur[2] by the ſiſter of that monarch, and had received a liberal education under the care of the celebrated Iltutus;[3] and whatever were the vices which juſtly ſtained his character, he was eminent for ſtature, valour, and other talents for command; which naturally raiſed men, in times like theſe, into diſtinction and power.[4] Maelgwyn was a formidable enemy to the Saxons, by his abilities, and by the ſtrenuous oppoſition he made againſt that people: he likewiſe conquered the iſland of Man, and the Hebrides,[5] and in conſequence of this was ſtiled Draco Inſularis. This prince uſually reſided at Diganwy in Caernarvonſhire.[6] During this period, the naval power, not only of Britain but alſo of Cambria, appears to have been an object of

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185.
[2] Langhorne's Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 90.
[3] One of the primitive Fathers of the Cambrian church.
[4] Ranulph Higden. Gale's Script. lib. V. p. 225.
[5] Rowland's Mon. Ant. 147, 148. [6] Ibid.

attention,

attention, and to have been eſtabliſhed in ſome degree on a reſpectable footing.[1]

On the death of Uthur Pendragon, his ſon Arthur was elected to the Britiſh throne.[2] Diveſted of thoſe illuſions, that fancy or affection has raiſed, and which have ever attended the memory of this prince; there ſtill remain concentred in his character thoſe qualities which form a great warrior, and the milder virtues which conſtitute whatever is amiable and good. A. D. 517.

After the ceremony of Arthur's coronation was performed at Caer Lleon upon Uſk[3] in Monmouthſhire, he marched againſt the Saxons in the north; and meeting with Colgrin, a Saxon prince, on the banks of the river Douglas, a battle enſued; in which the latter was defeated. Apprized of a meditated attack on his camp, in the following night, by Pandulph the brother of Colgrin; Arthur ſent a body of forces to intercept the enemy, many of whom were ſlain, and the remainder put to flight. The Britiſh king, then, laid ſiege to York; but being informed that a large body of Saxons under the command of Cerdic had landed in Scotland, he raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to London.[4]

[1] Selden's Mare Clauſum, lib. II. cap. IX. p. 1310.

[2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185. Verſtegan, c. V. p. 132.

[3] *Caer Lleon ar Wyſg*, or the city of Legions upon the river Uſke. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 82.

[4] Langhorne's Ch. Ang. p. 60. Matt. Weſt. p. 139, 140.

By virtue of his authority as ſovereign or chief ruler of the kingdom, Arthur demanded the aſſiſtance of Caron king of Scotland, of Maelgwyn the ſovereign of North Wales, of Meyric prince of South Wales, and of Cador the duke of Cornwall.[1] He likewiſe, by advice of his council, deſired the immediate ſupport of his nephew Howel, the king of Armorica.[2] The Britons had uniformly experienced from that country the moſt friendly aſſiſtance; and Howel, it is ſaid, brought fifteen thouſand men to the aid of his uncle.[3]

A. D. 518.

Thus ſtrongly reinforced, the Britiſh prince marched towards Lincoln; where meeting with the enemy, a battle enſued; in which the Saxons were defeated with the loſs of ſix thouſand men. The remainder flying into Scotland, took refuge in a wood; but were ſoon obliged to ſurrender to Arthur, on the conditions of giving hoſtages, of yielding up all their effects and ſpoils, and of retiring into their own country.[4]

Repenting of their late ſubmiſſion, thoſe Saxons who had juſt before been defeated in Scotland, returned with an increaſed ſtrength into Britain; and having formed a junction with Cerdic, and the different bodies under the command of Paſcen and Eppa, inveſted Bath;[5] in hopes that the Britons, to preſerve a

[1] Evans's Mirrour, p. 127, 128. from an old Welſh MS.

[2] G. Monmouth, p. 279. [3] Matth. Weſt. p. 140. [4] Ibid. Langhorne, p. 61.

[5] Called by Ptolemy, Aquæ Calidæ, or hot water; by Antoninus, Aquæ Solis, or water of the ſun; by the Britons, Caer Badon; and by the Saxons, Bathe; ſaid to be built by king Bladud, a Britiſh prince. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 19. Evans, p. 121. Matt. Weſtm. p. 141.

place

place of ſuch importance, would attempt to raiſe the ſiege, and of conſequence bring on a battle. In this expectation they were not deceived, as Arthur determined to run every hazard rather than to ſuffer that place to be taken.

The critical nature of the times not admitting of delay, he ſent ſummonſes to the North, to Oxford,[1] London, Cornwall, and into Wales; with orders to the different chiefs to exert themſelves in this dangerous ſituation of their country.[2] His ſummons was inſtantly obeyed by a chieftain of North Wales, of the name of Nathan Llwyd; and who joined him with a body of five thouſand men.[3] Having aſſembled his forces, king Arthur advanced to meet the enemy near Bath. The action on the firſt day between the two parties was obſtinately diſputed, great numbers on each ſide being ſlain; and though Arthur exerted his uſual bravery and military talents, neither the Saxons nor Britons obtained any advantage.[4] Both armies kept the field, waiting for the return of day to renew the fight. The Saxons, during the night, had poſted themſelves upon a riſing ground called Banneſdown, a ſituation of great importance, though it had been neglected by both armies the day before. Arthur perceiving his error, on the return of light, and the advantage of ſuch a poſt, determined to diſlodge them; which he accom-

[1] Called by the Britons Rhyd-Ychen, or the ford of Oxen; by the Saxons, Oxenford. See Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 24.

[2] Evans's Mirrour, p. 120. [3] Ibid. p. 121.

[4] Matt. Weſtm. p. 141. Langhorni Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 61.

pliſhed after a very long and bloody reſiſtance. Animated by the daring ſpirit of their prince, who ruſhed ſword in hand amidſt the ranks of the enemy, exhibiting aſtoniſhing proofs of valour and proweſs, the Britons made a furious aſſault upon the Saxons; and perceiving ſome diſorder as they retreated down the hill, puſhed them with ſtill more vigour, and in the end entirely defeated them.[1] In this day's action, two Saxon chiefs, Colgrin and Pandulph, were ſlain. Cerdic retreated with the remains of his army to the iſland of Thanet, to which place he was purſued by Cador duke of Cornwall.[2]

A. D. 520.

An incident happened, at this time, which gave the Saxons leiſure to breathe, and probably ſaved them from ruin. This event was produced by a diverſion made in the north, by the Picts in alliance with the Saxons. Theſe people knowing that Arthur was at a diſtance, and that his nephew Howel the king of Armorica lay ſick at Caer-ar-Clwyd,[3] a town ſtanding on the river Clyde; took advantage of theſe favourable incidents, and laid ſiege to that place; concluding that they ſhould take it before any relief could be given. The activity and rapid movements of Arthur diſappointed their views. Forſaking the advantage which might have ariſen by purſuing his late ſucceſs; in the true ſpirit of chivalry, he flew to the aſſiſtance of his nephew, and raiſed the ſiege. In reſentment of this act of hoſtility in the Picts, which had wreſted from him the fruits of his victory,

[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 141. Langhorni, Chr. Angl. p. 62.
[2] Ibid. p. 141.
[3] Dun Barton.

Arthur

Arthur laid waſte their country; and it was only preſerved from meditated ruin by the interceſſion of the Scottiſh biſhops.[1]

The late victories having for the preſent ſecured the public peace, Howel the king of Armorica returned into his own kingdom.[2]

After the defeat of Cerdic, this prince had remained quiet in his own dominions, expecting a ſupply from Germany.[3] On the arrival of this reinforcement, he ravaged the Britiſh territories; and Arthur, though weakened by the numerous battles he had fought, endeavoured by every means in his power to repel ſo formidable an enemy. The fortune of the war remained ſome time uncertain; but Cerdic having at length gained a compleat victory, the Britons were thrown into deſpair of being ever able to ſubdue the Saxons. Under the influence of this impreſſion, and fearing leſt he ſhould wear out the ſtrength of his remaining troops by continuing the war, Arthur found it neceſſary to negotiate with Cerdic; and to cede to him a part of his dominions, rather than to hazard the whole upon the iſſue of arms. In conſequence of this negotiation, a peace was concluded, by the ſurrender of the counties of Hants and Somerſet. The Saxon prince, fatigued with the toils of a long war, and deſirous of repoſe,

[1] Langhorni Chr. Angl. p. 63. Matth. Weſt. p. 141. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 288.

[2] Rapin's Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 37.

[3] Ranulph Higden. lib. V. p. 225. Langhorni, Chron. Angl. Reg. p. 68.

readily

readily agreed to the terms; and at this time founded the kingdom of Weſſex, or of the Weſt Saxons.[1]

A. D. 527. At this period, the Angles arrived on the eaſtern coaſt of Britain; and in the courſe of time and ſlow progreſs of conqueſt, forced the natives to abandon that country; on which theſe people ſettled, and founded the fifth kingdom by the name of the Eaſt Angles.[2]

The peace of Armorica having been diſturbed by an inſurrection in that ſtate, Howel ſent into Britain to ſolicit aſſiſtance; and the martial ſpirit of Arthur being unemployed at this time, he repaired in perſon to the relief of his nephew; and reſtored the quiet of that country by ſlaying with his own hands the leader of the rebellion.[3] Cerdic, taking advantage of the abſence of king Arthur, and encouraged by the arrival of the Angles, broke the peace he had lately concluded; and being ſeconded by the valour of his ſon Cenric, he extended his conqueſts, by gaining
A. D. 527. a ſignal victory over the Britons at Cerdic-leah, ſuppoſed to be in Buckinghamſhire.[4] In this ſeaſon of danger, Arthur returned from the continent; and his preſence compoſed, in ſome meaſure, the diſordered ſtate of his kingdom.[5]

[1] Fabian, p. 94. Langhorni, Chr. Ang. Reg. p. 69. Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 225. Gale's Script.

[2] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 73. Matt. Weſt. p. 142. [3] Langhorni, p. 74.

[4] Saxon Chron. p. 18. [5] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 74.

The

The king of Armorica, being fearful of an invaſion from the *Viſigoths*, once more deſired the aſſiſtance of Arthur; and that prince, deſerting the patriotiſm which had in general directed his conduct, left his own country in this perilous ſituation, to give aſſiſtance to his kinſman. He appointed, during his abſence, his nephew Mordred* regent of the kingdom, and entruſted to his care Gueniver† his wife.[1] He had ſcarcely left his dominions, when Cerdic, again taking advantage of his abſence, reduced the Iſle of Wight.[2] But a blow more fatal to his intereſts and his feelings immediately followed. The regent, being captivated with the beauty of the Britiſh queen, and regardleſs of the duties which he owed to honour and to gratitude, had a criminal intercourſe with that princeſs, and afterwards publicly married her.[3] There are crimes of ſuch a nature, as to urge men, on the principle of ſelf-preſervation, to plunge ſtill deeper in guilt. In ſuch a ſituation was the regent, who had no other means of avoiding the juſt vengeance of Arthur, than by accompliſhing his ruin. The more effectually to promote this deſign, he entered into an alliance with Cerdic; and to engage him more ſtrongly in his intereſts, he ceded to him the dutchy of Cornwall, with the counties of Suſſex and Surry, of Berks, Wilts, Devon, and Dorſet.[4] Supported by ſuch a powerful alliance, Mordred was immediately crowned at London.[5]

A. D. 530.

* *Meddrawd.* † *Gwenhwyfar.*

[1] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 78.
[2] Saxon Chron. p. 18.
[3] Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 78. Matth. Weſtm. p. 144.
[4] Langhorni, p. 79. [5] Ibid. Matt. Weſt. p. 144. Fabian, p. 94.

After

A. D. 535. After a ſtay of five years in Armorica, Arthur returned into Britain.[1] The conduct of that prince, waſting in romantic enterprizes ſuch an intereſting period, was ſo oppoſite to the dictates of natural feelings and of policy, that ſober reflection is inclined to reject it as a legendary fable. Indeed a judicious recital of events in theſe ages is peculiarly difficult; directed, or rather bewildered in his way by the glimmering of imperfect and partial records, the hiſtorian can only judge of the reality of incidents, by what is probable and conſiſtent.

On the return of Arthur into Britain, he was joined by many officers and ſoldiers, in conſideration of the renown and eſteem which he had acquired. With this ſmall body of troops, he had to contend with the Saxons, the regent Mordred, and with the Picts, who had lately joined in the alliance.[2] However unequal the conteſt in point of numbers, that deficiency was balanced by the abilities of Arthur; who by the reſources of his genius was enabled, with great advantage, to carry on the war ſeven years; until at length, purſuing his enemies from one place to another, he drove them into Cornwall; and a battle enſued at Camlan,[3] between the two rivals, which decided the fortune of the war.[4] This action proved fatal to the Britons, as their beſt ſoldiers in both armies were ſlain;[5] and the two princes, engaging with great fury, periſhed by each other's ſword. The traitor Mordred im-

A. D. 542.

[1] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 82. M. Weſt. p. 144. [2] Langhorni, p. 82.
[3] Camden's Brit. p. 194. Holland's tranſlation.
[4] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 82—88. [5] Ibid.

mediately fell by the hand of Arthur.[1] The latter prince, ſorely wounded, was carried to Glaſtonbury Abbey;* and after lingering a few days, died, and was interred there,[2] with Gueniver his ſecond and beſt beloved wife.[3] Thus fell by the hand of treaſon, full of days and of glory, the renowned Arthur. Such was the veneration in which this celebrated warrior was held by the Britons, that for many ages they could not be perſuaded he was dead, but fondly expected his return from foreign countries to reinſtate the Britiſh empire.

During the late reigns, the ancient Britons had attained to the meridian of their glory; but the period aſſigned for the cloſe of their empire drew nigh, though the beams which brightened its decline lingered for a time in the weſt; until gradually receding from the ſight, not a ſingle ray remained upon the horizon.

The death of Arthur decided the fate of Britain. The ſplendour which had diſtinguiſhed the late æra, deriving its luſtre from the virtue of a few individuals, became clouded by oppoſite qualities in the princes of the ſucceeding period. Before Arthur expired, he appointed his nephew Conſtantine, the ſon of Cador duke of Cornwall, to ſucceed him in his dignity;[4] but this elevation could only extend to his hereditary dominions, as the ſove-

1 Langhorni, p. 82—88. * *Ynys Afallon*, or *Ynys Wydrin*.

2 Langhorni, p. 88. 3 De Antiq. Glaſtonb. p. 306. Gale's Script.

4 Ranulph Higden. Gale's Script. p. 225. Langhorni, p. 86. Matth. Weſtm. p. 145. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 358.

A. D. 542. reignty of Britain was purely elective.[1] However he was called to that dignity by the voice of the people.[2] During his reign, the Saxons, having eſpouſed the cauſe of the ſons of Mordred the late regent, with a view no doubt of fomenting diviſions; thoſe two princes, after bloody wars with Conſtantine, and with various ſucceſs, were obliged to give up the conteſt. One of theſe unfortunate youths having fled for ſanctuary into the church of St. Amphibalus in Wincheſter, was there cruelly murdered by the Britiſh king; and the other, taking refuge in a convent in London, was maſſacred at the altar, a little time after, by the ſame prince.[3] At length, this king, being harraſſed by the Saxons, retired to his hereditary dominions of Cornwall;[4] and, ſtruck with remorſe for the late murders, or ſinking into the ſuperſtition of the age, he renounced the world, and engaged in a religious life.[5] This prince was the laſt king of Britain of the Cornwall family.[6]

Encouraged by the death of Arthur, and the diſmay of the Britons in conſequence of that event, a large body of Saxons
A. D. 547. under the command of Ida landed in Yorkſhire; and with the conſent of their countrymen who were already ſettled there, founded the kingdom of Northumberland.[7]

[1] Langhorni, p. 101. Rowland, p. 171. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132.
[2] Rowland, p. 184.
[3] Ran. Higden, p. 225. Gale's Script. Langhorni, p. 101. Matth. Weſtm. p. 145. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 359. Gildas Epiſtola, p. 10.
[4] Rowland, p. 146. [5] Ibid. p. 187. Langhorni, p. 117.
[6] Rowland, p. 170. [7] Saxon Annals, p. 19.

Mael-

Maelgwyn the king of North Wales endowed, at this time, A. D. 552. the See of Bangor, with lands and franchiſes:[1] he likewiſe erected the town of that name;[2] and alſo built or repaired Shrewſbury, and the caſtle of Harlech.[3] It was at Bangor that this prince, ſtruck, as it is ſaid, with remorſe for the crimes of his paſt life, reſolved to devote himſelf to the auſterities of a cloiſter; but he ſoon renounced that deſign, and returned to the affairs of government, and to his old habits of criminal pleaſures.[4]

At this period, when the Saxons had conquered a great part of Britain, and had made their approaches to the borders of Cambria, that country appears to have been divided into ſix principalities. And in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs, the people of thoſe diſtricts aſſembled at the mouth of the river Dyvi, and elected Maelgwyn to the ſovereign dignity.[5] The A. D. 560. choice of the Britons, in ſuch a dangerous criſis, reflects ſome degree of honour on this prince; and ſeems to contradict the character given of him by Gildas, who has cenſured him in the true ſpirit of monaſtic ſeverity.

Upon the death of Maelgwyn, his ſon Rhun ſucceeded to the A. D. 560. government of North Wales.[6] This prince had a long and bloody war with the Saxons of Northumberland; and on his

[1] Rowland, p. 187. [2] Langhorni, p. 98. [3] J. Roſſi, Ant. Warw. p. 65. Gildas Epiſtola, p. 12. Gale's Scriptores. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 147.
[5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 63. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132.
[6] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 187.

return into Wales, he gave great privileges to the inhabitants of Caernarvonſhire, as a recompence for having detained them ſo long from their families on that northern expedition.[1] This prince reſided at Caer Rhun, ſituated upon the banks of the river Conway;[2] and at his death was ſucceeded by his ſon Beli.[3]

A. D. 586.

At this period, arrived Crida with a numerous body of Saxons; and having forced the Britons beyond the Severn, he founded the kingdom of Mercia; the greateſt and the laſt principality of the Saxon heptarchy.[4] The eſtabliſhment of theſe ſeven kingdoms narrowed the bounds of the Britiſh dominions. Preſſed on every ſide by advancing enemies, and weakened by inceſſant wars, the Britons were at length obliged to retire before the Saxon arms. But they retired indignant, and by ſlow degrees, to make another ſtruggle for liberty amidſt the mountains of Wales; a country which had been formed by nature as the ſuitable retreat, and the laſt aſylum of freedom.

Many Britons likewiſe retired into Cornwall and Armorica; and the latter country, about this time, took the name of Bretaigne,[5] on account of the great number of the refugees who had ſettled in it.

The native Britons being in a great meaſure exterminated, or forced to fly into other countries, and the Saxons having carried

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 164. [2] Ibid. p. 148. [3] Ibid. p. 187.
[4] Matth. Weſtm. p. 150. [5] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132, 133.

on

on their conqueſts with the ſame deſtructive ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed the other northern nations, the government of the conquerors, their laws, manners and language, with the names alſo of many of their cities, villages, rivers and woods,[1] were of conſequence introduced into Britain; and became ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed, that almoſt the remembrance of ancient inſtitutions was loſt.

In reflecting on the many cauſes which have contributed to the decline of the ancient Britiſh empire, *one* will perhaps occur which may be thought more ſtriking than the reſt. This defect in the national character of the Britons, was an almoſt uniform negligence in eſtabliſhing a naval power; although experience, and a maritime ſituation, pointed out its expediency; as the only effectual means of contending with the Saxons, and of counteracting their deſigns. This mode of defence was ſo obvious, that it might have ſtruck the minds of any people, more rude than the Britons, who were ſituated in an iſland, and expoſed to continual invaſions.

[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 133.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE SAXONS AND WELSH, TO THE DEATH OF RODERIC THE GREAT.

The Britiſh empire being reduced to the narrow limits of Cambria, except the ſmall territories of Cornwall and Strath-Clyde, that country about this period took the name of Wales. The inhabitants, likewiſe, with their ancient ſituation loſt the title of Britons, and became diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Welſh. Poſſeſſed of the warlike ſpirit which marked the Britiſh character, they carried into their mountains that rooted inveteracy againſt the Saxons, which hereditary wars, heightened by every injury, would naturally excite. The ſame ſeverity of fortune which diſtinguiſhed the ancient Britons, awaited the deſcendants of that brave people in their laſt aſylum; as the conqueſt of this barren domain became the object of ambition, and policy, to the Saxon and Norman princes.

ABOUT this period, the province of *Cymru*, or Wales, appears to have been divided into ſix principalities, and governed by ſo many Reguli;[1] acknowledging, however, the ſupremacy of the kings of North Wales. This region extended about two hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth;[2] and was ſeparated from England* by the rivers Severn and Dee, and ſurrounded on every other ſide by the Iriſh ſea.[3] The inhabitants in the Britiſh language were denominated *Cymry*; and they called the Saxons *Saeſon*, and their language *Saeſonaeg*.[4] A. D. 599.

AT this period Jago ap Beli reigned in North Wales, and founded the Deanry of Bangor.[5] His ſon Cadvan ſoon after ſucceeded to that dignity.[6] The early part of this prince's reign was diſtinguiſhed by the battle of Cheſter,[7] and by the memorable maſſacre of the monks of Bangor. A. D. 599. A. D. 603.

EDELFRID the king of Northumberland, having obtained an advantage over the northern Britons, turned his arms againſt the Welſh; who were at that time in poſſeſſion of Cheſter. On his arrival near that city, his army being drawn up in front of the enemy, he perceived a body of men without military appear-

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 63.

[2] Ibid. p. 57. Verſtegan, chap. I. p. 1. * *Llocgr.*

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 50. [4] Ibid. p. 13, 51. [5] Rowland, p. 187. [6] Ibid. p. 188.

[7] Called by the Britons Caer-Lleon-ar-Ddyfrdwy, or the city of the legions upon the water of Dee; the Saxons called it Legan-Ceſtre, and afterwards by abbreviation Cheſter; it appears in Antoninus, that it was called in Latin Deva, from the river Dee. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 27.

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ance, who were ſtationed in a place of ſecurity. Struck with the novelty of the fight, he enquired into the cauſe; and was told that they were monks from the monaſtery of Bangor, who had come to offer up their prayers for the proſperous event of the day. Enraged with an oppoſition ſo ſingular in its nature, and ſtimulated by hatred of a religion which threatened the deſtruction of Paganiſm, Edelfrid ordered his army to aſſault this defenceleſs and pious troop, who had already faſted and prayed for the ſpace of three days. Twelve hundred of theſe unfortunate Religious were cut in pieces; fifty only of the whole number preſent in the battle having eſcaped the enemy's ſword. Brochmael,* prince of Powys, having deſerted their protection, had fled out of the field with his ſoldiers, on the firſt advance of the Saxons.

This unfavourable omen might naturally have cooled the ardour of a people leſs ſuperſtitious than the Welſh: but it ſeems that they regarded this act of Edelfrid as an impious ſacrilege; and though in the action which enſued, or in the purſuit, they were terribly ſlaughtered, it appears however, by the great loſs which their enemies ſuſtained, that they made a ſpirited reſiſtance.[t] After the battle, the Saxon prince marched to Bangor, a Britiſh monaſtery ſituated on the banks of the river Dee; and with a barbariſm peculiar to the Goths, deſtructive of thoſe arts

* *Brochwel Ysgithrog.*

[t] Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 150. Bede, lib. II. cap. II. p. 80. Saxon Chron. p. 25. William Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 17.

which

which ſoften and improve human nature, he entirely laid waſte that ancient and celebrated ſeminary of learning, and committed to the flames its valuable library.[1] Edelfrid then attempted to penetrate into Wales; but his paſſage over the Dee at Bangor was diſputed by the prince of Powys, who gallantly ſuſtained the charge until relieved by Cadvan the king of North Wales, by Meredydh the king of South Wales, and Bledrus the ſovereign of Cornwall.[2] When the confederated princes had joined their forces, they called in religion to their aid. Dunothus,* the abbot of Bangor, made an oration to the army; and, before the action commenced, gave orders, that the ſoldiers ſhould kiſs the ground in commemoration of the communion of the body of Chriſt, and ſhould take up water into their hands out of the river Dee, and drink it in remembrance of his ſacred blood, which was ſhed for them.[3] Animated by this act of devotion, which in theſe times had a powerful influence on the mind, and ſtung with reſentment for the diſgrace and injuries they had lately received, the Welſh encountered the Saxons with great bravery, entirely defeated them, with the loſs of above ten thouſand men; and obliged Edelfrid, with the remainder of his army, to retreat into their own country.[4] There was ſomething ſingular in the fortunate event of that day, as an act of retaliative juſtice, and as

[1] Langhorni, p. 151. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 71.

[2] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 72. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 369.

* *Dinoeth.* [3] Langhorni, p. 151. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 72.

[4] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 371. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 72. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 151.

it ſeverely puniſhed, in the fight of Bangor, the recent deſolation of its monaſtery.

In conſequence of this victory, Cadvan king of North Wales
A. D. 613. was elected at Cheſter to the ſovereignty of Britain;[1] but in the preſent loſs of empire, that dignity could extend no farther, than to command the united forces of the remaining Britons.

On the death of Cadvan, his ſon Cadwallon ſucceeded to the kingdom of North Wales.[2] This prince carried his arms into Northumberland againſt Edwin the king of Deira, who had been educated in the court of Cadwallon; but a violent animoſity had of late ariſen between the two princes.[3] The Britiſh king, advancing againſt the Saxon prince into Northumberland, was routed by Edwin, in a bloody battle fought at Widdrington;* who purſuing his good fortune, extended his conqueſts over all the Britiſh territories in Wales, as well as the iſlands of Mona and Man.[4]

During theſe tranſactions, Cadwallon had taken refuge in Ireland.[5] After an abſence of ſome years, this prince recovered his dominions. An union of intereſts having engaged him in

[1] Verſtegan, Geoff. Monmouth, &c. ibid. [2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

[3] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 372, 376. Vaughan of Hengwrt's Diſſertation on Britiſh Chron. taken from the Triades. * *Dinwydr.*

[4] Matt. Weſt. p. 165. Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. cap. IX. p. 87. William Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 18. Script. poſt Bedam. Vaughan of Hengwrt's Diſſertation on Britiſh Chron. taken from the Triades. [5] Ibid.

an

an alliance with Penda king of Mercia, the two princes, with their joint forces, made a rapid movement into Yorkſhire, and entirely defeated the Northumbrian king in Hatfield foreſt.[1] A. D. 633. Edwin and his ſon fell in the battle, and left their country expoſed to the ferocious ſpirit of the confederated princes.[2] A ſcene of deſolation followed this victory, but Cadwallon ſurpaſſed his Pagan aſſociate in cruelty and mercileſs ravages.[3]

On the death of Edwin, Edfridus ſucceeded to the kingdom of Bernicia; and being nearly related to Penda by his mother, fled to the Mercian prince for protection.[4] Cadwallon retiring to York, carried on from thence his furious depredations.[5] At this juncture, Oſric aſſumed the crown of Deira;* and in hopes by one blow to take revenge for his deſolated country, he inveſted that city; but, in a ſally made by Cadwallon, he was ſlain, and A. D. 634. his army defeated.[6] His aſſociate, the king of Bernicia, ſeeing their utmoſt exertions ſink under the ſuperior valour or fortune of the Britiſh prince, attempted to try the arts of negotiation. With this view he came to treat with Cadwallon in perſon, with only twelve ſoldiers in his train; but in return for ſuch an inſtance of generous confidence, the Saxon prince, with his attendants,

[1] Bede, lib. II. cap. XX. p. 101. Brompton's Chron. p. 284.

[2] Saxon Chron. p. 29. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. p. 176.

[3] Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 182. J. Brompton's Chron. p. 784. Wm. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 18. Gale's Script.

[4] Bede, lib. III. cap. I. p. 103. Brompton's Chron. p. 784, 785. Langhorni, p. 182. [5] Matth. Weſtm. p. 167. * *Deifr.*

[6] Ibid. Langhorni, p. 184. Brompton's Chron. p. 785.

were baſely aſſaſſinated.[1] This outrage fully juſtifies the character of a cruel and faithleſs tyrant, given to this prince by the Saxon writers.[2]

A. D. 635. At this time, Cadwallon was choſen king of the Britons, very probably on account of his late ſucceſs, and his ability to carry on the war.[3]

The Britiſh king, after this act of violence, ſtill continued to deſolate the country, until his career was checked by Oſwald; who, ſucceeding to the crowns of Deira and Bernicia,* united them into the kingdom of Northumberland.[4] This prince, who at this time had embraced the Chriſtian religion, was yet in his early youth, and had collected a ſmall and determined band to oppoſe Cadwallon and his victorious army: and when the Britiſh king marched to attack the Saxons, he proceeded with all the ſecurity and inſolence which a contempt of enemies, and the pride of victory, are apt to inſpire. But Oſwald, ſenſible of the greatneſs of the object for which he contended, acted with the utmoſt circumſpection. With a view to heighten the ardour of his troops by religious enthuſiaſm, or to draw down proſperity on his arms by an act of devotion, he ordered a croſs to be erected on the field of battle, to ſerve as the ſtandard of the army. At this pious work Oſwald himſelf aſſiſted; and the moment

[1] Bede Eccl. Hiſt. lib. III. cap. I. p. 103. Brompton's Chron. p. 786. Matth. Weſtm. p. 167. Langhorni Chr. p. 184.

[2] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 66. [3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

* *Bryneich.* [4] Brompton's Chron. p. 785. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 13.

be-

before the trumpet ſounded the charge, that prince, accompanied by his army, kneeled at the foot of the croſs; appealed to heaven for the juſtice of his cauſe, and implored its aſſiſtance to confound the inſolence of his enemies. Fortified by theſe acts of piety in their ſovereign, the Saxon troops early in the morning advanced to attack the enemy, and ſtormed their camp. In the action Cadwallon was ſlain; and the Welſh, driven into confuſion by the death of their prince, were routed, and almoſt entirely cut in pieces. This battle is ſaid to have happened at Deniſbourne in Northumberland.[1]

On the death of this prince, his ſon Cadwalader ſucceeded to the kingdom of North Wales, and to the ideal ſovereignty of Britain.[2] In the courſe of his reign, the irruptions of the Saxons had become more frequent; and a famine, with its uſual attendant a peſtilential diſtemper, had raged in Britain;[3] the conſequent evils of deſolating wars, and of a diſordered police. To avoid the common dangers of his country, a conduct which did not mark a magnanimous ſpirit, Cadwalader with numbers of his nobility and other ſubjects retired to Alan his kinſman, the king of Bretaigne; in whoſe court he found an hoſpitable reception.[4] From an uniform and perhaps a ſingular principle of affection, we have ſeen this country afford an aſylum to the Britons in every ſeaſon of adverſity.

A. D. 676.

A. D. 689.

[1] Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. III. cap. II. p. 104. W. Malmſbury, lib. I. cap. III. p. 19.

[2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132.

[3] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 8.

[4] Baker's Chron. p. 4. J. Fordun's Hiſt. Scot. Gale's Scriptor. p. 647.

After

After reſiding ſome time in the court of Bretaigne, Cadwalader prepared to return into Wales; having heard that the famine and peſtilence had ceaſed, and that the Saxons, with increaſing power, were endeavouring to extend their conqueſts.[1] With this view, he collected an army compoſed of his own ſubjects and his allies the Bretons, with a ſuitable fleet to tranſport them acroſs the channel.[2] A magnanimous prince, in ſuch a ſituation, would either have reſcued his country from its danger, or would have buried himſelf in its ruins. But at the moment that Cadwalader was going to embark, he was warned in a viſion, which he fancied to be a ſudden impulſe from heaven; and which directed him to lay aſide the cares of the world, to go immediately to Rome, and to receive holy orders from the hands of the Pope. This illuſion, the effect of a weak or a diſtempered mind, he communicated to the king of Bretaigne; who, probably from intereſted motives, took advantage of this incident to act on the weakneſs of this prince, and on the credulous ſpirit of his nation; a ſpirit which, in common with every other people in the ſame ſtage of refinement, always paid a high veneration to men, who, under the impulſe of a warm imagination, fancied themſelves to be endued with the power of revealing future events.

Having conſulted the prophetic books of the two *Merlins*,[3] which, by the Britons, were deemed as ſacred as the pages of the

[1] Baker's Chron. p. 4. Welſh Chron. by Carodoc of Llancarvan, and re-publiſhed by Dr. Powel, p. 3. [2] Ibid.

[3] There were two of that name; the firſt, called Merddyn Wyllt, was born in Scotland; the other, called Merddyn Emrys, was born at Caermarthen. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 79. Lewis Morris.

Roman *Sybils*; Alan told him, that they predicted the ruin of the Britiſh empire, until the time that the bones of king Cadwalader ſhould be brought back from Rome. He then adviſed him to act up to the patriotic deſign, and to follow the impulſe of his viſion. Thus confirmed in the deluſion, Cadwalader proceeded to Rome; and agreeably to the intereſted views of the Roman pontiffs, was kindly received by Pope Sergius. After he had ſubmitted to have his head ſhaven, and to be initiated into the order of white monks, this Britiſh king lived eight years as a religious recluſe;[1] exemplary in the piety of thoſe days, but in a ſituation unworthy of a prince; as it ſecluded him from the practice of active virtue, and of conſequence from promoting the real intereſts of his people; for which great end alone princes are delegated to rule mankind.

THE death of Cadwalader cloſed the imperial dignity which had been annexed many ages to the Britiſh government.[2] The Welſh princes of later times uſually reſided at Diganwy[3] on the water of Conway,* and at Caer Segont[4] near Caernarvon.[5] A. D. 703.

CADWALADER having thus, in the weakneſs of ſuperſtition, abdicated his throne; and his ſon Edwal,† yet a minor, being

[1] Wynne Hiſt. Wales, p. 10, 11.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 5. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 66.

[3] Famous in Tacitus by the name of Cangorum (the people there being called Cangi) and called afterwards Gannock by the Engliſh. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 66.

* *Cynwy*.

[4] Called by the Romans Segontium.

[5] Caer-yn-ar-von; the city oppoſite Mona. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 65. Wynne Hiſt. Wales, p. 12.

† *Edwal Iwrch*.

under

under the protection of Alan, this latter prince appears to have thrown off the maſk; and to have been deſirous of realizing the proſpects of ambition, which the late event had opened to his view. Under colour, no doubt, of acting for the common cauſe, he attached to his ſervice thoſe Welſh who had been the followers of the late prince; and with theſe troops and a body of his own ſubjects, under the command of his ſon Ivor, a deſcent was made on the weſtern coaſt of Britain. Alarmed at this dangerous invaſion, the Saxons oppoſed Ivor with their accuſtomed ſpirit and reſolution.[1] But that prince, having defeated them with great ſlaughter, gained poſſeſſion of Cornwall, Devon, and Somerſet.[2] To oppoſe this invaſion, become formidable by the acquiſition of theſe territories to Ivor, Kentwyn, king of the weſt Saxons, drew together a conſiderable force. Each of the princes, ſenſible of the importance of the conteſt, ſeemed unwilling to put it to the deciſion of arms: in the end, the arts of love and negotiation prevailed; and Ivor, ſatisfied with the conqueſts already made, agreed to marry Ethelburga, the couſin of the Saxon prince. By this marriage, by the death of Kentwyn, and by Cedwell the nephew of that Saxon prince retiring to Rome, Ivor became ſovereign of the weſtern part of Britain; including the Saxon and Britiſh territories. Wearied, at length, with the cares of government, or ſinking into the ſuperſtition of the age, or ſtruck with remorſe for his paſt injuſtice, this prince withdrew from the cares of royalty, and buried himſelf in the receſſes of

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 7, 8.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 8. by Carodoc of Llancarvan, tranſlated by Dr. Powel, about 1584.

a cloiſter.

a cloiſter. As a more effectual atonement for the injuries which had been done to the family of Cadwalader, he left to Roderic Moelwynoc, the grandſon of that prince, his Britiſh dominions.[1]

Roderic had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of his territories, than Adelred, who ſucceeded Ivor in the Saxon part of his dominions, invaded Devonſhire; and with fire and ſword carried deſolation through the country. He was proceeding with the like ravages into Cornwall; but was met upon the confines by the Britons, who defeated his forces, and obliged him to retreat into his own dominions.[2] A. D. 720. A. D. 721.

The fertile and pleaſant lands which are ſituated between the Severn and the Wye, tempted Ethelbald to form the deſign of annexing them to his Mercian kingdom. With this view, he invaded that part of the country with a powerful army, and proceeded with the uſual devaſtations as far as Carno mountain near Abergavenny.* On this mountain he was oppoſed by the Welſh, and a fierce and bloody battle enſued, which was not however deciſive in favour of either party.[3] The ſame prince, ſome years after, having formed an alliance with Adelred, king of the Weſt Saxons, theſe princes marched their united forces into Wales. Though the danger was imminent, and their powers A. D. 728.

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 15. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 15. * *Abergefni.*

[3] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 16. At this time (A. D. 734.) died the venerable Bede. Flores Hiſt. Matt. Weſt. p. 203.

of reſiſtance comparatively ſmall, the Welſh, with great ſpirit, oppoſed the combined princes; and a well conteſted action, and miſerable ſlaughter on both ſides enſued, until the former were overpowered by ſuperiority of numbers. Diſpirited by this defeat, and taking advantage of a rupture which had ariſen between Ethelbald and Cudred, who had ſucceeded to the throne of the Weſt Saxons, the Welſh entered into an alliance with the latter prince. Elated however with his late victory, and regardleſs of this acceſſion to their power, Ethelbald attempted another invaſion of Wales, and advanced as far as Hereford.[1] At that place, likewiſe, he met with a ſpirited reſiſtance from the Welſh; and by the aſſiſtance of their allies, they gave him a ſignal overthrow.[2] But a reconciliation taking place between the Saxon kings, Cudred withdrew from the intereſts of the Welſh, and joined his forces with thoſe of Ethelbald. The military proweſs of their allies being thus taken from the Welſh, the ſcale was turned; and in another battle which ſoon after enſued with the Saxons, they were entirely diſcomfited.[3]

A. D. 733.

A. D. 746.

A DARK cloud at this period ſettled over the Britiſh hemiſphere; and the few governments which ſtill remained amidſt the ruins of time, except thoſe of Wales, became extinguiſhed one after the other. Eadbert, the king of Northumberland, an active and valiant prince, turned his arms againſt the Strath-Clyde Britons,

[1] Anciently called Henffordd, or the old road of Engliſhmen. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 74.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 17.

[3] Henry Huntingdon, p. 340. Script. poſt Bedam. Matt. Weſt. p. 206. Brompton, p. 768.

and

and made himſelf maſter of Caer-ar-Clwyd, the capital of their dominions.[1] The weſtern part of Britain, likewiſe, which had been under the ſovereignty of Roderic Moelwynoc, the ſon of Edwal, was at this time conquered by the Saxons; and that prince forced to retire into North Wales. The government of this country had been poſſeſſed by the two ſons of Bledrus the prince of Cornwall, ever ſince Cadvan had been elected to the ſovereign dignity; and, however ſingular the incident may appear, Roderic ſeems to have been quietly permitted to enjoy his right as ſoon as he had announced his claim.[2] This prince ſoon after died, and left two ſons, Cynan Tindaethwy and Howel.[3] He uſually reſided at Caer Segont on the ſtraits of the Menai in Caernarvonſhire.[4] A. D. 750. A. D. 750.

Amidst the continual wars which had ſo long harraſſed the Saxons and the Welſh, neither of theſe people had much leiſure to attend to maritime affairs; and the naval power of Britain was of courſe inconſiderable; however the attention which was given to this neceſſary meaſure, was, at this time, only to be found in the ports of Wales.[5]

Cynan Tindaethwy, the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed prince, ſucceeded to the throne of North Wales.[6] The late ſucceſs of the Saxons in the weſtern part of Britain encouraged them in the deſign of extending their dominions, and inſpired them with a A. D. 755.

1 Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 287. Simon Dunelme, p. 105. Sammes's Ant. of Britain, p. 546. 2 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.
3 Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 17, 18. 4 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 172.
5 Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. of Brit. p. 58. 6 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

confident expectation of being able to make an eaſy conqueſt of Wales. In the purſuit of this deſign they proceeded as far as Hereford; but on that frontier they were again fiercely received by the Welſh; and the battle very probably ended in favour of the latter, hiſtory being ſilent as to the event and further progreſs of the invaſion.[1]

A. D. 763. At this time Offa reigned in Mercia.[2]

The eaſineſs of approach to the fertile plains of South Wales invited continual inroads; and conſequently, that country was more harraſſed, and ſooner narrowed in its boundaries, than the mountainous territory of North Wales. The inhabitants of
A. D. 776. South Wales, fired with reſentment at reiterated injuries, roſe up in arms, entered Mercia with fire and ſword, and retaliated on the Saxons their uſual devaſtations. They ſoon after made other ſucceſsful inroads; and obliging their enemies to retire beyond the Severn, returned into their own country with a conſiderable quantity of cattle. Allured by the proſpect of ſpoil, and animated by their late ſucceſs, inſtead of acting upon the defenſive, which had hitherto been the utmoſt exertion of the Welſh, a new plan of operation took place; a ſpirit of enterprize enſued; and by ſudden and frequent incurſions into Mercia, they enriched themſelves, avenged their national injuries, and filled the Saxon borders with continual alarm, and devaſtation.[3]

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 18. [2] Saxon Annal. p. 59. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 19.

These

These unuſual and formidable exertions in the Welſh induced Offa to enter into a league with the other Saxon princes; that with their united ſtrength they might at once deſtroy, or give a check to this enterpriſing ſpirit.[1] A conſiderable army, in conſequence, paſſed the Severn into Wales; but the Welſh, too weak to encounter ſo great a force, retreated to the mountains; and the Saxons likewiſe, unable to penetrate with advantage the natural fortifications of the country, returned into Mercia.[2] Offa, ſenſible of the evils produced by theſe inroads, and unable to prevent them, agreeably to the policy of his military anceſtors, planted a colony of Saxons in the country near the Severn* and Wye;[3] whoſe immediate intereſt it became, to confine to the mountains the valour and reſtleſs activity of the Welſh. To mark the confines of each country, or to give greater ſecurity to his own, he likewiſe cauſed a deep dyke and a high rampart to be made, which extended a hundred miles over rocks and mountains, and acroſs deep vallies and rivers, from the water of Dee to the mouth of the Wye.[4] This great work ſtill retains the ancient name of Clawdh Offa, or Offa's Dyke; and is an evidence of the ignorance and barbariſm of the age, having been raiſed with immenſe labour, but directed to no important uſe, either to mark the boundaries, or as a line of defence between hoſtile nations. The large towns and cities ſituated to the eaſt of the Severn and Dee, were probably built at this period; to check the irruptions

A. D. 780.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 19. [2] Ibid. * *Hafren* and *Gwy*.

[3] Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 292.

[4] Welſh Chron. p. 19. Langhorni Chron. Ang. p. 292. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 51.

of

of the Welſh by a ſtrong line of frontier poſts.[1] The villages likewiſe on the eaſt ſide of Clawdh Offa, whoſe names terminate in *ton* or *ham*, were about this time inhabited by Saxons,[2] who were uſually called *Gwyr-y-mars*, or the men of Mercia; though in after times the Welſh ſettled on each ſide of the Dyke.[3]

The change which this innovation had made in Powys, by narrowing its boundaries; and Shrewſbury having been lately taken by the Saxons, made it neceſſary to remove the royal reſidence of the princes of Powys, from that town to Mathraval,[4] ſituated in the preſent county of Montgomery.[5]

Though an interval of peace had given Offa the opportunity of finiſhing this celebrated Dyke, the Welſh were not inſenſible of the diſhonour and injury done to their country. But concealing their feelings under the maſk of indifference, they ſecretly concerted the plan of its deſtruction; and acting, by previous agreement, with the kings of Northumberland and of the South Saxons, with whom they were then in alliance, they ſuddenly beſet Clawdh Offa in the night of St. Stephen's day, the night itſelf being extremely dark; and aſſiſted alſo by the country people, they broke down the rampart, and in a ſhort time filled up and levelled the Dyke to the length of a bow-ſhot. Early in the

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 26. [2] Ibid. p. 51. [3] Ibid. p. 50.

[4] Its ancient name was Pengwern, or the head of a place where alders grow, and was the ſeat of the kings of Powys; whence the Saxon term Schrewſbury is derived, Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 27.

[5] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.

morning,

morning, they aſſailed the camp of king Offa,[1] and ſlew great numbers of his ſoldiers; who, depending on the truce, were either aſleep or unarmed, or had given themſelves up to the pleaſures, or to the religious obſervance, of the feſtival.[2]

The Saxon prince inſtantly rallied his forces, and ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy; but his troops, all in confuſion and not properly armed, were intimidated, and could not ſuſtain the onſet of the Welſh; and it was not without great difficulty and ſlaughter, that they were able to bring off their leader, and recover their camp. On this diſaſter, Offa retired into his own dominions, meditating vengeance. The firſt impreſſion of his anger, on his return, for this inſulting violation of the truce, fell upon the hoſtages which were given by thoſe perſons who had lately broken the peace, whom he ordered to be more ſtrictly confined; and, ſtill unſatisfied with this ſeverity, their wives and families alſo were either ſold, or reſerved for perpetual ſlavery.[3]

Offa, ſtill breathing revenge, marched, ſome time after, into the confines of Wales, with a well equipped and formidable army; but for ſeveral years he was not able to make any impreſſion, being greatly annoyed by the Welſh; who, from their woods and mountains made continual irruptions upon his forces.[4] Both parties coming, at length, to a general engagement upon

[1] Suppoſed to be at Sutton Wallis near Hereford.

[2] Matth. Paris Monachi Albanenſis Vita Duorum Offarum Merciorum Regum, p. 975, 976.

[3] Matth. Paris Monachi Albanenſis, &c. p. 976.

[4] Matth. Paris vita Duorum Offarum, p. 976.

A. D. 795. Rhudd-lan marſh; the Welſh, under the command of Caradoc, a chieftain of the country, and deſcended from the houſe of Cornwall, were entirely defeated[1] with a dreadful ſlaughter; and their leader ſlain in the action.[2] Beſides this great loſs which the Welſh had ſuffered, the Saxon prince commanded all the children and the men, who unfortunately fell into his hands, to be maſſacred; the women ſcarcely eſcaping his fury.[3]

The memory of this tragical event has been carried down to poſterity, by an ancient ballad called Morva Rhudd-lan, the notes of which are moſt tenderly plaintive.

A. D. 796. Soon after this memorable event, died Offa, king of Mercia.[4] Some hiſtorians ſay that he was ſlain in the battle of Rhudd-lan, with Meredyth the prince of Pembroke.*[5]

It may not be unneceſſary here, after a tedious recital of inroads and battles, to give ſome relief to the reader's mind, by opening to his view the modes of life and private manners of the ancient Welſh.

We are indebted to Giraldus Cambrenſis, for the following very lively traits which he has tranſmitted of the manners of the

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 20.

[2] According to tradition, the remaining Welſh who had eſcaped the enemy's ſword, flying with precipitation over the marſh, periſhed in the water by the flowing of the tide. [3] Matth. Paris vita Duorum Offarum, p. 976. [4] Welſh Chron. p. 20.

* *Dyfed.* [5] Camden's Britannia, Gibſon's Notes on Flintſhire, p. 690, from Mſs. of Vaughan Hengwrt.

Welſh

Welſh nation; at a period when thoſe manners were pure and unadulterated by foreign intercourſe. And though this writer may, on ſome occaſions, ſink into credulous weakneſs, and be directed by a partial ſpirit, yet ſurely, in their great outlines, the repreſentations which he has given of manners, though himſelf a native of the country, muſt have been cloſely copied from original features, and muſt afford a ſtriking reſemblance of national character.

The Welſh[1] were a nation light and active, and more fierce than ſtrong; from the loweſt to the higheſt of the people they were devoted to arms, which the plowman as well as the courtier was prepared to ſeize on the firſt ſummons. Their uſual cuſtom in works of huſbandry was, that for oats they opened the ſoil, once only in March or April; and for wheat or rye, they turned it up, twice in the ſummer, and a third time in winter about the ſeaſon of thraſhing.

The chief ſuſtenance of this people, in reſpect of their food, was cattle and oats, beſides milk, cheeſe, and butter; though they uſually ate more plentifully of fleſh meat than of bread.

As they were not engaged in the occupations of traffic either by ſea or land, their time was entirely employed in military affairs. They were ſo anxious for the preſervation of their country and its liberties, that they eſteemed it delightful not only to fight for

[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itiner. cap. IV. V.

them, but even to ſacrifice their lives: and agreeably to this ſpirit, they entertained an idea, that it was a diſgrace to die in their beds, but an honour to fall in the field. Such was their eager courage, that although unarmed, they often dared to engage with men entirely covered with armour; and in ſuch engagements, by their activity and valour, they frequently came off conquerors. That their activity might not be impeded by any unneceſſary incumbrance, they made uſe of light armour; ſuch as ſmaller coats of mail, ſhields, and ſometimes of iron greaves. Their offenſive weapons were arrows and long ſpears. Their bows were uſually made of ſlight twigs joined or twiſted together; and though rude in their form, they diſcharged an arrow with great force. The people of North Wales were remarkable for ſpears ſo long and well pointed, that they could pierce through an iron coat of mail. The men of South Wales were accounted the moſt expert archers. The chieftains when they marched to war, were mounted on ſwift horſes, bred in the country; the lower ſorts of people, on account of the marſhes, as well as the inequalities of the ground, marched on foot to battle; though, whenever the occaſion or the place rendered it neceſſary for the purpoſes either of fighting or flying, the horſemen themſelves diſmounted and ſerved on foot.

The Welſh were accuſtomed to walk with their feet entirely bare; or, inſtead of ſhoes, they uſed boots of raw leather.

In the time of peace, the young men accuſtomed themſelves to penetrate the woods and thickets, and to run over the tops

of mountains; and by continuing this exerciſe through the day and night, they prepared themſelves for the fatigues and employments of war.

These people were not given to exceſs either in eating or drinking. They had no ſet time appointed for their meals, nor any expenſive richneſs in their clothes. Their whole attention was occupied in the ſplendid appearance of their horſes and arms, in the defence of their country, and in the care of their plunder. Accuſtomed to faſt from morning to night, their minds were wholly employed on their buſineſs; they gave up the day entirely to prudent deliberations, and in the evening they partook of a ſober ſupper. But if, at any time, it happened, that they were not able to procure any, or only a very ſparing repaſt, they patiently waited until the next morning; and in this ſituation, prevented neither by hunger nor cold, they were eager to take advantage of dark and ſtormy nights for hoſtile invaſions.

There was not a beggar to be ſeen among theſe people, for the tables of all were common to all; and with them bounty, and particularly hoſpitable entertainment, were in higher eſtimation than any of the other virtues. Hoſpitality, indeed, was ſo much the habit of this nation, by a mutual return of ſuch civilities, that it was neither offered to, nor requeſted by, travellers. As ſoon as they entered any houſe, they immediately delivered their arms into the cuſtody of a perſon in the family; and if they ſuffered their feet to be waſhed by thoſe, who for that purpoſe directly offered them water, they were conſidered as

lodgers for the night. The refuſal of this civility, intimated their deſire of a morning's refreſhment only. The offer of water for the purpoſe of waſhing the feet, was conſidered as an invitation to accept of hoſpitable entertainment. The young men uſually marched in parties, or in tribes, a leader being appointed to each; and as they were devoted to arms, or given up to leiſure, and were courageous in the defence of their country, they were permitted to enter the houſe of any perſon with the ſame ſecurity as their own. The ſtrangers, who arrived in the morning, were entertained until evening with the converſation of young women, and with the muſic of the harp; for in this country almoſt every houſe was provided with both. Hence we may reaſonably conclude, that the people were not much inclined to jealouſy. Such an influence had the habit of muſic on their minds, and its faſcinating powers, that in every family, or in every tribe, they eſteemed ſkill in playing on the harp beyond any kind of learning.

In the evening, when the viſitors were arrived, an entertainment was provided according to the number and dignity of the perſons, and the wealth of the houſe; on which occaſion the cook was not fatigued with dreſſing many diſhes, nor ſuch as were high ſeaſoned as ſtimulatives to gluttony; nor was the houſe furniſhed with tables, napkins, or towels; for in all theſe things they ſtudied nature more than ſhew. The gueſts were placed by *threes* at ſupper, and the diſhes at the ſame time were put on ruſhes, in large and ample platters made of clean graſs, with thin and broad cakes of bread, baked every day. At the ſame time that the whole family, with a kind of emulation in their civilities,

civilities, were in waiting; the maſter and miſtreſs in particular were always ſtanding, very attentively overlooking the whole. When the hour of ſleep approached, they all lay down in common on the public bed, ranged lengthwiſe along the ſides of the room; a few ruſhes being ſtrewed on the floor, and covered only with a coarſe cloth, the produce of the country. The ſame garb that the people were uſed to wear in the day, ſerved them alſo in the night; and this conſiſted of a thin mantle, and a garment or ſhirt worn next to the ſkin. The fire was kept burning at their feet throughout the night, as well as in the day.

The women of this nation, as well as the men, had their hair cut round at the ears and eyes. The women alſo, as a head dreſs, wore a large white robe, folding round, and riſing by degrees into a graceful tuft or crown. Both the men and the women were exceedingly attentive to the preſervation of their teeth; by conſtantly rubbing them with green hazel, probably the leaves or bark, and cleaning them with a woollen cloth, they kept their teeth as white as ivory; and to preſerve them ſtill more, they abſtained from every kind of hot food. The men were accuſtomed to ſhave the whole beard, leaving only a whiſker on the upper lip; they likewiſe cut ſhort or ſhaved the hair of their heads, that it might be no impediment to their activity in paſſing through the thick woods and foreſts that covered their country.

The Welſh, according to Giraldus, were a people of an acute and ſubtle genius. In civil cauſes and actions, they exerted all the powers of rhetoric; and, in the conduct of theſe, their talents

talents for inſinuation, invention, and refutation were conſpicuous. In rhythmical ſongs, and in extemporary effuſions, they are ſaid to be excellent, both in reſpect to invention and elegance of ſtyle; and for theſe purpoſes bards were appointed. But beyond all other rhetorical ornaments they preferred the uſe of alliteration; and that kind more eſpecially which repeats the firſt letters or ſyllables of words. They made ſo much uſe of this ornament in every finiſhed diſcourſe, that they thought nothing elegantly ſpoken without it.

In private company, or in ſeaſons of public feſtivity, they were very facetious in their converſation; with a view of entertaining the company and diſplaying their own wit. And perſons of lively parts, ſometimes in mild and ſometimes in ſarcaſtic terms, under the cover of a double meaning, by a peculiar turn of voice, or by the tranſpoſition of words, were continually uttering humorous, or ſatirical expreſſions.

The loweſt of the people, as well as the chieftains, were indebted to nature for a certain boldneſs in ſpeech, and an honeſt confidence in giving anſwers to great men on matters of buſineſs, or in the preſence of princes.

There were among the Welſh certain perſons whom they called *Awenydhion*, a word expreſſive of poetical raptures. Theſe perſons, when conſulted about any thing doubtful, inflamed with a high degree of enthuſiaſm, were, to all appearance, carried out of themſelves; and ſeemed as if they were poſſeſſed by an inviſible ſpirit.

ſpirit. Yet they did not immediately declare a ſolution of the difficulty required; but by the power of wild and inconſiſtent circumlocution, in which they abounded, any perſon who obſerved the anſwer would at length, by ſome turn or digreſſion in the ſpeech, receive, or fancy that he did, an explanation of what he ſought. From this ſtate of extacy they were at laſt rouſed, as from a deep ſleep; and were compelled, as it were, by the violence of others, to return to their natural ſtate. Another thing, it is ſaid, was peculiar to theſe perſons; that when they recovered their reaſon they did not recollect any of thoſe things which in their extacy they had uttered. And if it happened that they were again conſulted about the ſame or any other thing, they would be certain to expreſs themſelves in other and far different words. This property was beſtowed upon them, as they fancied, in their ſleep; at which time, according to Giraldus, it appeared to ſome of them as if new milk or honey was poured into their mouths; to others as if a written ſcroll had been put into their mouths; and on their awaking, they publicly profeſſed that they had been endowed with theſe extraordinary gifts. This imaginary ſpirit of divination, has been alſo in much uſage in the highlands of Scotland; and is there known under the expreſſive term of *Second Sight*.

Pride of anceſtry and nobility of family were points held in the higheſt eſtimation among the Welſh; and of courſe they were far more deſirous of noble than of rich and ſplendid marriages. So deeply rooted was this ſpirit, that even the very loweſt of the people carefully preſerved the genealogy of their families;

families; and were able from memory to recite the names, not only of their immediate anceſtors, but to the ſixth and ſeventh generation, and even to trace them ſtill farther back; in this manner, Rhys ap Gryffydh, ap Rhys, ap Tewdwr, ap Einion, ap Owen, ap Howel, ap Cadell, ap Roderic the Great.*

A WELSHMAN was conſidered as honourable, if among his anceſtors there had been neither ſlave, nor foreigner, nor infamous perſon.[1] Yet if any foreigner had ſaved the life of a Welſhman, or delivered him from captivity, he might be naturalized, and was entitled to the rights of Welſhmen. And any foreign family, having reſided in Wales for four generations, were alſo admitted to the ſame privileges.[2]

THE love which they felt for family connections was eager and warm; and of conſequence they were keen in their reſentments, and revenged deeply any injury committed on their family either of blood or diſhonour. They were vindictive and cruel in their anger; and exceedingly prompt to revenge not only recent injuries, but thoſe which had been committed a long time paſt, and even in a remote period. What ſpread ſtill farther this ſpirit of revenge, was a cuſtom prevalent among the Welſh, of ſending their children to be nurſed in other families. Theſe families, in conſequence, took under their protection the children they had foſtered; and always conſidered it as a high obligation on themſelves, to promote their intereſts, and to revenge

* The royal line of South Wales. [1] Howel Dha's Laws. [2] Ibid.

their

their injuries. This cuſtom, it is probable, principally prevailed in the families of chieftains and princes.[1]

The Welſh did not reſide in cities, villages, or camps; but, in general, led a ſolitary life in the woods.

On the borders of their foreſts, it was uſual, not to raiſe great palaces, nor ſumptuous houſes built with ſtone; but only to twiſt together ozier coverings, ſuited to the different ſeaſons of the year, with as little labour as expence. But theſe dwellings muſt certainly have been confined to the lower orders of the people. They were accuſtomed neither to orchards nor gardens. Their fields were moſtly in paſture; little cultivated, ſeldom plowed, and ſcarcely ever ſown or planted. Yet the Welſh, ſenſible of the great utility of agriculture, inſtituted a kind of plowing ſociety; which conſiſted of perſons who contributed oxen and implements of huſbandry, for the purpoſe of tilling a ſtipulated quantity of ground. To this uſeful deſign, great encouragement was given by the Welſh laws.[2] To their ploughs and carts they ſometimes joined two oxen, but more frequently made uſe of four; the driver going before, and, what is very ſingular, uſually walking backwards; and on that account, if the oxen were not properly trained to the yoke, he was expoſed to great danger. They made very little uſe of the ſcythe or ſickle either to mow or reap; but employed a ſingular kind of inſtrument, a middle ſized iron in the ſhape of a pruning knife, chained looſely at each end to two ſtaves.

[1] Hiſt. of Gwedir family.

[2] Howel Dha's Laws.

They uſed likewiſe ſmall boats[1] made of ozier for the purpoſes of fiſhing, or of paſſing rivers. Theſe were not of an oblong form, had not any beaks, but were made nearly round, or rather of a triangular ſhape; and were covered both in the inſide and on the outſide with raw ſkins. The boats were ſo light, that the fiſhermen uſually carried them on their ſhoulders.

The Welſh were firſt inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith by Faganus and Damianus; who were ſent by Eleutherius, the biſhop of Rome, at the requeſt of king Lucius. From this period, to the time when St. Germain was ſent into Britain on account of the Pelagian doctrine, no heretical opinions were to be found in Wales. Agreeably to the doctrines received from that miſſionary, they gave to the poor a part of the bread which was ſerved up at the altar; and they ſat down to table by *threes* in honour of the Trinity. Whenever they met any perſon in a religious habit, ſuch as a monk, or clerk; they immediately threw down their arms, bowed their heads, and begged his bleſſing. To mark the religious ſpirit of his countrymen ſtill more, Giraldus ſays, that the Welſh were more eager to obtain epiſcopal confirmation, and the chriſm, by which the ſpirit was given, than any other nation. They gave the tenth of all that they poſſeſſed of animals, ſheep, and ſometimes of cattle, in the following caſes; whenever they engaged in a military marriage; when they firſt ſet out on a pilgrimage; or, by the remonſtrance of the church, whenever they made any amendment in their lives This diviſion of their

[1] Theſe kind of boats are ſtill uſed in Wales, and are called corricles.

property

property they called the Great Tithe; two parts of which they beſtowed on their own baptiſmal church, and a third was given to the biſhop of the dioceſe. The pilgrimage which above all others was deemed moſt ſacred by the Welſh, was a journey to Rome. They paid alſo great reverence to churches, and to the clergy; to the relics of ſaints, to their portable bells, to text books, and to the croſs.[1]

From this ſpirit of ſuperſtitious piety, very peculiar privileges of ſanctuary have been given to the Welſh churches. Not only in cemeteries or burial places, but within the precincts of certain boundaries appointed by the biſhop, all animals had the liberty of feeding in perfect ſecurity. The larger churches, endowed with greater privileges on account of their antiquity, extended their bounds of ſanctuary ſtill farther; as far as the cattle could go in the morning and return at night. So ſacred were the privileges of ſanctuary, that if any perſon, at enmity with his ſovereign, ſought the refuge of the church; his own perſon, his family, and all his property remained in the moſt perfect ſecurity. If any attempt was made to violate the ſanctuary, it appears, that the parties under its protection, might retaliate the injury even on the prince himſelf, and might commit depredations in the country.[2]

It

[1] As a proof of the religious ſpirit which about this time prevailed, three thouſand Welſh, the moſt expert in archery and in the uſe of the pike, engaged to go into the Holy Land, at the inſtance of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; who, accompanied by Giraldus Cambrenſis, preached the Croiſades in the year 1188 throughout Wales. Giraldus Camb. Itinerarii Camb. cap. XIII. p. 226.

[2] Thus far from Giraldus Cambrenſis, (Cambriæ Deſcriptio, from p. 254 to 275)

It was neceſſary on the acceſſion of the king, that the proprietors of eccleſiaſtical lands ſhould appear before him, to lay open their rights and privileges; to whom, if their claims were juſt, he confirmed thoſe privileges, and the rights of ſanctuary.[1] If any offender fled to ſanctuary, and an action was inſtituted againſt him, neither the abbot nor monks could protect him, until he had made ſatisfaction for his offence; if no ſuch action was brought, they were then to conduct him to the place in which he was to remain.[2] If any perſon, taking refuge in a ſanctuary, committed any criminal act, he loſt the privileges of that aſylum, and was obliged to fly into another ſanctuary; or to forfeit all his property to the religious place whoſe protection he had violated. If any perſon, carrying about him the relics of ſaints, committed a crime under their protection, he was not entitled to any privileges on their account; and in ſuch caſe, likewiſe, he forfeited all his goods to that aſylum, unleſs he had already procured another.[3] Any perſon who had taken ſanctuary, might freely go about the cemetry and the court of the church, without carrying relics; and his cattle might feed with thoſe of the monaſtry, and remain in ſecurity as far as the herds of the monaſtry were allowed to go. Diſputes concerning the property of lands, when both parties were eccleſiaſtics, were not cogniſable by the Welſh laws.[4]

a learned monk, who lived in the reign of Henry the ſecond, and was a native of South Wales. In this detail of manners, the author has given little more than a ſimple tranſcript of Giraldus, with ſcarcely any variations of his own; under the idea that ſuch delineations, ſtruck off by the pencil of a contemporary, would appear more pleaſing in their original colours, and native ſimplicity.

[1] Howel Dha's Laws. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

If the king granted a licence to build a church in any village whoſe inhabitants were villains, to which a cemetry was aſſigned; and prieſts were appointed to celebrate maſs, the village from that time became free.[1] The hermits and other *Aſcetics* in this country, were in a peculiar degree auſtere in the habits of mortification; and, according to Giraldus, were more ſpiritualiſed in their piety than the Religious of any other nation. The ſame writer ſums up the character of his countrymen, in a manner equally peculiar and deciſive. He ſays, that as it was the diſpoſition of that people to purſue every object with vehemence, none were elſewhere to be found ſo bad as the worſt, nor any better than the good among the Welſh.[2]

It was natural that a warlike people would employ their leiſure, during the ſhort intervals of peace, in the habits of domeſtic feſtivity, or in the pleaſures of the field. A variety of exerciſes, ſome more violent, others more gentle in their nature, were in common uſe among the Welſh. Of theſe, many of which were the more peculiar diverſions of men, were feats of ſtrength; namely, pitching a bar of iron, throwing a ſledge, a large ſtone or quoits, running, leaping, ſwimming, wreſtling, riding, archery and throwing the javelin; fencing with ſword and buckler, the two handed ſword, and playing with the quarter ſtaff. There were ſeveral other diverſions conſidered as rural ſports, and as leſs manly; ſuch as hunting, fiſhing, and bird hunting; beſides which, ſundry others were uſed in families as private amuſements,

[1] Howel Dha's Laws. [2] Giraldus Cambrenſis, p. 275.

and

and conſidered as literary; ſuch as poetry, playing on the harp, reading Welſh, ſinging poems accompanied by ſtringed inſtruments; ſinging an ode of four parts, and accenting it with proper expreſſion; heraldry, and embaſſy. Other amuſements were in uſe of a more ſedate kind, which employed their more tranquil hours; cheſs, draughts and back-gammon, or ſome ſimilar game; dice, and tuning the harp. Beſides theſe, there were various modes of hunting, diſtinguiſhed in the following manner. Hunting the ſtag, purſuing a ſwarm of bees, and taking ſalmon; theſe three were deemed common diverſions. Hunting the bear, the ſquirrel, or martin, and the cock of the wood,[1] were called barking diverſions. Hunting the fox, the hare, and the roebuck,[2] were diſtinguiſhed as clamorous ones. The ſtag was hunted with hounds and greyhounds; and this was called a common diverſion, becauſe every perſon who was at his death had a right to a ſhare. Even if a man on his journey happened to paſs by at the time that the ſtag was killed, he was entitled by the game laws to a ſhare in common with thoſe who had hunted him down. A ſwarm of bees was likewiſe conſidered as a common property; for whoever found them on his own, or on other people's land, unleſs he put a mark that he had firſt found them, every perſon who paſſed by had a right to enjoy a ſhare; but a fourth part belonged to the proprietor of the ground. The ſalmon were alſo conſidered in the ſame light. For when they were caught with a net, or ſtruck with a ſpear, or taken in any other way; what-

[1] See Mr. Pennant's journey to Snowdun.

[2] Iwrch or roebuck, ſaid to have been formerly in Wales. See Richard's Welſh Dictionary on that word; and Gibſon's notes on Camden, p. 645.

ever

ever perſon ſhould come to the place, before a diviſion was made, was entitled to a part, provided the ſalmon was taken out of a common water.

Hunting the bear was called a barking diverſion, becauſe from its ſlowneſs the hunting of it could be of no long continuance; as it was only baited, barked at, and killed. The martin,[1] fitchet, polecat,[2] and ſquirrel, not being able to run far, climbed up into trees; and in that ſituation were barked at and baited by the dogs. Hunting the cock of the wood[3] was entirely ſimilar.

Fox hunting was called a clamorous diverſion; as in the purſuit of this animal there was much crying of the dogs, and blowing of the horn. Of the ſame nature were the diverſions of roebuck and hare hunting.

The game that was moſt in eſteem for the uſe of the table, was the ſtag, the hare, the wild boar, and the bear. If greyhounds were let looſe after a ſtag or any other animal, and the dogs purſued him out of ſight, and he was afterwards killed; then the foremoſt greyhound in the laſt view was entitled to the ſkin. If a man, or a dog, ſtarted a hare out of her ſeat and killed her, ſhe was the property of either the one or the other.

It was neceſſary that every perſon who carried a horn ſhould be acquainted with the nine game laws. If he was unable to

[1] Bela. [2] Câthgoed. [3] See Mr. Pennant's Journey to Snowdun.

give

give an account of them, he forfeited his horn. Whoever went out a hunting with couples, forfeited thoſe likewiſe, if he was found deficient in a knowledge of the ſaid laws; but, whimſically enough, the couples were ſafe, if placed on his arm. No perſon could let looſe a greyhound after any animal, which the hounds were then hunting, unleſs he himſelf had hounds that were hunting at the ſame time; and on any perſon ſo offending, the man who was purſuing the hare, might hamſtring the greyhound. No one was allowed to ſhoot a beaſt, when at reſt, that was appropriated for the chace, on pain of forfeiting his bow and arrows to the lord of the manor: though he might ſhoot at and kill any ſuch, if he could, when the dogs were in full cry; but he was not allowed to ſhoot among the dogs. If any perſon went out to hunt, and let his dogs looſe after the beaſt; and it ſo happened that he was met with and killed by ſome ſtraggling dogs, the animal was then the property of the firſt dogs, unleſs the ſtraggling ones belonged to the king. Any beaſt which had been hunted, became the property of the firſt hunter, unleſs his face was turned towards home, and his back on the dogs. If his dogs were ſtill hunting, and the hunter had left them, the animal did not in that caſe belong to him, if killed by ſtraggling dogs, but to the owner of the latter.[1]

Some light may be thrown on the ancient adminiſtration of Wales, by laying open the various conditions, on which the Welſh

[1] See an account of the Welſh games, printed at the end of Dr. Davies's Dictionary. He died in the year 1644; he was himſelf a native of Wales, and was much eſteemed by his countrymen, for his knowledge of its language and antiquities.

held

held their eſtates under their princes, or immediate lords; and by ſhewing in what manner the revenue, ariſing from thoſe tenures, was directed to the ſplendour, or ſupport of their government.

We ſhall begin, by marking the ſmaller diviſions, which at that time, it is probable, had taken place in the country. In the leſſer diviſions, Wales might have been originally divided into *Bôds*, *Trevs*, and *Caers*. The *Bôd* is ſuppoſed to have been the manſion-houſe of a chieftain on his firſt ſettlement in the country; the lands which he aſſigned for the maintenance of his dependents in the increaſing colony to have been called a *Trev*; and the incloſure of ſuch lands, for defence or convenience, whether formed of wood or ſtone, might have been denominated a *Caer*.[1] An aſſemblage of ſeveral *bôds* formed a *trev* or townſhip; a hundred of theſe *trevs* conſtituted a *cantrev*. For the more eaſy and regular diſpatch of buſineſs, a *cantrev* was divided into two or more *commots*; each of which, conſiſting of a certain number of *bôds* and *trevs*, formed a diſtinct precinct; and was conſidered as a lordſhip, poſſeſſing a ſeparate court and juriſdiction.[2]

The Welſh princes, and other lords of particular territories, were the proprietors *in capite* of all lands; and were ſovereign lords of all their ſubjects and bondmen. To theſe, the princes or the lords diſtributed townſhips, or particular tenures called Weles, ſeats or dwellings; by way of martial diſtribution, on ſuch conditions as thoſe lords and princes thought proper to im-

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 28, 29, 31. [2] Ibid. p. 116.

poſe. The lands or tenures ſo granted, were either freeholds or villanage; and the perſons to whom they were given were called freeholders or vaſſals; each were equally tenants to their lord; though in reſpect of privileges originally granted, they were in poſſeſſion of different degrees of freedom or vaſſalage. Some of theſe were entirely free, and others were entirely bond; ſome townſhips in part were free, and in part were bond. In theſe ſeveral townſhips, a greater or leſs degree of freedom prevailed, or none at all; the tenants of the firſt kind of vaſſalage were called *nativi liberi*; that is, free natives, or the better ſort of vaſſals; and the others were conſidered as *puri nativi*, or perfect ſlaves.

Those lands or townſhips which were entirely free, gave to the poſſeſſors a rank above other tenants; qualified them for offices and employments, and entitled them likewiſe to a ſeat and a voice in courts of judicature. From this privilege of ſitting higher than the other tenants in their *Gorſeddau*, and of aſſiſting in giving ſentence, and paſſing judicial decrees, the tenants of theſe freeholds were called *Uchelwyr*. The king excepted, there was an equality among all the Welſh nobility.[1]

The tenants of bond lands, and villages, being inferior to freeholders, were bound to ſervile employments; and in many things were at the diſpoſal of their princes or lords. A lord had the privilege of parting with his vaſſal either by ſale or donation. There was, however, a diſtinction in point of privilege between

[1] Howel Dha's Laws.

ſuch

ſuch tenants. The free natives were thoſe who poſſeſſed ſome degree of freedom; who might go where they pleaſed, might buy and ſell, and enjoyed many other immunities. The pure natives were conſidered as the entire property of their princes or lords; were ſold along with the eſtate, and confined within its limits; out of which, if they happened to wander, they were liable to be driven back like wild beaſts with great ſeverity.[1] The profeſſion of any of the mechanic or liberal arts made a vaſſal free; but no vaſſal could acquire them without the permiſſion of his lord.[2]

The *trevs* were not all of equal dimenſion; ſome were of a larger and others of a leſſer extent; but they were all ſubject to certain conditions to be paid to their lords, which were rated and fixed at the firſt diſpoſal of thoſe tenures. Theſe were rents, ſervices, duties, mulcts, and attendances. Such were their great ſources of revenue and of power; and from which the Welſh princes were enabled to ſupport their dignity, to ſecure the loyalty of their ſubjects, and afford protection to the ſtate.[3]

The rents of ſome tenures were paid in money, thoſe of others were paid in goods and in cattle. Rents in money were fixed to be paid, either at the four quarterly payments, or the two half yearly ones; or they aroſe out of caſualties; ſuch as reliefs and heriots. The rents which were paid in goods and cattle, were a certain quantity of corn, paid at ſtated times, or a certain number of oxen and cows; which many *trevs* were obliged to

[1] Rowland, p. 120, 121. [2] Howel Dha's Laws. [3] Rowland, p. 121.

pay at the end of the year. The *Tunc* rent, was a ſum of money payable by four villain townſhips in every *commot*, of five ſhillings a year ceſſable on particular *trevs*. Rents of ſome kind or other were originally fixed to be ceſſable on all tenures whether free or bond, ſimilar to the Engliſh ſoccage tenures.

The freeholder had a legal right in the property of his land, on the performance of the ſtipulated conditions; but that right might be forfeited, in certain caſes, to the prince or lord of the fee.

The villains or vaſſals, who were the tenants of the villanages, had no property in the lands aſſigned them; but enjoyed only the occupancy and poſſeſſion of them during the pleaſure of the prince or lord; they being conſidered only as ſlaves, to be placed in any ſituation at the will of their maſters. They paid however a rent to their lord; and thoſe rents which were charged on villain tenures were preciſe and ſtated; and payable, as the rents of freeholds were, on certain and fixed days.[1]

The nature of thoſe ſervices, which the ſeveral *trevs*, or the particular tenures in every manor, were obliged to perform, is here attempted to be explained. In general, the prince had a *Llys* or palace in every *cantrev*; a chapel likewiſe, with the neceſſary appendages of mills, offices, and other conveniencies. In ſupport of theſe, the ſervices of tenants in the *cantrev* where the palace was built, were appropriated in various ways; and the lands belonging to the palace were parcelled out to tenants, on

[1] Rowland's Mona, p. 122, 123.

the

the conditions of performing ſuch private and domeſtic ſervices. Thoſe tenants were called in many places *Gwyr Mael*, *Gwyr tîr y Porth*, and *Gwyr Gwaith*. The ſervice under the title of *Gwyr Mael*, is ſuppoſed to have been the prince's local guard; who were obliged to arm themſelves, and to keep watch and ward about the palace. The ſervice bearing the name of *Gwyr tîr y Porth*, was to cultivate the corn lands, reſerved by the prince in every manor for his corn proviſion. The duty implied by *Gwyr Gwaith*, was an obligation on particular tenants of working for the prince at their own charge. The remaining tenants were obliged to repair the walls of the palace, or the hall, the chapel, or other appendages of the prince's houſe. In every *cantrev*, there were ſome tenants bound by their tenures to carry ſtones, or corn; to repair the roof of a mill, the walls, and the water-courſe; to carry large ſtones and pieces of timber for the uſes of the mill. Some tenants, alſo, by their tenures, were obliged to repair weirs, to carry wattles and bruſh wood, to hedge about warrens, and ſome to attend the offices of the larder and kitchen.[1]

The duties, which were due from other tenants, whether free or bond, to the prince or the lord, were various; and both of a civil and military nature. They were obliged to appear in the court of the prince, whenever they received a ſummons; which without great peril they could not diſobey. They were under obligation to appear in the court of the *cantrev* in which they reſided. Their appearance was equally neceſſary in the county court.[2] This was their great court of common pleas, and of

[1] Rowland, p. 124, 125.

[2] So Rowland calls it.

high

high authority: its juriſdiction extended over the whole diſtrict. They were obliged to grind their corn at a particular mill, and to pay as a griſt-toll the thirtieth part; which appears to have been very conſiderable, when it is conſidered that the repairs of the mill lay entirely upon the tenants. Thoſe who were not concerned in theſe repairs, were yet obliged to make and to clear the water-courſes belonging to it; beſides the different kinds of carriage that were impoſed on them, eſpecially the conveyance of corn; which was for the uſe, or was the immediate property of the prince.

The tenants in common were obliged to array, and to follow the prince to war whenever they were ſummoned for that purpoſe. This was a general obligation, equally impoſed on the nobility and on the people at large. The ſame duties were likewiſe due from the tenants of inferior diſtricts to their reſpective and immediate lords. This obligation of attending their prince or lord in war was not equal upon all; ſome tenants were only liable to go for a limited time, and to a limited place; while others were obliged to give their attendance during the war, without any limitation, equipped and maintained at their own expence. This duty, ſo indefinite and peremptory, was called *Gwaith Milwyr*; and no doubt was a kind of knight's ſervice.[1]

There were five other duties, of a civil nature, incident to particular tenures. The nature of thoſe duties are not certainly known at this diſtance of time; but they may perhaps be ex-

[1] Rowland's Mon. p. 126.

plained

plained in the following manner. The courts of the Welſh princes being ambulatory, removing from manor to manor, and not fixed to any certain place; their houſes likewiſe being inſufficient to hold the numerous retinue which uſually attended the prince; it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a ſuitable proviſion was every where made for their reception and maintenance. The tenants of that manor, in which the prince came to reſide for a certain time, were obliged of courſe to receive, and to ſupport ſo many of the prince's officers and ſervants, as each of them was under the obligation of performing; agreeably to the conditions ſtipulated in their reſpective tenures. Such, it is probable, was the duty called *Cylch Stalon*, of entertaining the prince's grooms, and finding proviſion for ſo many of his horſes, for ſuch a time, and by ſuch tenants of the manor, as were ſpecified in the tenures of each. So, likewiſe, *Cylch Rhaglon*, was the obligation of entertaining the prince's ſteward, by ſuch and ſo many of the tenants as were obliged, each in his turn to receive that officer. *Cylch Hebogyddion*, was another duty of providing for the prince's falconers and his hawks. *Cylch Greorion*, as it was called, was the obligation of entertaining by turns, on each tenant for a limited time, the keepers of the prince's live ſtock and cattle; ſuch, it is probable, as were deſigned for ſlaughter, for the uſe of the royal houſehold, while the prince reſided in the manor. This was afterwards commuted for, by the payment of a certain ſum of money, called *Arian Greorion*. The laſt duty ſtiled *Cylch Dowrgon*, was the obligation on certain tenants, by turns, to receive, and provide for the huntſman and his dogs; during the prince's reſidence, or when he came for the purpoſe of huntin g

in any *trev* or manor. It is probable, that when the prince of Wales did not make his progreſs among his tenants at the uſual times, they paid him, in lieu of ſuch duties, a ſum of money, which was called *Arian Gweſtva*.[1]

Three ſpecies of mulcts were another ſource of revenue ariſing to the prince, and incident to particular tenures. *Amwobr* was a mulct of five or ten ſhillings, payable by particular *trevs* and *gavels*, for the incontinency of women.[2] It was alſo a fine anciently paid to the prince or lord of the fee, at the marriage of a vaſſal's daughter.[3]

Obediw, was a ſum of money rated on ſeveral *trevs*; and payable to the prince or chief lord, as a mortuary for the death of a tenant. This was ſometimes called *Obediw Dietifedd*; when a ſum of money was payable to the prince or lord, for a tenant dying without iſſue. *Gwobr*, was a mulct of ten ſhillings, paid to the prince or lord on the marriage of a vaſſal's daughter. This is ſaid to be a commutation in lieu of that barbarous cuſtom, that was in uſe in the times of Paganiſm; of the right which the lord had of deflouring a virgin on the firſt night of her marriage with a vaſſal.[4]

As the lower ſorts of people were liable to perform certain ſervices to their prince or lord, ſo the nobility were bound by

[1] Rowland's Mon. p. 128, 129. Dr. Davies's Dictionary on the word *gweſtva*.
[2] Rowland, p. 129. [3] Dr. Davies's Dictionary on the word *amwobr*.
[4] Rowland, p. 130.

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the expreſs conditions of their reſpective fees, to pay attendance to their ſovereign prince. This attendance was different, according to the ſeveral occaſions of the prince in peace or in war. Theſe lords had likewiſe under them, freehold and vaſſal tenants; over whom they themſelves were lords in fee. Depending on thoſe conditions, the nobility had offices and truſts both civil and military conferred upon them; as well as titles that were miniſterial and honorary.[1] The family of Hwfa ap Cynddelw, of Preſaddfed in Angleſey, held their eſtates in fee; on the condition of attending the prince's coronation, and of bearing up the right ſide of the canopy over his head. The biſhop of Bangor, likewiſe, enjoyed ſome advantage, by his peculiar office of crowning the prince, and of being his principal chaplain. In the ſame manner, moſt of the nobility were bound to particular attendances by the expreſs conditions of their land tenures; beſides thoſe particular duties which they in general were obliged to perform as ſubjects by homage and fealty. When properly ſummoned, if the nobility neglected to perform theſe conditions, their eſtates were liable to forfeiture, and their perſons to be baniſhed the realm. This mode of puniſhment, by baniſhing the offender, was moſt commonly uſed by the Welſh princes.[2]

There were many tenures in Wales,[3] which were held of neither prince nor lord; but under certain ſaints, or patrons of

1 Rowland, p. 130. 2 Rowland's Mon. p. 131.

3 Theſe notices of the ſeveral diviſions of the country are taken from the reports given in upon oath by thoſe men, who were appointed by Edward the Firſt for aſcertaining the princes rights, and the tenures in Wales.

churches; the tenants of which lands called themſelves abbots. As moſt of theſe ſaints had the privileges of ſanctuary originally eſtabliſhed in them, it is probable, that one condition of thoſe tenures was, to maintain and ſupport theſe places of refuge, and the perſons protected in them; and likewiſe to ſee that their privileges, with other rights thereunto belonging, were from time to time preſerved and kept inviolate.[1]

The princes of Wales uſually wore on their bonnets or helmets a coronet of gold; being a broad lace or headband indented upwards, and ſet with precious ſtones.[2]

From the few traits which are here given of the private manners and cuſtoms of the ancient Welſh, we may form a lively idea of their genius; and may alſo diſcriminate what was peculiar in their national character. Hence, too, we are enabled to account for a variety of ſplendid actions which ſtrike our wonder; and intereſt our feelings for the fate of a brave people, who were ſo often thrown into ſituations, ſudden and rapid in their changes, and which appear to be ſingular in the hiſtory of nations.

[1] Rowland's Mon. p. 132.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 36. The illegitimate children of the princes of Wales were not allowed to bear their father's arms; and if permitted, yet not without carrying on them ſome marks of peculiarity. Brit. Ant. revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 31.

THERE was ſomething in the SAXON character, ſo little ſuſceptible of thoſe impreſſions which poliſh and humanize the rudeſt natures, that even at this period they retained their native barbariſm. And as the Welſh, confined in narrow limits, were ſcarcely conſidered as objects of fear, the Saxon princes turned their arms againſt each other;[1] giving their enemies the vindictive conſolation of ſeeing the miſeries of war retaliated on themſelves. Theſe calamities were likewiſe increaſed by the Danes; who began, about this time, to infeſt the coaſts of Britain.[2] And the Welſh, no doubt, would have ſeen with pleaſure the effects of a ſtorm, beginning to burſt upon the heads of their enemies, if they themſelves had not been equally liable to the danger. But as a means of ſecurity, warned by the fatal remiſſneſs of the Saxons, they with great ſecrecy and diligence increaſed their naval force; reaſonably expecting by ſuch a force to repel the Daniſh invaſions; or, it is probable, in caſe of neceſſity they might hope to ſecure a retreat.[3] A. D. 801.

IN the courſe of their incurſions the city of St. David was laid in aſhes by the Saxons; and that event was preceded by an eclipſe of the ſun and moon; a terrible diſtemper likewiſe ſeized upon cattle;[4] and the next year the city of Diganwy was deſtroyed by lightning.[5] Theſe incidents, ariſing from natural cauſes, were marked by ſuperſtition as preſages of national ca- A. D. 808.

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13.
[2] Verſtegan, chap. VI. p. 155. Welſh Chron. p. 20. Saxon Chron. p. 64.
[3] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. p. 61. [4] Welſh Chron. p. 21.
[5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 66.

lamity. From this time,[1] Diganwy ceaſed to be the reſidence of the kings of North Wales.

In right of that equal diſtribution of property which took place in Wales by the cuſtom of gavel kind, Howel, the younger ſon of the late king Roderic Moelwynoc, laid claim to the iſland of Mona, as his part of his father's inheritance. This claim was diſputed by Cynan Tindaethwy, the reigning prince, and his eldeſt brother; and each ſide prepared to put it to the deciſion of arms; but a victory, ſoon after gained by Howel, gave him the poſſeſſion of the iſland. The two princes, the one eager to maintain his patrimony, and the other to recover the territory which had been torn from him, oppoſed each other a ſecond time; but with the ſame event, the battle ending in favour of Howel.[2] Enraged at theſe defeats, Cynan Tindaethwy was determined, by a vigorous effort, at every hazard of his crown and his life, to recover the iſland and the reputation of his arms. In purſuance of this reſolution, he raiſed an army
A. D. 817. and marched againſt his brother; but Howel, ſeeing himſelf unable to oppoſe a force ſuperior to his own, withdrew from the conflict, and eſcaped to the iſland of Man; leaving Mona in the poſſeſſion of the conqueror.[3]

Cynan Tindaethwy did not long enjoy the fruits of his good fortune; for he died ſoon after, and left the kingdom of North Wales to Eſyllt his daughter; married to Mervyn Vrych,

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 67. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 21, 22. [3] Ibid. p. 22.

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the king of Man, and a deſcendant, by the maternal line, from the houſe of Powys.[1]

On the death of the late prince, Mervyn Vrych and Eſyllt ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of North Wales;[2] annexing the Iſland of Man to their other dominions.[3]

In the early part of their reign,[4] Egbert king of the Weſt Saxons invaded Wales with a powerful army; deſolated the country as far as the mountains of Snowdun,[5] and ſeiſed on the lordſhip of Rhyvonioc.[6] He then advanced to Mona, and took poſſeſſion of that iſland, having fought a bloody battle with the Welſh at Llanvaes near Beaumaris;[7] and though the iſland was ſoon recovered by king Mervyn, and the Saxons were driven out, it loſt at this period the ancient name of Mona; and was afterwards by the Engliſh called Angleſey, or the Engliſhmen's Iſle.[8] This formidable inroad was no ſooner over, as if the Welſh were to enjoy no interval of peace, than Kenulph, king of Mercia, in two ſucceſſive inroads, committed great devaſtation in Weſt Wales and in Powys.[9] A. D. 819.

The valour and the policy of Egbert, at this period, had united the Saxon heptarchy into one kingdom.[10] And ſuch A. D. 828.

1 Welſh Chron. p. 22. 2 Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188. 3 Ibid. p. 173.

4 Matth. Weſtm. p. 224, 227, recites three different invaſions of Wales by Egbert, in which he ſubdued that country, and made its kings tributary, A. D. 810, 811, 830.

5 *Yryri* in the Welſh, ſignifying mountains of ſnow. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 65.

6 Welſh Chron. p. 24, 25. 7 Ibid. 8 Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172, 173.

9 Chron. of Wales, p. 25. 10 Fabian, p. 184. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172.

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an union, under a vigorous adminiſtration, might have proved fatal to the Welſh; if the attention of the Saxon prince had not been diverted from foreign conqueſts to the ſecurity of his own territories. To conſolidate more cloſely the various parts of his dominions, he gave to the whole of his new kingdom the common name of England;[1] and at this juncture, every ſpecies of union was neceſſary to oppoſe the formidable and increaſing invaſions of the Danes. A large body of theſe people landed about this time in Weſt Wales;[2] and ſuch was the animoſity of the Welſh, and ſuch the wretched alternative left them, that they united with the Danes in a common intereſt, as the leſs and more diſtant evil, to wreak their vengeance upon the Saxons, and to eſtabliſh the Daniſh power on the ruin of more immediate and hereditary enemies.

A. D. 833.

The Welſh, in conſequence of this alliance, joined their forces with the Danes; and after having ravaged a great part of his dominions, and deſtroyed many of his caſtles and fortified towns, they fought a ſevere battle with the Saxon prince upon Hengiſt Down; but in this action, they ſuſtained a terrible defeat, with the ſlaughter of a great part of their army.[3] Incenſed at this invaſion, and alarmed at the conſequence of ſuch alliances in future, Egbert made war upon the Welſh, and inveſted the city of Cheſter; determined that they ſhould feel the

A. D. 835.

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 13. Verſtegan, c. V. p. 125.

[2] Grafton's Chron. p. 132. Chron. of Wales, p. 27.

[3] Saxon Chron. p. 72. Matth. Weſtm. p. 227.

utmoſt

utmoſt effects of his reſentment and power. This city had hitherto remained in the poſſeſſion of the Welſh,[1] and was regarded as an important poſt upon the frontier. It was taken at this time by Egbert.[2] Among other marks of his indignation againſt the very memory of the Britons, he gave orders that the brazen ſtatue of Cadwallon ſhould be taken down and defaced;[3] he likewiſe iſſued a proclamation, that all the men, with their wives and children, who were deſcended from Britiſh blood, ſhould depart his territories in ſix months, on pain of death;[4] and to add injury to inſult, he made another law, as ſavage as it was unavailing; which affixed the penalty of death to every Welſhman, who paſſed the limits of Offa's Dyke, and ſhould be taken on the Engliſh borders.[5] More coercive reſtraints were neceſſary than ſuch a feeble barrier and futile law, though the hand of power had drawn an arbitrary line, which inſulted the feelings, and entrenched on the rights of a warlike and iraſcible people.

This Saxon prince died ſoon after the ſiege of Cheſter; and his death probably ſuſpended for ſeveral ages the deſtiny of Wales. A. D. 838.

A short ceſſation of the Daniſh inroads gave leiſure to Berthred, the tributary ſovereign of Mercia, to renew hoſtilities

[1] Chron. of Wales, p. 27. [2] Grafton's Chron. p. 132. Fabian, p. 184.
[3] Stowe's Chron. p. 77. [4] Chron. Wales, p. 27, from Ranulph Ceſtr.
[5] Speed's Chron. p. 318, from Joa. Beverlenſis.

againſt the Welſh;[1] and a ſevere battle was fought by the two princes, at a place called Kettel, upon the frontiers; in which Mervyn, the king of North Wales was ſlain; who left his eldeſt
A. D. 843. ſon, named Roderic, to ſucceed to his dignity.[2]

The proſpect now opens under a new point of view; the memorable reign of Roderic. This young prince ſucceeded to his father's throne with a greater extent of territory than had fallen to the ſhare of any Cambrian ſovereign.—He enjoyed, by the right of his father and mother, the ſovereignty of the Iſland of Man, with the territories of North Wales and Powys; and having married Angharad the heireſs of South Wales, of courſe the whole province of Cambria centered in his perſon.[3] The firmneſs reſulting from this union, the nature of the country and valour of the inhabitants, their inveteracy againſt the Saxons, and the perilous ſituation of that people, were important advantages which opened with the reign of Roderic. If this fortunate combination of circumſtances had been directed agreeably to a wiſe policy, it would probably have ſecured the independency of Wales; and have fixed its government upon a baſis ſo ſolid and permanent, that it might have ſuſtained the ſtorms of ages; and have fallen at length amidſt the ruins of time, unleſs undermined by the refinements and luxury, of a bordering, a more civilized and powerful people.

[1] Saxon Chron. p. 75. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 27, 28.
[3] Rowland, p. 173, 188. Welſh Chron. p. 35.

Instead

Instead of taking advantage of this fortunate conjuncture, a criſis which will never more return in the annals of Wales, a fatal and irreparable meaſure took place. For Roderic, early in his reign, divided his dominions into three Principalities; which during his life, were governed by chieftains acting under his authority; and this ſingular event ſeems to have ariſen from the narrow idea, that the Welſh, accuſtomed to be ruled by their native princes, ought not to yield obedience to a common ſovereign.[1]

The death of Mervyn Vrych, and the late victory obtained over the Welſh, flattered Berthred the Mercian prince, with the hopes of farther ſucceſs from the youth and inexperience of Roderic. Agreeable to this deſign, and ſtrengthened by the aid of Ethulwulph, the king of England, he entered North Wales with a powerful army,[2] and advanced as far as Angleſey; which he laid waſte in a cruel manner.[3] The young prince Roderic, on this trying occaſion, neglected no exertion, which was due to his own honour and to the defence of his country. By the ſpirited reſiſtance he made, the king of Mercia was prevented from making any great progreſs in the iſland: and ſoon after, fortunately for the Welſh, the attention of that prince was employed in the protection of his own dominions from the power of the Danes.[4] The inroads of theſe people increaſing every day,

A. D. 846.

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 174.

[2] Sim. Dunelme, p. 120, 139. Hiſt. Angl. Script. Matth. Weſtm. p. 231.

[3] Chron. Wales, p. 35.

[4] Simon Dunelme, Ann. 874. Saxon Chron. p. 82. Chron. of Wales, p. 31.

the Engliſh, fully employed in attending to their own ſafety, left the Welſh to enjoy many years a ſeaſon of unuſual tranquility.

If Roderic had poſſeſſed the qualities of a truly great prince, he would at leaſt, at this fortunate period, have attempted to provide againſt future evils; and the nature of his country, interſected by rivers and fortified with mountains, and almoſt ſurrounded by the ocean, might have pointed out the rational means of defence. Had this prince made a proper uſe of the leiſure which the troubles in England had given him, he would have placed garriſons in the frontier towns, would have collected magazines, and fortified the paſſes; and he would have exerted his utmoſt ability, to ſecure his country from foreign invaders, by forming a naval power; he would, alſo, have endeavoured to reduce his ſubjects to a juſt ſubordination, by promoting among them a ſpirit of union, and a ſteady obedience to the laws. Inſtead of theſe regulations, that period ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed by a total neglect of every meaſure, which, if ſteadily purſued, might have given ſecurity to his kingdom.

A. D. 872. At this time Alfred had aſcended the throne of England.[1] Engaged through his reign, in affairs of war or legiſlation, or in introducing into his kingdom learning and the arts, this prince filled every department in the ſtate, and thoſe appertaining to ſcience, with men of the greateſt abilities.[2] Having founded the univerſity of Oxford, he invited out of Wales two perſons

[1] William Malmſbury, lib. II. cap. IV. p. 42.

[2] Polydore Virgil, lib. V. p. 106.

diſtin-

distinguished for their learning; John, surnamed Scotus, and Asser, who had been educated in the college of St. David; the former of whom he appointed a professor in the university he had lately established.[1] And, taught by experience the impolicy of contending with the Danes by land, and the necessity of establishing such a navy as might enable him to oppose them at sea, he engaged in his service many Welshmen acquainted with the art of ship-building; whom he appointed superintendants of the dock yards, and afterwards employed in honourable stations in the fleet.[2]

The Danes, having received a repulse in England, and being by treaty obliged to relinquish that country, made a descent on the island of Anglesey; where in two battles they met with a very spirited opposition from Roderic; one of which was fought at Bangole, and the other at Menegid. At the same time, South Wales was invaded by another body of Danes, who desolated that country, and laid the churches and religious houses in ruins.[3] A. D. 873.

About this time Roderic changed the royal residence from Caer Segont[4] to Aberffraw in Anglesey.[5] It is strange, that he should desert a country where every mountain was a natural fortress, and in times of such difficulty and danger, should make choice of a residence so exposed and defenceless.

1 Chron. of Wales, p. 33. 2 Berkeley's Naval Hist. Brit. p. 69.
3 Welsh Chron. p. 34. 4 Near the present town of Caernarvon.
5 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 173.

An interval of quiet from the Danes, gave the Engliſh another opportunity of making a deſcent on the iſland of Angleſey; which they invaded with a formidable army. The Welſh king, oppoſing them with his uſual gallantry of ſpirit, at length fell
A. D. 877. in the defence of his country; being ſlain with Gwyriad his brother, in one of the battles which he fought with the Engliſh in the courſe of that expedition.[1]

It has been already obſerved, that the late prince, in the courſe of his reign, had divided his dominions into three diſtinct ſovereignties; which he left to his ſons Anarawd, Cadell, and Mervyn.[2] But, agreeably to the ſpirit and cuſtom of gavel-kind, though each ſovereign poſſeſſed a diſtinct authority within his own dominions; yet a pre-eminency over the other princes was eſtabliſhed in the kings of North Wales.[3] He ordained that the princes of South Wales and Powys ſhould each of them pay yearly to the ſovereign of North Wales, a tribute[4] called *Maelged*, of ſixty-three pounds, as a mark of ſubordination;[5] but the royal tribute, or *Teyrnged*, which was due from Cambria to the imperial crown of London, agreeably to the ancient laws, was ordained in future to be paid by the kings of North Wales.[6] Regarding likewiſe

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 35. [2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 174.

[3] Britiſh Antiquities Revived, by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 8, 25, 40. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174, 175. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 64, 65.

[4] Theſe tributes, according to Vaughan of Hengwrt in Brit. Ant. Reviv. p. 39, 40, were paid in the following manner. The kings of North Wales were to pay £63 to the crown of London; the princes of Powys four tons of flour; and the princes of South Wales four tons of honey to the ſovereigns of North Wales.

[5] H. Lhuyd, p. 64, 65. Rowland, p. 175. [6] Ibid.

his

his eldeſt ſon Anarawd as the immediate heir of the *Cynethian* line, he left to him and to his ſucceſſors, the title of *Brenhin Cymru Oll*, or the king of all Wales.[1]

To cement more cloſely in a common intereſt his ſons and their ſucceſſors; he enjoined, that if any two of theſe princes ſhould happen to differ about their particular intereſts, in ſuch caſe the third ſhould interfere, and ſhould finally arbitrate the matter.[2] It was ordained, that if any difference ſhould ariſe between the princes of North and South Wales, they ſhould all meet at Bwlch-y-Pawl, in the preſent county of Montgomery, and the prince of Powys was appointed the umpire. If the princes of North Wales and Powys ſhould be at variance, they were all to aſſemble at Morva-Rhianedd on the banks of the Dee, and the prince of South Wales was to determine the controverſy. If the diſpute ſhould ariſe between the princes of Powys and South Wales, the meeting was appointed to be held at Llys Wen upon the river Wye, and the matter in contention was to be decided by the king of North Wales.[3] Roderic muſt have been little acquainted with human nature, to imagine that ſuch regulations were ſufficient to counteract, at a diſtant period, the wild paſſions and ambition of princes.

Other inſtitutions better marked the ſtrength and liberality of his mind. He ordained, that if their ſeparate territories ſhould be invaded by a foreign enemy, the three Welſh princes were in that caſe to aſſiſt, and to afford mutual protection to each other: that caſtles and other ſtrong holds ſhould be fortified and

[1] Rowland, p. 174, 175. [2] Ibid p. 175. [3] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 35.

kept

kept in repair: that the churches and religious houſes ſhould be rebuilt and adorned: that the Britiſh hiſtory ſhould be faithfully tranſcribed and enlarged: and that the archives of Britain, the monuments of her glory, ſhould be carefully depoſited in the monaſteries of Wales.[1]

From ſuch attentions as theſe, or perhaps from a compariſon with the other Welſh princes in extent of dominion, and in perſonal ability, Roderic hath gained from poſterity the ſurname of *Great*. If to produce the wealth and grandeur, the ſecurity and happineſs of a ſtate, be the means of obtaining ſuch a title; then, ſurely, the conduct of this prince gave him little claim to that honourable diſtinction. Inſtead of acting up to the great deſign of government, Roderic, without precedent to palliate, or apparent neceſſity to enforce ſuch a meaſure, yielded up the independency of Wales; enjoining his poſterity by a ſolemn reſcript, to pay to the Saxon kings, as a mark of ſubordination, a yearly tribute; a tribute, though ariſing out of ancient laws, that was only due from the *Cambrian* to the *Britiſh* princes; and which, no doubt, became from this period the baſis upon which was founded that claim of ſupremacy ever after aſſerted by the Engliſh. The diviſion which Roderic had made of his dominions, was likewiſe the ſource of civil diſſenſions and national weakneſs; and was ſoon the cauſe of a decline in patriotiſm, and of a ſtriking barbarity in manners; a ſeries of evils, which ſucceſſively produced the ruin of their different ſtates; and ſcarcely ended with the conqueſt of the Welſh, and after the loſs of their political exiſtence.

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 35.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF RODERIC THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN.

The preſent æra opens a new proſpect of the hiſtory of Wales; in which this country, which in the late reign had centered in one ſovereign, was divided into three diſtinct principalities.

Anarawd, the eldeſt ſon of Roderic the Great, ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of North Wales.[1] This territory was the *Venedocia* of the Romans,[2] and was by the Britons called Gwynedh.[3] The reſidence of the ſovereigns of this diſtrict was at Aberffraw in Angleſey; in a palace which had been erected during the life of king Roderic.[4] The kingdom of North Wales, in the four diviſions of Angleſey, Arvon,[5] Meirionydh, and Perfeddwlad,[6] con- A. D. 877.

1 Rowland, p. 174. 2 Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64. 3 Ibid.
4 Welſh Chron. p. 36. Rowland, p. 174. 5 Signifying, above Mona.
6 The inward or middle part. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64—66.

taining

taining fifteen *cantrevs*, ſubdivided into thirty-eight *commots*;[1] was bounded on the weſt and north by the Iriſh ſea; on the ſouth weſt by the river Dyvi, which ſeparated it from South Wales; and on the ſouth and eaſt, was divided from Powys and England by mountains and rivers, particularly by the Dee.[2] The language ſpoken in this country is eſteemed the moſt pure, and comes the neareſt to that of the ancient Britons. Its inhabitants, from a variety of cauſes, preſerved their independency longer than the other principalities. Beſides the valour of the people, and in general the public virtue of their princes, the natural ſituation of the country of Snowdun, a range of mountains extending from one ſea to the other, and guarded by two rivers diſcharging themſelves into the ocean at Traeth Mawr, and Conway, formed a rampart exceedingly ſtrong; over which the Welſh uſually retreated when they were preſſed by the Engliſh arms. The principal defiles likewiſe which opened through that range of vaſt mountains were ſecured by ſtrong fortifications. The caſtle of Diganwy was placed oppoſite to the water of Conway, an arm of the ſea which opened into the country; that of Caer Rhun was ſituated at the paſs of Bwlch y ddau-vaen, with a fort at Aber; Dolwyddelen caſtle and a watch tower were placed at Nant Frapkon; Dolbadern caſtle at Nant Peris; and the fort at Kidom was fixed at Nant tal-y-Llyn. The other paſs of Traeth Mawr was guarded by the ſtrong caſtles of Harlech on one ſide of the bay, and of Cricieth on the other; with a watch tower at Keſel Gyfarch, and a fort at Dolbenmaen.[3] Theſe

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 5—8. [2] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64.
[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 148.

various fortifications, all of them placed in the moſt advantageous ſituations, marked, for a rude age, great military ſagacity.

CADELL, the ſecond ſon of the late prince, ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of South Wales,[1] diſtinguiſhed by the name of Deheubarth, as lying to the ſouth of the other provinces.[2] The reſidence of the princes of this country was at Dinevawr,[3] on the banks of the river Towi * in Caermarthenſhire; where a palace had been erected by Roderic,[4] in a ſituation ſtrongly fortified by woods and mountains; and more convenient, on that account, than their ancient abode at Caermarthen upon the ſame river; which was probably at this time in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.[5] This diſtrict, the *Demetia* of the Romans, was divided into the preſent counties of Caerdigan, Pembroke, Caermarthen, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecknock; it conſiſted of twenty-ſix *cantrevs*, ſubdivided into eighty-one *commots*;[6] and was encompaſſed by the Iriſh ſea, by the Severn, and by the rivers Wye and Dyvi.[7] The continual influx of foreigners into this country hath been the means of debaſing the language from its original purity.[8] A. D. 877.

MERVYN, the youngeſt ſon of Roderic the Great, ſucceeded to the principality of Powys.[9] The reſidence of the princes of this country was at Mathraval in Montgomeryſhire; at which A. D. 877.

1 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 174. 2 Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 64.
3 Dinas Vawr, or the great palace. * *Tyvi.* 4 Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 34.
5 Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 79. 6 Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 16—20.
7 Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 75, 76. 8 Ibid. 9 Rowland's Mon. p. 175.

place a palace had been built by the late prince.[1] The principality of Powys, afterwards broken into the diviſions of Powys Vadoc, and Powys Wenwynwyn;[2] had fourteen *cantrevs*, ſubdivided into forty *commots*;[3] it was bounded on the north by North Wales, on the eaſt by the country which lies between Cheſter and Hereford, on the ſouth by England, and on the weſt by the river Wye, and by mountains which divide it from South Wales.[4] The fertility and open ſituation of this country, expoſed it to continual invaſions; and having more to dread from the arms of the Engliſh, than to expect from the regular ſupport of their countrymen, the princes of Powys took an early and frequent part in the intereſts of England.

Early in the reign of Anarawd, that prince had an opportunity of affording to the northern Britons, the like friendly protection, which his anceſtors had ſo often received from their countrymen in Armorica. The remains of the Strath-Clyde Britons, having been harraſſed by the Danes, Saxons and Scots; and after ſevere conflicts with them, having loſt Conſtantine their king in battle; applied to Anarawd for an aſylum in his dominions.[5] This prince agreed to receive them on the only tenure incident to theſe turbulent ages, which was to obtain and to preſerve a ſettlement by the power of the ſword.

Under the conduct of Hobart, theſe Britons came into Wales; and having every motive of reſentment and intereſt to

[1] Rowland's Mon. p. 175. [2] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.
[3] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 10, 11. [4] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.
[5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 31.

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urge them to valour, they eaſily diſpoſſeſſed the Saxons of that country which is ſituated between the Dee and the Conway.[1]

THESE people remained for a time in quiet poſſeſſion of their new kingdom, until Eadred the earl of Mercia, mortified with the diſgrace his arms had ſuſtained, made preparations to recover the country which had been ſo eaſily torn from him.[2] The Britons, having early intelligence of his deſign, removed their cattle and other valuable effects beyond the river Conway. To ſupport his allies, and to expel from the boſom of his country its hereditary enemies, Anarawd exhibited a ſpirit and activity ſuitable to the importance of the occaſion; and having encountered the Saxons at Cymryd, about two miles from the town of Conway, by his own gallantry and the bravery of his troops, he gave them an entire defeat. With a pious and honeſt exultation, the young prince called this memorable action *Dial Rodri*,[3] expreſſive of the vengeance he had taken for his father's death.[4] Purſuing their victory, the Welſh followed the Saxons into Mercia, laid waſte their borders, and returned into their own country loaded with valuable ſpoils.[5] Anarawd, agreeably to the piety of thoſe days, and to expreſs his gratitude for the late proſperous event, endowed the collegiate church of Bangor, and that of Clynnoc Vawr in Arvon, with lands and great poſſeſſions.[6] Theſe northern Britons, by an unaccountable and ſin- A. D. 878.

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38. Humf. Lhuyd, p. 31, 32.
[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38. [3] Or Roderic's revenge.
[4] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38. [5] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38.
[6] Ibid. Camden's Brit. p. 671.

gular policy, were allowed to eſtabliſh a ſeparate ſtate in the vale of Clwyd, in *Rhos*, and in the conquered[1] country.[2] Part of this country had been called Tegenia by the Romans, Englefeld by the Saxons, and Tegeingl by the Welſh; but being now united with the other territories, the northern Britons gave to their new kingdom the name of Strath-Clwyd;* part of it being ſituated on the banks of the river Clwyd.[3]

Civil diſſenſion, an evil naturally ſpringing out of the conduct of Roderic, and which ſoon ſet aſide his futile regulations, had already taken root in the breaſts of his ſons. For Anarawd, after the late ſtorm was diſperſed, probably on account of the
A. D. 893. tribute not having been paid,[4] united with the Engliſh againſt his brother the prince of South Wales; and with their joint forces invaded his territory, and laid waſte the country of Caerdigan,[5] and the vale alſo which borders upon the Wye in Radnorſhire.*

The Danes being obliged to flee beforethe arms of Alfred, made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Wales, and advanced into the
A. D. 896. country as far as Buellt;[6] and ſome time after, being again diſcomfited by that truly great prince, they laid waſte the country of Brecknock, and other diſtricts in South Wales.[7]

[1] The country from Conway along the Dee to Cheſter. [2] Welſh Chron.
* *Yſtrad Clwyd.* [3] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 69.
[4] Britiſh Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 13. [5] Chron. Wales, p. 41.
* *Yſtradgwy.* [6] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 41, 42. [7] Ibid.

A large

A large body of the ſame people landed again in Angleſey; but this invaſion ſeems only to have been diſtinguiſhed by a battle fought at Meilon, and by the death of Mervyn the prince of Powys.[1] A. D. 900.

The fatal policy of Roderic became again conſpicuous. Cadell the prince of South Wales, on the death of Mervyn his brother, took poſſeſſion by force of the principality of Powys; incited by ambition, or the jealouſy natural to brothers who enjoy an equal ſhare in their father's dominions and dignity.[2]

Cadell, the prince of South Wales, dying in this year, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Howel; who likewiſe annexed the ſovereignty of Powys to his hereditary dignity.[3] A. D. 907.

The city of Cheſter, which had lain ſome years in ruins ſince it had been demoliſhed by the Danes,[4] was rebuilt and much improved by Elfleda, the wife of the tributary ſovereign of Mercia:[5] ſhe likewiſe repaired the walls, and enlarged their circuit round the caſtle, which before this time had been ſituated without the city.[6] A. D. 908.

A few years after this event, Anarawd, the king of North Wales died, and left two ſons, Edwal Voel, and Elis. A. D. 913.

[1] Chron. Wales, p. 42. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 35. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 44, 46.
[4] Saxon Annals, p. 95. [5] Math. Weſtm. Flores Hiſt. p. 269.
[6] Brompton's Chron. p. 838. Fabian's Chron. p. 224. Printed at London Ann. Dom. 1559.

Edwal

A. D. 913. Edwal Voel, the eldeſt ſon of the late prince, ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of North Wales; and was married to the daughter of his uncle Mervyn, the late prince of Powys.[1] Early in his reign the Iriſh made a deſcent on the iſland of Angleſey, which they laid waſte in a cruel manner.[2]

A. D. 933. Athelstane the king of England, having in ſeveral victories triumphed over the Danes and Scots, marched with an army into Wales; and at Hereford impoſed on the princes of that country a yearly tribute of twenty pounds in gold, three hundred pounds in ſilver, and two thouſand five hundred head of cattle; beſides a certain number of hawks and hounds.[3] This arbitrary tribute was no longer regarded by the Welſh, than while the kings of England had the power of enforcing its obſervance.

A Welsh chieftain had been impriſoned in England; and his confinement being reſented by Edwal Voel, probably as an inſult offered to the independency of his crown, that prince, with his brother Elis, attempted by hoſtilities to revenge the affront; but in the conteſt they were both ſlain, fighting againſt the Engliſh and Danes.[4] The king of North Wales left ſix ſons, Meyric, Jevaf, Jago, Cynan, Edwal and Roderic; and

A. D. 940.

[1] Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 4.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 45, 47.

[3] Brompton's Chron. p. 838, with reſpect to the tribute, with the difference only of doubling the number of cattle. Stowe's Chron. p. 82. Welſh Chron. p. 50. Grafton's Chron. p. 149, publiſhed Ann. 1569.

[4] Welſh Chron. p. 51.

his

his brother Elis a ſon called Cynan, and a daughter named Trawſt.[1]

The love of power is an active and commanding principle in man: to obtain and preſerve it, he will employ his utmoſt ſagacity, and bend the full force of his various faculties. Even the wiſe and temperate mind of Howel, prince of South Wales, was not exempt from its influence. The great eſteem into which this prince had ariſen from a juſt adminiſtration, had probably gained him, ſome years before, the ſovereignty of Powys; and enabled him, at this time, by the acceſſion of North Wales, to unite into one kingdom the three principalities.[2] Whether he obtained that dignity, ſolely, by the efforts of ambition; or was called to it by the voice of the people; or that talents for government, in theſe diſordered times, occaſionally ſet aſide the regular courſe of ſucceſſion; it is certain, that the ſons of the late prince, immediately on their father's death, were ſuperſeded by Howel; without any farther oppoſition on their part, than unavailing murmurs and diſcontent.[3] Whatever were the means by which he attained to the ſovereignty of North Wales; his early attention to the common weal, and the mild tenor of his government, will, in ſome meaſure, palliate, though it can never vindicate upon any principle of expediency, an act of injuſtice. A. D. 940.

To reduce his ſubjects to a ſenſe of order, and to render them ſubordinate to civil authority, Howel determined to collect into

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 51. Britiſh Antiq. Revived by Vaughan Hengwrt, p. 14.
[2] Welſh Chron. p. 52. [3] Ibid. p. 52.

one

one code the ancient cuſtoms and laws of Wales; which, in the lapſe of ages, and in the confuſion and turbulency of the times, had nearly loſt their efficacy and weight. In purſuance of this deſign, he convened the archbiſhop of St. David, and other biſhops and clergy to the number of one hundred and forty, with the principal chieftains of Wales: out of every *commot* were likewiſe ſummoned ſix perſons, diſtinguiſhed by their talents and virtues. This aſſembly, forming a great national council, met upon the banks of the Tâf, at the white palace belonging to king Howel.[1] In order to give the meeting greater ſolemnity, and to implore the Divine Wiſdom to influence their counſels, the king himſelf, with the whole aſſembly, remained during Lent in the continual exerciſe of prayer and other acts of devotion. As ſoon as this ſolemn preparation was finiſhed, Howel ſelected twelve perſons who were eminent for wiſdom, gravity, and experience; and he joined in the commiſſion Blegored, the archdeacon of Llandaff; a perſon highly diſtinguiſhed for learning, and a knowledge of the laws. This committee entered into a ſtrict examination of the cuſtoms and ancient inſtitutions of Wales. With a judicious and diſcriminating eye they aboliſhed every law become injurious or unneceſſary; thoſe, likewiſe, which time had rendered confuſed and unintelligible, were explained with greater perſpicuity; and by a proper digeſt of the whole, a ſyſtem was framed; which, allowing for limited ideas in juriſprudence, was wiſely adapted to the genius, neceſſities, and ſituation of the Welſh.[2]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 53. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 53.

THIS ſyſtem was formed on the baſis of the ancient national laws.[1]

AFTER the new code of laws had been read, proclaimed, and ratified by the public approbation; three copies of them were put into writing; one of which was deſigned for the uſe of the prince, and to follow his court; and the others were depoſited in the palaces of Aberffraw and Dinevawr. This may be conſidered as a tolerable advance in juridical policy, for that age; when private rights and public laws had been, in a great meaſure, tranſmitted by local cuſtoms and immemorial tradition. To add ſtill greater authority to the laws, and to ſtamp them as objects of religious veneration; the archbiſhop of St. David denounced excommunication on all who ſhould violate them. Influenced, likewiſe, by the ſpirit of the age, or deſirous of rendering ſuch a ceremony ſubſervient to his views, Howel, attended by the archbiſhop of St. David, the biſhops of Bangor and St. Aſaph, and thirteen other perſons of diſtinction, proceeded to Rome; where the new ſyſtem of legiſlation was ſolemnly ratified by the Pope; and having thus given the laſt ſanction to his laws, he returned into Wales.[2]

THE mild temper of this prince ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to have influenced the tranſactions of his reign; few military incidents having diſturbed it during a period of forty years. At this

[1] Said to have been originally framed by Moelmutius, (*Dyfnwal Moelmud*) who reigned in Britain 441 years before Chriſt. Holinſhead, p. 177.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 54.

A. D. 944. time, however, the Engliſh, with a conſiderable force, invaded North Wales; and after they had laid waſte the ſmall territory of Strath-Clwyd, returned into their own country.[1]

A. D. 948. A few years after this event king Howel died; leaving four ſons, Owen, Rhun, Roderic, and Edwyn; who, dividing among themſelves the principalities of South Wales and Powys, relinquiſhed North Wales to the right heirs, Jeuav and Jago; the ſons of Edwal Voel.[2]

The death of this amiable prince, who had long enjoyed the mild honours reſulting from peace, and the public eſteem, ſpread univerſally the deepeſt ſorrow. As a grateful memorial of his virtues, poſterity have given him the ſurname of *Dha*, or the Good. His code of laws is the beſt eulogium to his memory; and raiſes him as much above the reſt of the Cambrian princes,[3] as peace and gentleneſs of manners, and a regulated ſtate; are preferable to the evils inſeparable from war, to the fierceneſs of uncivilized life, and to the habits of a wild independency.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 58. [2] Ibid. p. 58.

[3] From this compariſon it is the author's meaning to except thoſe Britiſh and Cambrian princes who defended their country from the rapacity or ambition of foreign enemies: a conduct than which nothing can be more meritorious, or ſcarcely any thing have a higher claim on the reſpect and gratitude of mankind.

THE

THE LAWS of HOWEL DHA were divided into three parts, each of which had a diſtinct and ſeparate object; the king's prerogatives, with the œconomy of his court; the affairs of civil juriſprudence; and the criminal law.

The king poſſeſſed, by virtue of his prerogative, the patronage of monaſteries; the protection of public roads, the right of creating laws with conſent of his people, of coining money within his dominions, and of preſiding in the principal cauſes that related to himſelf, his crown, and its appendages. He was empowered to lead an army only once a year, and for no longer time than ſix weeks, out of his kingdom; within his own territories he might at any time muſter his ſubjects and conduct them to battle. He was privileged to hunt in any part of his dominions. He had a power of compelling any of his ſubjects to build the royal caſtles.

If any perſon addreſſed the king with unbecoming and inſolent language, he was conſtrained to pay a fine of ſix head of cattle. Offences againſt the king were, to commit adultery with his queen, to kill his ſubſtitute, and violate his protection. The judges were conſidered as the king's ſubſtitutes. The fine for theſe treaſons conſiſted of a rod of gold of the king's ſtature, a bull, and a hundred cows, from every *cantrev* or diſtrict belonging to the attainted perſon. For aſſaſſinating the king the penalty was made threefold.

The witneſs or debtor who followed the ſound of the military horn, when the king marched to war, was excuſed from obedience to a legal ſummons. At his acceſſion he confirmed the rights of places of aſylum; and it was alſo his prerogative to fix the bounds of *cantrevs* and *trevs*. He had likewiſe a power of bringing to immediate trial cauſes in which the crown was concerned, and of ſetting aſide a written law to make room for a traditional cuſtom. There were ſpecies of offences which gave the king the privilege of ſelling the offenders. The king was not amenable to his own judges.

To moderate theſe exceſſes of authority, ſome limitations were thrown into the oppoſite ſcale. If complaint was made that the king, or any of his ſubſtitutes, had violated the laws, and exerciſed oppreſſion; the matter was then to be decided by a verdict of the country; that is, by a jury of fifty men holding land, and ſworn to do juſtice; if the accuſation was found to be juſt, they ordered reparation to be made. The king had no power to puniſh his ſubjects for offences committed out of his kingdom, or in the time of his predeceſſor. Though he had granted to an abbey rights or privileges by which his prerogative was infringed, yet the law ordained that the grant ſhould never be revoked; alledging, that it was more ſafe to diminiſh, than to increaſe the royal power.

The Welſh, engaged in a roving and military life, had little leiſure to exerciſe the arts, or to cultivate the ground; and of conſequence were, in ſome degree, in a ſtate of poverty. They had

had many uſages, however, which tended to make their princes opulent; and to ſupply them with the means of diſplaying that unreſtrained hoſpitality by which their reſidence was rendered conſpicuous.

The king was the original landlord of the whole of his dominions. The ſervices by which lands were held under him were of three kinds; military ſervice, ſervice in the courts of law, and the payment of the public tribute; which in ancient times was made with horned cattle. When land, by neglecting the ſervice for the performance of which they were granted, or by deſerting them without the king's licence, were forfeited, they reverted to him. His ſubjects were obliged to build the royal palaces, and, in a great meaſure, they maintained his houſehold; he was entitled to all treaſures wherever found; to all goods not claimed by any owner, and the poſſeſſions of deceaſed biſhops. Among the various productive ſources of revenue, was the ſale of honourable and lucrative places; and the eſcheat of goods exceeding one pound in value; ſuch as horſes, oxen, cows, gold, ſilver, and embroidered garments; eſcheated goods of inferior price belonged to the royal officers and domeſtics. According to the ancient diviſion of Wales, ſettled by its laws, a *cantrev* contained two *commots*; a *commot* twelve manors; a manor four townſhips. A yearly tribute of one pound was due from every free manor, and was paid to the king in money; or in lieu thereof, a horſe load of the beſt flour, a ſlaughtered ox, a caſk of mead,* one hundred and ſixty ſheaves of oats for the pro-

* *Medd.*

vender

vender of the king's horſes, a ſow, a flitch of bacon, and a veſſel of butter. This tribute was paid in the ſummer. In winter the royal houſehold was in a great meaſure ſupported by the free manors; each of which paid likewiſe two ſhillings in money, to be divided among the domeſtics. Thoſe manors which were not emancipated, but remained in a ſtate of vaſſalage, paid twice in the year a ſmaller tribute; conſiſting of ale, butter, cheeſe, bread, corn for provender, hogs and ſheep. In every *commot* of Wales, two townſhips remained in the king's private poſſeſſion, ungranted to any ſubject. A mayor and a chancellor ſuperintended the royal demeſnes; the latter officer had the privilege of being preceded by a virger; he had alſo the power of impriſonment, and was not liable to be taxed. Shipwrecks and all other things thrown up by the ſea upon the ſhore of the king's perſonal eſtates, became his property: when thrown on the territory of a biſhop, abbot, or any other lord, the king had alſo a right to an equal ſhare.

Besides theſe ſources of advantage ariſing to the king; there were many others which were conſidered as the fruits of his prerogative. He had the eſcheat of the goods of ſuicides. Foreigners, who were vagabonds, and who were found in any part of his dominions, were the property of the king. He was the proprietor, likewiſe, of waſtes, foreſts, and the ſea. He had the power of commanding a workman from every town in villanage to erect his tent. The villains of the crown were obliged to build for the king nine apartments of his palace: the hall, the royal bedchamber, the pantry, the ſtable, dog kennel, the barn, the kiln, the privy, and the dormitory. Young women were accounted among

among the ſources of the king's revenue; and to him a fee was paid on their marriage or violation. A fine was paid to the king on any breach of contract. A toll was alſo to be paid by every merchant ſhip which came into the ports of Wales; and if any ſhip, which had not paid toll, happened to be wrecked, its cargo was forfeited to the king. Vaſſals, in a ſtate of villanage, were obliged, nine times in the year, to furniſh the king's horſes and dogs with provender, and his foreigners with proviſion. They were likewiſe conſtrained to yield up all their honey and fiſh to the uſe of the court; and to provide horſes to carry the baggage and ammunition of the army. A third part of all military plunder was yielded to the crown.

The Queen had a right of patronage, or protection; and received a third part of the revenues of the royal manors. The violation of her perſon was deemed among the treaſonable offences; with the addition of a moiety to the ordinary penalty. A preſent of money was due to her, when her daughter was married. She had alſo a power to diſpoſe of a third part of what ſhe had received from the king.

The Heir Apparent was either the ſon, the brother, the nephew, or couſin of the king: and it was believed that the king's private promiſe or appointment could ſecure the ſucceſſion to either of theſe kinſmen, without regard to nearneſs of blood. The laws placed him near the king's perſon, and under his authority: he ſat at the king's table, and was ſerved by the royal attendants. The king, the heir apparent, and the maſter of the

palace, paid no portion with their daughters: the honour and influence derived from ſuch an alliance was deemed an equivalent. Deformity of perſon, as well as incapacity of mind, diſqualified the king's ſon or next of kindred from the government; as they did any ſubject from public offices, and the inheritance of land.

The Officers of the Household, and twelve gentlemen whoſe tenures of land were by military ſervice, compoſed the royal guard; and were mounted upon horſes furniſhed by the king.

The Royal Household conſiſted of the following officers and domeſtics.

The Master of the Palace. He was ſometimes the heir apparent, always of the royal blood. His authority extended to every perſon of the houſehold; and when any of them fell under the king's diſpleaſure, this officer entertained him until a reconciliation was effected. He received a ſhare of all military plunder; and, on three feſtivals in the year, was obliged by his office to deliver the harp into the hands of the domeſtic bard. He was alſo, it is probable, the king's treaſurer.

The Domestic Chaplain, was by his office appointed to ſay grace, to celebrate maſs, and to be conſulted in matters of conſcience. He was alſo ſecretary to the king, and to the principal court of juſtice. In the king's abſence, the domeſtic chaplain, the judge of the palace, and the ſteward of the houſehold, ſupported the royal dignity, and exerciſed the authority annexed to it.

The

The Steward of the Household, ſuperintended the inferior domeſtics; receiving, among other emoluments, the ſkins of lambs, kids, and fawns; and all other creatures from an ox to an eel, killed for the uſe of the king's kitchen. He was the king's taſter; and drank, but did not eat, at the king's table. He diſtributed among the officers of the houſehold their wages; he aſſigned them proper ſeats in the hall of the palace, and allotted the apartments in which they were to ſleep.

The Master of the Hawks, was required to ſleep near his birds: he had his bed in the king's granary, where they were kept; and not in the palace, leſt they ſhould be injured by the ſmoke. He was reſtricted to a certain meaſure of mead and ale; that he might not neglect his duty. In ſpring he had the ſkin of a hind, and in autumn that of a ſtag, for gloves to guard his hands, and thongs for the geſſes of his hawks. The eagle, the crane, the hawk, the falcon, and the raven, were conſidered as royal birds; when any of theſe were killed without authority, a fine was paid to the king. The king owed three ſervices to the maſter of the hawks; on the day when he took a curlieu, a hern, or a bittern. He held the horſe of this officer while he took the bird; held his ſtirrup while he mounted and diſmounted; and that night honoured him likewiſe with three different preſents. If the king was not in the field, he roſe from his ſeat to receive this officer upon his return; or if he did not riſe, he gave him the garment which he wore at the time.

The Judge of the Palace. The court in which this judge preſided, was the principal court of Wales. It is ſaid that he always lodged in the hall of the palace; and that the cuſhion on which the king was ſeated in the day, ſerved for his pillow at night. On his appointment, he received an ivory cheſs-board from the king; a gold ring from the queen, and another gold ring from the domeſtic bard; which he always kept as the inſignia of his office. When he entered, or departed out of the palace, the great gate was opened for him; that his dignity might not be degraded by paſſing under a wicket. He determined the rank and duty of the ſeveral officers of the houſehold. He decided poetical conteſts; and received from the victorious bard, whom he rewarded with a ſilver chair, the badge of poetical pre-eminence; a gold ring, a drinking horn, and a cuſhion. If complaint was made to the king, that the judge of the palace had pronounced an unjuſt ſentence, and the accuſation was proved; he was then for ever deprived of his office, and condemned to loſe his tongue, or pay the uſual ranſom for that member. The other judges were alſo ſubject to theſe ſevere but ſalutary conditions. A perſon ignorant of the laws, whom the king deſigned to make his principal judge, was required to reſide previouſly a whole year in the palace; that he might obtain from the other judges, who reſorted thither from the country, a competent knowledge of his profeſſion and duty. During this year, the difficult cauſes which occurred, were ſtated and referred by him to the king: at the expiration of this term he was to receive the ſacrament from the hands of the domeſtic chaplain, and to ſwear at the altar that he would never know-

ingly pronounce an unjuſt ſentence, nor ever be influenced by bribes or intreaties, hatred or affection: he was then placed by the king in his ſeat, and inveſted with the judicial authority; and afterwards received preſents from the officers of the houſehold. It was reckoned among the remarkable and peculiar cuſtoms of the Welſh, that the tongues of all animals ſlaughtered for the uſe of the king's houſehold, were given to the judge of the palace.

The Master of the Horse. His lodging was near the royal ſtables and granary; and it was his duty to make an equal diſtribution of provender among the royal horſes. From every perſon on whom the king had beſtowed one of his horſes, this officer received a preſent. To him and to his equerries belonged all colts, not two years old; included in the king's ſhare of ſpoils taken in war. To him alſo belonged the riding caps, ſaddles, bridles, and ſpurs, which the king had uſed and laid aſide. The ſpurs, we are told, were of gold, ſilver, and braſs. It was part of his duty, to produce the horſe belonging to the judge of the palace, in good condition and in his complete furniture. The judge, in return for this care, inſtructed him in the nature of his rank and privileges. The extent of his protection was, the diſtance to which the ſwifteſt horſe in the king's ſtables could run.

The Chamberlain, was obliged to eat and ſleep in the king's private apartment, which he was appointed to guard. It was his duty to fill, and preſent to the king, his drinking horn; and to keep alſo his plate and rings, for all of which he was

accountable. When the king's bed-furniture and wearing apparel were laid aſide, they were given to the chamberlain. If a perſon, walking in the king's chamber at night, without a light in his hand, happened to be ſlain, the laws gave no compenſation for his death.

The Domestic Bard, was conſidered as next in rank to the chief Bard of Wales. He was obliged, at the queen's command, to ſing in her own chamber, three different pieces of poetry ſet to muſic; but in a low voice, that the court might not be diſturbed in the hall. At his appointment he received a harp from the king, and a gold ring from the queen. On three great feſtivals in the year, he received and wore the garments of the ſteward of the houſehold; and at thoſe entertainments ſat next to the maſter of the palace. He accompanied the army when they marched into the enemy's country; and when they prepared for battle, he ſung before them an ancient poem called *Unbenniaeth Prydain*, or the Monarchy of Britain; and for this ſervice was rewarded with the moſt valuable beaſt of the plunder which they had taken in theſe incurſions.

An Officer to command Silence. This he performed firſt by his voice, and afterwards by ſtriking with his rod of office a pillar near which the domeſtic chaplain uſually ſat: and to him a fine was due for every diſturbance in the court. He took charge of the implements of huſbandry, and of the flocks and herds belonging to the king's demeſnes, in the abſence

ſence of the bailiff, or during the vacancy of his place. He was alſo a collector of the royal revenues.

The Master of the Hounds. In the hunting ſeaſon he was entertained, together with his ſervants and dogs, by thoſe tenants who held land in villanage. Hinds were hunted from the middle of February to midſummer; and ſtags from that time to the middle of October. From the ninth day of November to the end of that month, this officer hunted the wild boar. On the firſt day of November, he brought his hounds and all his hunting apparatus for the king's inſpection: and then the ſkins of the animals he had killed in the preceding ſeaſon were divided, according to a ſettled proportion, between the king, himſelf, and his attendants. A little before Chriſtmas he returned to the court, to ſupport his rank and enjoy his privileges. During his reſidence at the palace he was lodged in the kiln-houſe, where corn was prepared by fire for the dogs. His bugle was the horn of an ox, valued at one pound. Whenever his oath was required, he ſwore by his horn, hounds, and leaſhes. Early in the morning, before he put on his boots, and then only, he was liable to be cited to appear before a court of judicature. The maſter of the hounds, or any other perſon who ſhared with the king, had a right to divide, and the king to chooſe. It was his duty to accompany the army on its march with his horn; and to ſound the alarm, and the ſignal of battle. His protection extended to any diſtance which the ſound of his horn could reach. The laws declared, that the beaver, the martin, and the ſtoat were the king's property wherever killed;

killed; and that with the furry ſkins of theſe animals his robes were to be bordered. The legal price of a beaver's ſkin was ſtated at ten ſhillings.[1]

The Mead-brewer. This liquor, which was the wine commonly uſed by the Welſh, was made with honey mixed in a vat with boiling water, and ſpiced. The wax ſeparated by this proceſs from the honey, was partly given to the mead-brewer, and partly applied to the uſes of the hall, which was the refectory of the palace; and to thoſe of the queen's dining apartment.

The Physician of the Household, was alſo a practitioner of ſurgery. In ſlight caſes he cured the king's domeſtics without a fee. When he healed a common wound, he claimed the torn and bloody garments of the wounded perſon. When the brain was laid open, the bowels in ſight; or a thigh, leg, or arm was fractured; he received one pound for the cure. He was entitled to a bond from the family of his patient; by which he was indemnified, if death ſhould enſue: if he did not take this precaution, and the patient happened to die, he was liable to a legal proſecution. He always attended the army on its march.

The Cup-bearer, had charge of the mead-cellar, and filled and preſented the drinking-horns.

[1] Lord Lyttelton, ſurely, was not appriſed of the teſtimony of Howel's laws, when he ridiculed Giraldus's account of beavers in Wales as fabulous.

The

THE DOOR-KEEPER, whoſe duty it was to carry meſſages to the king and his court. His ſtation and lodging was the gate-houſe. He was required to know perſonally all the officers of the houſehold, that he might not refuſe admittance to any of them; which refuſal was conſidered and puniſhed as a violation of privilege. If he deſerted his poſt, and happened to receive any inſult, he could obtain no compenſation. He cleared the way before the king; and with his rod kept off the crowd. He preſerved the hall of the palace free from intruders; and did not ſit, but kneel in the king's preſence. The door-keeper of the palace, and the door-keeper of the royal chamber, lodged with the gate-keeper in the gate-houſe.

THE COOK, to whoſe office appertained the ſkins of all animals ſlaughtered for the uſe of the kitchen. He always carried the laſt diſh out of the kitchen, and placed it before the king; who immediately rewarded him with meat and drink.

THE SCONCE-BEARER, who held wax tapers when the king ſat in the hall, and carried them before him when he retired to his chamber.

THE STEWARD TO THE QUEEN; this officer was alſo her taſter. He ſuperintended her domeſtics, and was entertained at her table.

THE QUEEN'S CHAPLAIN, who was alſo her ſecretary; and received a fee for every grant or inſtrument which bore her ſeal.

ſeal. He was alſo entertained in her dining apartment, and ſat oppoſite to her at table. He was entitled by his office to the penitential robes which the queen wore during lent. He lodged together with the king's chaplain, in the ſacriſtan's houſe.

The Master of the Horse to the Queen, was in ſeveral reſpects upon the ſame footing with the king's officer of the ſame name.

The Queen's Chamberlain, tranſacted every buſineſs between her apartment and the hall of the palace, and kept her wardrobe. His lodging was near the royal chamber, that he might be in readineſs whenever he was wanted.

The Woman of the Queen's Chamber, whoſe office it was to ſleep ſo near her miſtreſs, as to be able to hear her ſpeak though in a whiſper. She was entitled to the queen's linen, hairlaces, ſhoes, bridles, and ſaddles, when they were laid aſide.

The Door-keeper to the queen, lodged in the gate-houſe.

The Queen's Cook.

The Queen's Sconce-bearer.

The Groom of the Rein; who, when the maſter of the horſe was abſent, ſupplied his place. He led the king's horſe to and from the ſtables, brought out his arms, held his ſtirrup when he mounted or diſmounted, and ran by his ſide as his page.

An

An Officer to support the King's Feet at Banquets: he was the foot-ſtool of his throne, and the guard of his perſon. There was one in every *cantrev*.

The Bailiff of the king's demeſne. It was his province to judge and to puniſh the king's private vaſſals; and to him their heriots and amercements were paid. The ſervants of the chancellor and the officers of the revenue drove into his cuſtody the tribute-cattle; and by him the king's houſehold was ſupplied with proviſion.

The Apparitor, as an officer of the houſehold, ſtood between the two pillars in the hall; and had the charge of the palace during entertainments, that it might not ſuffer any damage by fire or otherwiſe. He appeared likewiſe in another capacity; conveying the ſummonſes and citations of the principal court of juſtice. He carried a wand as the badge of his office; and claimed entertainment at every houſe to which he was ſent: when the judges were ſitting, it was the apparitor's duty to ſilence, or take into cuſtody, thoſe offenders who diſturbed the court.

The Gate-keeper claimed by cuſtom a ſhare of ſeveral things carried through the gate-houſe to the palace. State priſoners were committed to his cuſtody. He acted as apparitor in the king's demeſnes. He provided ſtraw for the beds and other uſes of the royal houſehold; and he took care that the fires were lighted.

The Watchman of the palace was an officer who guarded the king's perſon while he ſlept. To him were given, as ſymbols of his duty, the eyes of all animals ſlaughtered for the uſe of the palace kitchen. When the king, and the officers of the houſhold retired to ſleep, a horn was ſounded; which was a ſignal to the watch-man to go upon duty. In the morning, when the palace gate was opened, he was relieved. From that time, until the horn was ſounded again at night, he was permitted to ſleep; and was under no neceſſity of performing any other ſervice, unleſs he voluntarily undertook it for a reward. If he was found negligent or aſleep during his watch, he was ſubject to heavy puniſhments.

The Wood-man procured fuel for the uſes of the houſehold. He alſo ſlaughtered the cattle for the royal kitchen with his axe.

The Baker-woman.

The Palace-Smith was obliged to work for the houſehold without any reward; except when he made a boiling pot, the point of a ſpear, the wood-man's axe, the iron work of the gate of the palace, or royal caſtle, and the iron work of the mill. It was his duty to ſtrike off the ſhackles of priſoners releaſed by the court of juſtice; and he received a fee for that ſervice. No other ſmith was allowed to exerciſe his trade in the ſame *commot* with the palace-ſmith, without his permiſſion.

The Laundress.

The Chief Musician was choſen into and ſeated in the chair of muſic, for his ſuperior ſkill in that ſcience, by the

ſeſſion of the bards at the end of every third year. When his term expired, if he had maintained his ſuperiority, he was re-choſen. He was the only perſon, except the domeſtic bard, who was allowed to perform in the king's preſence. He was lodged in one of the apartments belonging to the heir apparent. In the hall he ſat next to the judge of the palace. When the king deſired to hear muſic, the chief muſician ſung two poems accompanied by the harp; one in praiſe of the Almighty, the other in honour of princes and their exploits; after which a third poem was ſung by the domeſtic bard. His emoluments aroſe out of fees given by brides on their nuptials; and from thoſe of novices in muſic, when they were admitted to the practice of their profeſſion. The Welſh bards were uſually accompanied in their ſongs by the harp, the crwth, and the flute. They frequently addreſſed poems to their princes and lords, in which they ſolicited preſents; ſuch as a horſe, a bull, a ſword, or a garment; and they were ſeldom, if ever, refuſed.

The controller of the revenues had the privilege of bringing three gueſts to banquets in the palace. This officer, and the chancellor, received all the honey, the fiſh, and wild creatures; which were paid as tributes, or forfeited to the king. They alſo received a third part of the income ariſing to the king from his tenants in villanage.

These were the different officers of whom the royal houſehold was compoſed. They were free-holders by their offices; and in conſequence of this they all enjoyed the right of pro-

tection; by which they granted criminals a temporary ſafety. On the heads of theſe perſons, and on all their members, a price was fixed by the laws. They received for their wearing apparel woollen cloth from the king, and linen from the queen. They were all aſſembled by the ſound of a horn.

CIVIL JURISPRUDENCE.

There were three ſpecies of courts; each of which enjoyed a diſtinct prerogative, with power to take cogniſance of offences, and to puniſh them: the royal, the epiſcopal, and the abbatial. When a perſon, ſubject to one of theſe juriſdictions, litigated with a perſon ſubject to another; the cauſe was tried by the judges of the reſpective courts conjunctively.

The royal courts, thoſe in which the judges ſat as the king's ſubſtitutes, were diſtinguiſhed into four kinds; the principal court, the courts of *cantrevs*, courts of *commots*, and extraordinary courts. The principal court was uſually held at the king's chief reſidence.

For the adminiſtration of juſtice in the *commots* and *cantrevs* remote from the principal court, inferior judges were appointed, with the title of chancellors; who alſo aſſiſted the officers of revenue, called Meiri, in collecting the taxes. Extraordinary courts were appointed by the king to hear and determine extraordinary cauſes; and to remedy the abuſes which had ariſen from a perverſion of the eſtabliſhed laws.

When

WHEN the ordinary judges differed in points of law, the regular and ſecular canons were appointed in that caſe extraordinary judges.

THE principal courts of North Wales and Powys conſiſted of the following officers appointed by the king: a judge, a chancellor, a provoſt, a clerk to regiſter the decrees of the court, and an apparitor to execute them. The courts of South Wales had the four laſt mentioned officers; with ſeveral judges who held their offices by virtue of the land they poſſeſſed, and received no fees.

ALL the courts were ſhut in ſpring, that plowing and ſowing might not be impeded; and in autumn on account of the harveſt. The judges were guided in their deciſions, not only by the code of national laws, but likewiſe by the *Brawd-lyfr*,[1] or Book of Reports, which contained precedents of the proceedings and decrees of their predeceſſors; and by the writings of Welſh lawyers, alſo, which were held in great eſtimation. A legal cauſe was that in which four perſons or parties were concerned: the king to preſide, the judge to examine and determine, the proſecutor, and the party accuſed. The accuſing party was bound over to proſecute; the party accuſed was obliged to find ſureties, who were impriſoned during the pendency of the ſuit. In any ſuit civil

[1] The Book of Triads, and the Book of Reports, were private volumes written by Welſh lawyers. There was likewiſe a code of Welſh laws, called the laws of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, a prince poſterior to Howel. If an action was brought forward according to the laws of Bleddyn, the judge could not frame his judgment by the laws of Howel, and *vice verſa*.

or criminal, a clerical plaintiff muſt proceed againſt a lay defendant in the king's court; and of conſequence, a lay plaintiff muſt proſecute his ſuit againſt his clerical adverſary in the eccleſiaſtical court.

Disputes concerning hereditary right were frequently decided by ſingle combat. Three ſorts of perſons, by the laws of Wales, might be killed with impunity; a madman, a foreigner, and a leper. No perſon was allowed to bequeath his property by teſtament; unleſs to the church, and for the payment of debts.

A wife was not allowed by law, to be a ſurety for her huſband, or an evidence for or againſt him. A married woman had no diſpoſal of any part of her huſband's property, either by ſale or purchaſe. A daughter was only entitled to a moiety of a ſon's ſhare of the father's perſonal property. Land and buildings were the only property which deſcended by hereditary ſucceſſion. Perſonal effects, under the regulation of the laws, were divided among the wife and children.

OF CAUSES BETWEEN SURETIES AND DEBTORS.

A debtor was obliged to indemnify his ſurety by payment of the debt, or giving a pledge, or diſavowing the bail. In a cauſe of debtor and ſurety, the ſurety was required to ſwear that he had given bail, and was diſcharged from his ſuit and bail; if he refuſed to ſwear, he loſt the cauſe, and was obliged to pay the

the debt. A ſurety was indemnified, only by payment of the whole and not a part of the debt. The ſurety was not bound to diſcharge the debt, until the debtor had refuſed or failed; but the law provided againſt ſuch refuſal or failure, by empowering the ſurety to take a pledge from the debtor more than equivalent to the debt. If a debtor found a ſurety, and afterwards fled to an aſylum to evade payment; the law in that caſe deprived him of his right of aſylum. Utenſils of the church could not be pledged. The bail of a reſponſible perſon could not be refuſed. Notorious drunkards, lunatics, hermits, foreigners, and perſons in holy orders were incompetent to give bail, or to enter into any covenant, action, or perſonal obligation; as were likewiſe monks without the conſent of their abbots, vaſſals without the conſent of their lords, ſcholars without the conſent of their preceptors, ſons under the age of fourteen without the conſent of their fathers, and wives without the conſent of their huſbands; except ladies of manors, giving bail for their vaſſals.

OF COMPACTS.

A LEGAL compact was made by the meeting of the parties before a witneſs; declaring to him the nature of their compact, and joining their hands to his, under a promiſe of abiding by it. So very ſacred was a compact conſidered, that it could not be annulled even by an expreſs law.

OF THE SEVERAL CASES IN WHICH A SINGLE WITNESS WAS ADMISSIBLE.

A LORD, in a cauſe between two of his vaſſals, in which he himſelf was not concerned. An abbot, between two of his monks. A father, between two of his ſons. A judge, concerning his own adjudication. A ſurety, in a cauſe concerning a matter for which he had given bail. A donor, in a cauſe concerning his own donation; or (according to other manuſcripts) a prieſt between two of his pariſhioners. A young woman concerning her own virginity. The public herdſman of a townſhip concerning the herd or flock under his care. A thief at the gallows concerning his accomplices.

IT was uſual for a huſband to give preſents to his wife on the firſt morning after her marriage, and before ſhe aroſe out of bed; which preſents were conſidered as her own property; but if the wife neglected to ſeiſe this favourable opportunity, ſhe could never afterwards demand them.[1] This preſent was called *Egweddi* or *Cowyll*.

IN caſes of divorces among the Welſh, an equal diviſion of property took place, under certain limitations. If a wife was ſeparated from her huſband before the expiration of ſeven years ſhe was entitled to enjoy her *egweddi*. If ſeparated after ſeven

[1] Howel Dha, chap. I. lib. II. p. 80, 88.

years,

years, ſhe divided with her huſband all his property. If a wife ſeparated from her huſband for juſt cauſes ſhe retained her *egweddi*,[1] *parapharnalia*, and a fine called *gofyn*. A widow on the death of her huſband divided with his heirs the perſonal property. When a huſband, who had repudiated his firſt, took a ſecond wife, the former was at liberty to marry again. A woman was allowed to leave her huſband for the three following cauſes; leproſy, bad breath, and impotency; but in theſe caſes the huſband was under no obligation of dividing his property with the woman.

CRIMINAL LAW.

An injury done to a ſingle woman was to be compenſated by half of that fine paid on the like occaſion for any injury done to her brother. The murder of either a married or ſingle woman was to be atoned for by half of the fine paid for the murder of her brother. For adultery, or even for indecent familiarities with a married woman, a fine was to be paid to the huſband by the male offender. The forcible violation, or carrying away a married woman, was compenſated by a triple augmentation of the mulct. A married woman, allowing indecent familiarities, or committing adultery with another man, might be divorced by her huſband, and in that caſe loſt her dower. The perſon who forcibly violated the chaſtity of a woman, was to pay a fine of twelve cows to the king; and the cuſtomary fine to the lord; and if the woman was a virgin, he was then to pay to her

[1] Howel Dha, chap. I. lib. II. p. 73.

her *paraphernalia*, and the greateſt dower that could be exacted by law; together with the mulct uſually paid for violated chaſtity.[1] If either a man or a woman were accuſed of adultery, and denied the charge; the party accuſed might prove his innocence by the oaths of fifty perſons of the ſame ſex, who were neither ſlaves, captives, nor aliens.

Perjury was puniſhed by the payment of a mulct of three cows to the king.

Whoever bailed a criminal, and did not produce him at the time of his legal appearance, was obnoxious to all the penalties to which the criminal himſelf was liable.

The ſole object of the law concerning the maiming of animals, was complete reſtitution to the owner; no other penalty being annexed to that offence.

Forfeiture of land was incurred in the three following caſes. A vaſſal giving notice to the enemy of the deſign of his lord, reſpecting any intended expedition. Treaſon againſt the perſon of his lord. And murder ſecretly perpetrated. But

[1] The ſeveral particulars, for which the author is indebted to the laws of Howel, are here inſerted from the text and Latin tranſlation of that curious code publiſhed by Dr. Wotton, folio, London, Ann. Dom. 1730. The author ſubjoins no references to the chapters or pages of that work, which is the only edition of the Welſh laws; becauſe the copious and accurate index annexed to it, will be a ready direction to the reader, who is deſirous of enquiring more particularly into the ſubject.

if

if the offender, by flight, ſhould eſcape juſtice, and ſhould afterwards be reconciled to his lord, he muſt in that caſe pay a double fine; but could not recover the inheritance of his land, unleſs he repaired to Rome, and there did penance; and procured alſo the Pope's letters that he had made his peace with God, and with his temporal lord.

THERE were three cauſes for which a man might give his wife perſonal correction. Wiſhing ſhame and evil to his beard. Committing any outrage againſt his perſon. And for engaging in an illicit connection with another man. If the huſband took the above mentioned ſatisfaction, of correcting his wife, he forfeited thoſe privileges which the law otherwiſe would have allowed him.

ON the death of Howel Dha, the late ſovereign of the united principalities of Wales; Jeuav and Jago, the ſecond and third ſons of Edwal Voel, ſetting aſide from the ſucceſſion their eldeſt brother Meyric, aſſumed the government of North Wales.[1] To revenge upon the ſons of Howel Dha the injuries which theſe princes had received from the father, they invaded South Wales with a powerful army; laying claim to its ſovereignty as the A. D. 948.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 59, 60.

eldeſt branch of the Cynethian line; and though they met with a ſpirited oppoſition on the Carno mountains, they gained a complete victory.[1] The year following, having renewed hoſtilities, the ſame princes again invaded South Wales, and deſolated
A. D. 952. by two ſucceſſive inroads the country of Pembroke. The ſons of Howel Dha, collecting their utmoſt force, laid waſte, in their turn, the territory of North Wales as far as the river Conway. To check this invaſion, the two princes Jeuav and Jago, oppoſed them at Llanrwſt, a town ſituated on the banks of the Conway; where, after an obſtinate battle, in which many on each ſide of conſiderable rank were ſlain, fortune decided as before in their favour; and purſuing their enemies into South Wales, they deſtroyed the country of Cardigan with fire and ſword.[2] The ſons of Howel Dha, with a kind of retaliative juſtice, were at length obliged to ſubmit to the power of Jeuav and Jago; and in conſequence of this ſuperiority, theſe
A. D. 958. princes remained ſome years the entire ſovereigns of Wales.[3] Ambition and the love of power univerſally prevail, and, in the conqueſt of barren mountains, inſpire the like ardour, with which Alexander contended for the ſovereignty of the world.

During this uſurpation, and probably elated with the ſucceſs of their arms, the kings of North Wales had neglected to pay the tribute which was due to the crown of England; agreeably to the impolitic inſtitution of Roderic the Great, and the more recent, but no leſs imprudent regulation in the laws of Howel

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 59, 60. [2] Ibid. p. 60, 61. [3] Ibid.

Dha.

Dha. To preſerve ſuch an ornament to his crown, and a badge of ſubordination ſo flattering to his pride, Edgar, the king of England, invaded North Wales; and as he marched through the country ſpread around the uſual devaſtations. Being acquainted with the injuries both countries had received from the wolves, which then abounded in North Wales, and deſtroyed ſheep and other cattle; he remitted, with ſome degree of liberality, the ancient tribute; and only exacted the yearly payment of the heads of three hundred of thoſe animals.[1] This demand, ſo ſingular in its nature, was paid by the Welſh princes during three or four years; after that time, the wolves being nearly extirpated, this country, agreeably to the liberal deſign of Edgar, ought to have been releaſed from the payment of any future tribute.[2] Soon after this event, the Iriſh made a deſcent upon the iſland of Angleſey, deſtroyed the palace at Aberffraw, and ſlew Roderic the youngeſt ſon of Edwal Voel.[3] A. D. 961. A. D. 966.

The union, ſo long ſubſiſting between the princes of North Wales in a joint adminiſtration of twenty years, was at this period fatally diſſolved; an event ſoon followed by a ſeries of crimes, the conſequences of a divided ſovereignty, and of boſom friendſhip ſoured into deadly hatred.[4]

In conſequence of this diſunion, by force of arms, Jago ſeized the perſon of his brother Jeuav, and conſigned him to a tedious

[1] Stowe's Chron. p. 83. printed at London, A. D. 1614. Fabian's Chron. p. 249.

[2] W. Malmſbury, p. 59. Fabian, p. 249. Stowe's Chron. p. 83. Welſh Chron. p. 62. excepting only the number.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 62. [4] Ibid.

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impriſonment. And Einion, the ſon of Owen prince of South Wales, taking advantage of theſe domeſtic feuds, annexed to his father's dominions the territory of Gwyr, in Glamorganſhire.[1] To add ſtill more to the diſtreſſes of the country, the
A. D. 969. Danes landed in Angleſey, and laid waſte the diſtrict about Penmon; and ſoon after, in another enterprize, they gained for a time the poſſeſſion of that iſland.[2]

These commotions having ſubſided, Howel, the ſon of Jeuav the captive prince, raiſed an army to deliver his father out of priſon; and to take vengeance on his uncle Jago for the late outrage againſt natural affection and juſtice. Under the maſk of filial piety, which, however, covered the moſt fatal ambition,
A. D. 972. Howel ſucceeded in his enterpriſe; having defeated the forces of Jago, and obliged him to abandon his territories. He likewiſe took priſoner in the action, Meyric, his eldeſt uncle; and to render him incapable of obſtructing his deſigns, he put out his eyes; a ſpecies of barbarity common in that age; and in this miſerable condition ſuffered him to languiſh in priſon. Within a little time after his captivity, this prince fortunately died; and left two ſons, Edwal and Jonaval. Howel, having proceeded ſo far in the progreſs of ambition, and too much enamoured of power to relinquiſh it eaſily, depoſed his father; though he releaſed him from the horrors of a tedious impriſonment.[3]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 62. [2] Ibid. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 62, 63.

Under

Under colour of revenging the injuries of his father, Howel, by acts of the deepeſt injuſtice and cruelty, attained to the ſovereignty of North Wales.[1] A. D. 973.

It was an evil, peculiarly fatal to the independency of Wales, and produced by its civil diſſenſions; that the weaker party uſually fled for protection to the kings of England; and engaged in their intereſts with that energy of ſpirit, which ariſes from a ſenſe of injury, or is natural to men who have much to hope from the confuſion of a ſtate, or to fear from its juſtice.

After the defeat of Jago, that prince had retired into England; and eaſily engaged Edgar to reinſtate him upon the throne. The Engliſh king, deſirous of fomenting the diviſions of the Welſh, or of giving them a ſovereign ſubſervient to his will; entered into Wales with an army, and advanced to Bangor. Howel, unable to reſiſt his force, was obliged to accede to the demand of the Engliſh prince; of allowing an equal ſhare in the ſovereignty to his uncle Jago. Aſſuming a ſovereign authority, in conſequence of the aſcendency he had gained, Edgar founded a new church at Bangor, on the ſouth ſide of the cathedral, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary; he likewiſe confirmed the ancient privileges of that See, and endowed it with land and other gifts.[2] To humiliate ſtill more the Welſh princes, he obliged Jago and his nephew Howel to accompany him to

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 64. [2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 59.

Cheſter.

Cheſter. In this city, agreeably to his direction, he was met by ſix other ſovereigns;[1] who, all of them, with great ſolemnity did him homage, and took the cuſtomary oaths of fealty as to their lord paramount. This ceremony being finiſhed, Edgar, attended by great numbers of the nobility, ſeated himſelf at the helm of his barge; and as a farther mark of ſubordination, commanded theſe eight independent princes to row him up the Dee, from the palace where he reſided to the church of St. John the Baptiſt; whence he returned in the ſame ſtate, after divine ſervice was ended.[2] This inſtance of feudal arrogance, ſo diſgraceful to regal dignity, marked a faſtidious ſpirit in the Engliſh king, and a degree of barbariſm ſtill remaining in the Saxon manners.

At this period, Dunwallon, the prince of the Strath-Clwyd Britons, who had ſettled in North Wales; intimidated by the cruel ravages of the Danes, or influenced by the pious ſpirit of that age, retired to Rome, and engaged in a religious life.[3] On his retreat, that ſmall ſtate was reunited to the kingdom of North Wales.[4]

A. D. 976. Einion, the ſon of Owen prince of South Wales, made a ſecond inroad into the country of Gwyr, and laid waſte that

[1] Kenneth king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumbria, Macon king of Man, with Dyfnwal, Sifrethus, and Ithel, three inferior Welſh princes.

[2] Selden's Mare Clauſum, p. 1315. Brompton's Chron. p. 869. Matth. Weſtm. p. 287.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 69. Welſh Chron. p. 65. [4] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 32.

territory,

territory. This affront would have been ſeverely reſented by Howel, the king of North Wales, if his arms at this time had not been directed againſt his uncle Jago, who was in open hoſtilities againſt him. With an army conſiſting of Engliſh and Welſh, Howel purſued that prince to the extremity of Wales, and at length took him priſoner; exhibiting an inſtance of generoſity very inconſiſtent with himſelf, by allowing his uncle Jago to enjoy, during life, his portion of territory.[1] But ſo capricious was this tyrant in his ideas of policy, or in his feelings of humanity, that ſoon after this event, he cauſed his uncle Edwal Vychan to be murdered; without any apparent cauſe, except what aroſe from the ſuggeſtions of jealouſy, or from a conſciouſneſs of guilt. This murder, inſtead of giving tranquility to Howel, produced freſh cauſes of fear, and a new object of terror ſprung from the Hydra's head.

Fired with the deepeſt reſentment, and with the hopes of diſpoſſeſſing him of the crown, Conſtantine the Black,* the ſon of Jago, who at this time was a priſoner to his nephew Howel, raiſed an army of Danes; and to revenge the injuries which his family had received, invaded North Wales, and laid waſte the iſland of Angleſey. But Howel, who was not deficient in bravery though deſtitute of other virtues, collected his forces; and gave the Danes a ſignal defeat in a battle fought at Gwaith Hirbarth, in which young Conſtantine his couſin was ſlain.[2] A. D. 979.

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 60.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 65.

* *Cyſtenyn Ddu.*

The Danes, mortified with the diſgrace their arms had received, renewed hoſtilities; and invading South Wales, deſolated the territory of Pembroke, and demoliſhed the church of St.
A. D. 981. David; but having fought the celebrated battle of Llanwanoc, in which the Welſh army was probably commanded by prince Einion, they were forced to retire out of the country.[1] The year following, Alfred, earl of Mercia, with a large body of Engliſh, invaded South Wales. After he had deſtroyed the town of Brecknock, he was encountered by the united forces of the Welſh, under the command of Howel, king of North Wales, and Einion, the eldeſt ſon of Owen, prince of South Wales: in this battle the Mercian prince was defeated, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.[2] This occaſional junction of the Welſh princes, and the proſperous exertion of their force; might have taught them the ſalutary effects of union, and the expediency of conſolidating the national ſtrength.

A. D. 983. A commotion having ariſen among the inhabitants of Gwent,[3] who were aiming at independency; Owen, the prince of South Wales, ſent his ſon Einion to endeavour by perſuaſion to reduce them to obedience; but that gallant youth found a raging multitude as little capable of reaſon or pity as the ſtormy ocean; and regarding him as the heir to the crown, and conſequently as the object of their fear and indignation, they tore him in pieces. Thus periſhed by an ignoble fate, a young prince, whoſe mili-

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 61. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 66.

[3] Comprehending parts of the preſent counties of Monmouth and Hereford.

tary

tary talents and other virtues, had for ſome time very ably ſupported the cauſe of his country. He left two ſons, Edwyn and Tewdwr Mawr; from whoſe loins deſcended ſeveral of the princes of South Wales.[1]

Howel, king of North Wales, availing himſelf of the leiſure which the late commotion had given him, increaſed his army; and in the following year marched into England; to retaliate on that country the devaſtations which the incurſions of the Engliſh had brought upon Wales. In this expedition he was ſlain,[2] A. D. 984. fighting againſt the enemies of his country, with a gallantry of ſpirit worthy the juſtice of his cauſe; but little ſuited to the tenor of his life, which has marked him to poſterity as a ſavage and ruthleſs tyrant.

A little before this period, terms of agreement were entered into by the legiſlatures of England and Wales, for ſecuring the peace of the borders; which might ſeem to put the two countries on an equal footing of independency.[3]

The late prince Howel dying without iſſue, his brother Cadwallon, the ſecond ſon of Jeuav, took upon him the ſovereignty

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 66. [2] Ibid.

[3] Saxon laws publiſhed by Wilkins, p. 125. from lord Lyttelton's Life Henry II. vol. II. p. 39. It appears however, that, during the reign of Howel Dha, this prince had diſpoſſeſſed Morgan Hen, the lord of Glamorgan, of certain diſtricts in that country; and that this diſpute was tried by Edgar, king of England, in a full court of the prelates and nobility of England and Wales; when the land in diſpute was adjudged to Morgan Hen, and his heirs. Spelman's Concilia, p. 414.

of North Wales; ſetting aſide the rightful ſucceſſion of Edwal and Jonaval, the ſons of Meyric his eldeſt uncle. Unſatisfied with this act of injuſtice, and to fix himſelf, as he thought, more ſecurely upon the throne, he determined on the deſtruction of his couſins; a practice very common with uſurpers; who, beſides the uſual incitements of ambition, are urged to that barbarous policy by the principle of ſelf-preſervation. Jonaval, the eldeſt of theſe princes, fell into his hands, and was privately murdered; but Edwal had the good fortune to make his eſcape; and to ſee deſerved chaſtiſement fall upon the heads of thoſe, whoſe injuſtice and cruelty had brought ſuch calamities on his family. For Cadwallon had only been in poſſeſſion of the government one year, and his hands were ſcarcely cold from the blood of his kinſman; when Meredydh, the ſon of Owen, the reigning prince
A. D. 985. of South Wales, invaded his dominions, and ſlew that uſurper, with his brother Meyric.[1]

In conſequence of his victory, Meredydh, who ruled in Powys by right of his mother, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of North
A. D. 986. Wales.[2] But the Danes invading Angleſey ſome time after this event, and having taken Llywarch his brother priſoner, with two thouſand of his men, they put out his eyes. Intimidated by this diſaſter, and wounded by the cruel fate of his brother, Meredydh fled into his own country; leaving his new ſubjects expoſed to the ravages of the Danes: and, to heighten their calamities, without a ſovereign, and probably without any regular police, a

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 67.

[2] Britiſh Antiq. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 5, 14.

diſtemper fell on their cattle; which raged with ſo much violence as to leave very few remaining in the country.[1]

Jeuav, the ſon of Edwal Voel, died at this time; cloſing the evening of his days in peace and retirement; after he had ſpent the greateſt part of his life in action, and amidſt the ſtorms of ambition.[2] A. D. 987.

This event was ſoon followed by the death of Owen, the ſon of Howel Dha, and prince of South Wales.[3] Upon his deceaſe, Meredydh his youngeſt ſon; diſregarding the rights of his two nephews, the ſons of Einion his eldeſt brother, aſſumed the reins of government; agreeably to the licentious ſpirit of the times, and the irregular courſe of ſucceſſion.[4] In the beginning of his reign, the Danes invaded South Wales; laid waſte the country, and deſtroyed, with a marked animoſity, the churches of St. David, Llanbadarn, and other religious places. Unable to check their devaſtations, Meredydh agreed to pay them, on condition of their relinquiſhing the country, one penny for every perſon within his dominions.[5] But this tribute,[6] ſo deluſive and diſhonourable; and ſo miſerable a ſubſtitute for valour and exertion, was never paid, it may be recorded to their honour, by any of the kings of North Wales. Soon after this event, Edwyn, the nephew of Meredydh, and eldeſt ſon of Einion the right heir to the principality of South Wales; having engaged in his intereſt A. D. 988.

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 65. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 70. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.
[5] Welſh Chron. p. 71. [6] It was called Glwmaen, the tribute of the black army.

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the Saxons and Danes, over-ran that country with a great army; and obliged the principal chieftains to acknowledge his ſovereignty,
A. D. 990. and to give him hoſtages for their future fidelity. To retaliate upon Edwyn this invaſion, Meredydh laid waſte the lands ſubject to the authority of his rival; but on a ſudden, when the flames of civil war had deſolated the country, and had produced
A. D. 991. a famine, an accommodation took place. The death of the only ſon of Meredydh, which happened ſoon after, cemented more cloſely the union of theſe princes.[1]

During this conteſt, North Wales had been left without a ſovereign, expoſed to the ravages of every invader; and in conſequence the Danes landed again in Angleſey, and laid waſte the whole iſland. On this emergency, but not on the deſertion of Meredydh; a caprice only to be accounted for from the ſingular
A. D. 992. levity of the times; the people placed Edwal, the ſon of Meyric, and the right heir to the crown, in the ſovereignty of North Wales; the lineal ſucceſſion having been ſet aſide by the late uſurpations.[2]

On the acceſſion of this prince, he began to regulate the affairs of his kingdom; and to place his ſubjects in ſuch a poſture of defence, as might ſecure them from the incurſions of the Danes, or of other invaders; and he ſoon experienced the ſalutary effects of ſuch a wiſe and ſpirited conduct.[3] For, Meredydh, prince of South Wales, unwilling that his new dominions ſhould be ſo

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 71. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. p. 72.

eaſily

eaſily torn from him, invaded North Wales with a powerful army; and having advanced to Llangwm, in the preſent county of Denbigh, he was met by Edwal, and entirely defeated; loſing in the action his nephew Tewdwr Mawr, the youngeſt ſon of the late prince Einion.[1] The proſperity of Edwal was of ſhort duration. He had ſcarcely returned into his own dominions, elated with ſucceſs, and exulting in the hopes of enjoying his dominions in peace; when Swane, a Daniſh chieftain, landed in North Wales. Edwal, diſdaining to purchaſe an uncertain tranquility at the expence of his honour, determined to expel the Danes by force of arms, or to periſh in the enterpriſe. In this gallant attempt he was ſlain, leaving an only ſon called Jago.[2] A. D. 993.

Soon after this event, the Danes ravaged again the city of St. David; ſlew the biſhop of that dioceſe; and meeting with no reſiſtance, laid waſte the adjacent terrritory. Unable to give a check to their ravages, and perhaps aſhamed of his late timid and unavailing policy, Meredydh ſunk under the calamities of his country, and died of grief; leaving only a daughter named Angharad, married to Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt; and after his death to Cynvyn Hirdref. By each of theſe huſbands ſhe had children, whoſe different claims occaſioned great civil commotions in Wales.[3] A. D. 998.

Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, by right of his wife, ſucceeded to the principality of South Wales.[4]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 72. [2] Ibid. p. 73. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. p. 83.

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This part of the hiſtory of Wales is only a recital of reciprocal inroads and injuries, a ſeries of objects unvaried and of little importance, which paſs the eye in a ſucceſſion of cold delineations; like the evaneſcent figures produced by the *camera obſcura*. The characters and events are not brought diſtinctly into view, nor are they ſufficiently explained; to enable the hiſtorian to judge of their proportions, their beauty, or defects; whence he can neither develope the principles of action, nor trace the connection of cauſes with effects, by leading incidents, or by the general ſprings which govern human affairs. There is therefore danger leſt the reader, whoſe eye has been accuſtomed to more brilliant ſcenes, ſhould turn away in diſguſt from a field, ſo ſterile in itſelf, and which yields ſo little to the arts of cultivation.

Jago, the ſon of Edwal the late king of North Wales, being ſet aſide in the ſucceſſion on account of his tender years, ſeveral competitors aroſe; and in conſequence North Wales exhibited many years a ſcene of the utmoſt confuſion. The moſt eminent of theſe rivals were Cynan, the ſon of Howel, deſcended from the royal line; and a chieftain of the name of Ædan ap Blegored, who founded his pretenſions to the crown ſolely on his ambition and valour. Two rival chiefs, of warlike and iraſcible manners, are ſeldom diſpoſed to adjuſt their claims by the ſlow procedures of negotiation or policy; but refer them to the more prompt deciſion of the ſword, the chief arbitrator of rights in theſe turbulent ages. In a battle which immediately enſued, A. D. 1005. Cynan was ſlain; and in conſequence Ædan ap Blegored was proclaimed ſovereign of North Wales.[1]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 74, 83.

Having

HAVING aſſumed the government, no remarkable incident occurred for ſome years; until the prince of South Wales invading Ædan's dominions, diſpoſſeſſed him of his royalty and life. The four ſons of the uſurper were alſo ſlain in the ſame battle with their father. A. D. 1015.

LLEWELYN AP SEISYLLT, in conſequence of his victory, and diſregarding the rights of Jago the ſon of Edwal, took upon him the government of North Wales; annexing that dignity to the two other principalities. This prince, maternally deſcended from the royal blood of Wales, had ſome colourable pretence for his ambition; his mother Trawſt being the daughter of Elis, the ſecond ſon of Anarawd, who was the eldeſt ſon of Roderic the Great.[1] A. D. 1015.

THE wiſe adminiſtration of Llewelyn ſoon produced national proſperity. To expreſs the felicity of his reign, contraſted with the preceding times, we are told, "that the earth brought "forth double; that the people proſpered in all their affairs, "and multiplied wonderfully; and that the cattle increaſed in "ſuch numbers, that there was not a poor man in Wales, "from the ſouthern to the northern ſea; but every man had "plenty, every houſe a dweller, and every town inhabitants."[2] The ſlight touches which hiſtory has given of the character of Llewelyn, preſent him in an amiable point of view. His talents for war and for command, his love of order and of juſtice;

[1] Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 14. Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 79.
[2] Welſh Chron. p. 84.

which had enabled him ſo early to diffuſe happineſs among his ſubjects, ought to have rendered him the object of their warmeſt affections. But ſo little civilized, and ſo turbulent were the Welſh; delighting more in war than in the habits of cultivated life, that they treated with coldneſs and ingratitude a ſovereign, whoſe qualities, in a milder period, would have rendered him the object of love and veneration.

A. D. 1019. The firſt appearance of diſaffection broke out in the rebellion of Meyric, a chieftain of eminence; but was eaſily checked by Llewelyn, who ſlew the traitor with his own hands, and defeated his forces.[1] So alienated from their loyalty were the people of South Wales, that they engaged a Scotſman of mean birth to be the inſtrument of their deſign; impoſing him upon the world as the ſon of their late prince Meredydh; and by the name of Rhun, the diſaffected chieftains proclaimed this impoſtor their ſovereign.[2] The annals of theſe times do not explain the motives of this extraordinary procedure; nor are we able from ſuch a chaos to throw any light upon the cauſes of the revolt; except from the reſentment which his ſubjects in that country might feel, becauſe Llewelyn, having been many years their ſovereign, had for ſome time taken up his reſidence in North Wales. That prince, having intelligence of the rebellion, collected his forces, and marched into South Wales, to give an early check to the evil at its ſource; and having advanced to Abergwili in Caermarthenſhire, he found the whole power of

A. D. 1020.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 85. [2] Ibid.

the country, waiting his approach, under the command of the newly created prince. At the moment, when the two armies were going to engage, Rhun encouraged his ſoldiers by a confident aſſurance of victory; after which he privately retired out of the battle. Llewelyn, boldly confronting the danger, and placing himſelf at the head of his troops, led them on to the charge; calling aloud upon the Impoſtor, whoſe cowardice ſo little juſtified the character he had aſſumed. This battle was bloody, and on each ſide diſputed with great ſpirit; for ſtrange as it may appear, the rebels fought, with a determined bravery, for a deſpicable coward, and for an idol of their own raiſing; while the royaliſts were ſcarcely animated in the cauſe of their ſovereign, a native of their country, and of ſuch incomparable merit. At length, the troops of Llewelyn, fired with the extraordinary valour of their prince, and aſhamed to be defeated by men over whom they had been often victorious, made a vigorous effort; which put the enemy to flight; and the Impoſtor, notwithſtanding the addreſs he had made uſe of to ſave his life, was overtaken and ſlain in the purſuit. Having thus fortunately put an end to the rebellion, Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt returned into North Wales.[1]

The ſmall remainder of his days this prince paſſed in tranquility; but his great and virtuous qualities could not exempt him from the deſtiny which uſually attended the princes of

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 85, 86.

A. D. 1021. Wales. For Howel and Meredydh, the ſons of Edwyn,* whoſe family for ſome years had been ſet aſide in the ſucceſſion of South Wales, engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him; and either by their emiſſaries, or with their own hands, aſſaſſinated this brave and amiable prince. He left only one ſon of the name of Gryffydh.[1] This prince erected the caſtle of Rhuddlan, in which palace he uſually reſided; and which afterwards continued to be the royal reſidence during the life of his ſon.[2]

The principle of evil which eventually deſtroyed the Britiſh empire, ſtill remained in the political conſtitution and in the national character of the Welſh; preying, like a worm at the root, on the vital powers of their different ſtates; and by uniform and ſlow degrees working their decline and ultimate ruin. Beſides other cauſes of national decay, there was one; which, though a ſtriking defect in their anceſtors the Britons, was not inherent in their own government or manners; and that was, except in a ſingle inſtance, a total inattention to their naval power; although its utility was apparent from their maritime ſituation, and alſo from the late example of Alfred. That a prince, like Llewelyn, of ability and vigour, and who was anxious to promote the happineſs of his people, ſhould have neglected ſuch an obvious mode of defence, is a proof that

* Ap Einion ap Owen ap Howel Dha. The word *ap*, which ſo frequently occurs in Welſh names, ſignifies a *ſon*.

1 Welſh Chron. p. 85, 86.

2 Dr. Powel's Notes on Giraldus Cambrenſis Itiner. Cambræ, cap. X. p. 213. Camden's Brit. p. 687.

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he poſſeſſed no extent of genius, or that his reſources were limited.

The odium naturally excited by the murder of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt, precluded Howel and Meredydh from any chance of attaining to the ſovereignty of North Wales; and afforded Jago the ſon of Edwal ap Meyric, whoſe title had ſunk under the popularity or vigour of the late prince, a favourable opportunity of obtaining poſſeſſion of the crown; from which his family, lineally deſcended from Roderic the Great, had been long unjuſtly excluded.[1] A. D. 1021.

Rhytherch, the ſon of Jeſtin, by force of arms, had aſſumed the government of South Wales. The two brothers, Howel and Meredydh, diſappointed in their views upon one kingdom, and excluded their rightful ſucceſſion in their own principality, were forced, through mere inability, to remain ſome years in quiet; but having engaged in their ſervice a body of Iriſh Scots, they defeated and ſlew the uſurper; and in their joint names took upon them the government of South Wales. The ſons of Rhytherch, having raiſed freſh forces, fought another battle at Hyarthwy with the princes of South Wales; but with no better ſucceſs than their father had experienced; their army being ſo effectually routed, that for many years they were unable to ſupport their pretenſions to the crown.[2] Theſe victories might have ſecured to Howel and Meredydh, the quiet poſſeſſion of their dominions; if the ſpirit of revenge, kept alive in that age A. D. 1031.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 87, 88. [2] Ibid. p. 87, 88.

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by every incitement which influence the paſſions, had not retaliated on theſe princes the murder of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt; for the nephews of that prince engaged in a conſpiracy againſt them, aſſaſſinated Meredydh,[1] and forced Howel the other brother into exile.[2] The feelings of humanity are wounded at the recital of ſuch horrid barbarities; and we haſten with pleaſure to a period, when the virtue of a few individuals influenced the tide of affairs, and turned it from the loweſt ebb of weakneſs and miſery, to a flow of national proſperity.

A. D. 1032.

Gryffydh the ſon of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt, had, by this time, attained to the age of manhood; and, already weary of waſting his active ſpirit in the ſhade of retirement, he reſolved to employ it in the glorious attempt of recovering his father's throne. His youth and activity, and the popular memory of his father, with the pleaſing and flattering proſpect of novelty, united the public voice in his favour. But Jago, the reigning king of North Wales, not of a ſpirit to relinquiſh eaſily the charms of royalty and his indubitable right, collecting all the force he was able, attempted with great courage to oppoſe the popular current; his army, however, was defeated by Gryffydh, and he himſelf ſlain in the action, leaving an only ſon named Cynan.[3]

A. D. 1037.

Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, when the united forces of the Engliſh and Danes entered into Wales. With a promptneſs of courage, natural to his years

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 88. [2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 85. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 89.

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and character, the young prince advanced to the frontier of his kingdom; and meeting the confederates at Crosford on the banks of the Severn, he entirely defeated their forces.[1] Elated with ſucceſs, he proceeded thence into South Wales; and marching through that principality, received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants; having, a ſecond time, driven Howel, the ſurviving brother, out of his dominions. But that prince, retiring to Edwyn, the brother of Leofric earl of Cheſter, raiſed by his means an army of Engliſh and Danes; with which he marched into Wales againſt Gryffydh. Fortune, however, continuing propitious, that prince overthrew the foreigners, ſlew Edwyn, and again forced Howel to a precipitate flight.[2] Soon after this victory, Gryffydh returned into North Wales.[3]

Howel the prince of South Wales, having reinforced his army, made another attempt to recover his dominions; and too ſanguine of ſucceſs, he brought his wife into the field, to ſhare in the triumphs of a victory he was in full expectation of obtaining.[4] Gryffydh receiving intelligence of this event, marched with his uſual celerity into South Wales; and meeting Howel at Pencadaer in Caermarthenſhire, he there gave him battle, and entirely defeated his army. The unhappy prince eſcaped with difficulty; and, to render his fate more deplorable, his wife was taken priſoner, and fell into the hands of his rival. The beauty of this lady captivated the heart of her conqueror. Inſtead of protecting her honour, or yielding up this princeſs to A. D. 1038.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 90. [2] Ibid. p. 91. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

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her injured huſband, ſhe was detained by Gryffydh as his concubine.[1] In times leſs ſavage than theſe, ſuch an action, meaſured by civilized ideas of heroiſm; incapable of offering violence to weakneſs, or of inſulting the feelings of a vanquiſhed enemy; would have been received with general abhorrence. But it does not appear, that Gryffydh loſt any reputation with his ſubjects; the Welſh regarding whatever they had taken in war, even the wives of the vanquiſhed, as the lawful property of the conqueror.[2] So great is the force of habit upon the human mind, as to counteract the firſt and the nobleſt principles of nature and religion.

A. D. 1041. Stung with the keen reſentment which ſuch injuries would naturally excite, Howel came the third time into South Wales; in hopes of revenging the late inſult upon his honour, and by another brave effort to recover his wife and his crown. He had not been there long before a large body of foreigners landed in the country; who, ſpreading themſelves abroad, committed great depredations. Howel, though deſirous of reſerving his ſtrength for the main conteſt with the king of North Wales, could not be indifferent to their ravages; but with much gallantry of ſpirit, and with an honeſt deſire of conciliating the affections of the Welſh, he ſuddenly attacked the foreigners, and forced them with great loſs to retire to their ſhips.[3]

In the courſe of theſe events the attention of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn had been engaged in an affair of ſome importance.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 91. [2] Lord Lyttelton's Henry II. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 92.

Cynan,

Cynan, the ſon of Jago ap Edwal, who on his father's death had fled into Ireland for ſafety; having engaged in his intereſt the king of Dublin, whoſe daughter he had married, landed in North Wales; and either by accident, or by a ſtratagem of his own, contrived to take Gryffydh priſoner. But the Welſh, being appriſed of the diſaſter, and anxious for the ſafety of their king, purſued the Iriſh; recovered him out of their hands; and following them with great ſlaughter to their ſhips, obliged them to return into Ireland.[1]

Howel, the prince of South Wales, by the aſſiſtance of the Danes, and of thoſe friends who ſtill adhered to his fortunes; raiſed ſuch a force as might enable him once again to make head againſt Gryffydh. That prince, alive to his intereſts, and that his own territories might not be rendered the ſeat of war, inſtantly marched into the enemy's country; and defeating the forces of his rival, purſued them to the ſource of the Towi, a river in Caermarthenſhire; where a ſecond action more bloody than the former enſued; in which the unfortunate Howel was ſlain, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.[2] Thus was the full meaſure of vengeance poured upon the heads of this prince and his family, for the murder they had lately committed on Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt. A. D. 1042.

New competitors aroſe, on the death of Howel, to diſpute with Gryffydh the ſovereignty of South Wales. Theſe were the

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 93. [2] Ibid. p. 92.

ſons of Rhytherch ap Jeſtyn; who aſſerted their claim to that principality, becauſe their father for a little time had enjoyed its government. Their pretenſions were oppoſed by Gryffydh, with his uſual activity and vigour; but not with the ſame deciſive good fortune; for after a bloody and obſtinate engagement which laſted until night, both armies, equally fatigued and unwilling to renew the combat, returned to their reſpective countries in order to collect reinforcements.[1] Excepting a ſlight inſurrection which was eaſily repelled, the two States, however, enjoyed, under the dominion of Gryffydh, from cauſes not accounted for in the Welſh annals, a ſeaſon of unaccuſtomed tranquility.

It was, probably, during this interval of peace, that Gryffydh appears to have paid ſome attention to naval concerns, by procuring from a foreign country a few ſhips of war, which were manned by foreign ſailors. Though the motives do not appear which induced him to an undertaking ſo novel to the Welſh; yet it aroſe, no doubt, from the obvious policy of ſecuring from ravages the maritime parts of his dominions; and of importing corn and other proviſion from foreign markets.[2]

A. D. 1050. Cynan, the ſon of Jago ap Edwal, having remained quiet in Ireland, ſince his late fruitleſs attempt, collected a body of troops among his Iriſh adherents; with a view to recover, if poſſible, his inheritance, and hereditary dignity of his family; but ap-

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 92. [2] Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II.

proaching

proaching the coaſt of North Wales, there ſuddenly aroſe a violent ſtorm; which deſtroyed or diſperſed his fleet in ſuch a manner, as to render the expedition ineffectual.[1]

This interval of peace little ſuiting the warlike ſpirit of Gryffydh, he made an inroad into the marches about Hereford; and was oppoſed by the Engliſh, and by a Norman garriſon in that caſtle. But the conteſt having ended in favour of the Welſh prince, he returned into his own dominions enriched with the ſpoils of the country.[2] A. D. 1052.

Rhys, the brother of Gryffydh king of North Wales, a man of a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, having committed frequent depredations in the Engliſh marches, had become, on that account, the object of particular reſentment. Being defeated and taken priſoner in an incurſion he had made on the borders; he was put to death at Bulundune, by the command of king Edward the Confeſſor, who in this inſtance aſſumed a ſovereign authority; and his head was ſent to that prince, who then kept his court at Glouceſter.[3] A. D. 1053.

Gryffydh, the ſon of Rhytherch ap Jeſtyn, having recovered from the blow which he had formerly received, at this time raiſed an army; to endeavour once again to wreſt the principality of South Wales from Gryffydh, the king of North Wales. The

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 94. [2] Stowe, p. 96. Roger Hovedon, p. 442.
[3] Simon Dunelme ſub. Ann. 1053. Stowe's Chron. p. 97. Matth. Weſtm. p. 323. Hiſt. Angl.

A. D. 1054. activity of this prince defeated his ambitious deſign; for, inſtantly marching againſt him, he eaſily routed his forces, and his competitor was ſlain in the action.[1]

An incident which happened ſoon after, enabled Gryffydh to revenge his brother's death, and the inſult which had been offered to the independency of his crown.

Algar earl of Cheſter, having been baniſhed by Edward the Confeſſor, on ſlight ſuſpicion, or on no grounds of offence, had retired into Ireland; where engaging in his ſervice eighteen veſſels, he landed in North Wales, and put himſelf under the protection of Gryffydh. Theſe leaders, acting in conjunction with each other, ravaged the borders of England; and actuated

A. D. 1055. by the ſame ſpirit of vengeance, they proceeded into Herefordſhire, and laid waſte that fertile country. To oppoſe this dangerous inroad, Ranulph earl of Hereford, raiſed an army compoſed of Engliſh and Norman troops. With this force he met the confederates advancing within two miles of Hereford, and offered them battle. Gryffydh acccepted the challenge, with all that confidence which long ſucceſs naturally inſpires. The earl had ordered the Engliſh forces to fight upon horſeback, contrary to the cuſtom of their nation; but when all was prepared to begin the onſet, that nobleman, and the Norman troops which he himſelf commanded, fled out of the field; daunted by the appearance of the Welſh, or not able to ſtand the ſhock of their furious charge.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 98.

The

The Engliſh ſoon followed the example of their leader; and the Welſh, purſuing them with great rapidity, cut in pieces four or five hundred of the fugitives; and having entered into Hereford, they burned the minſter, and ſlew ſeven of the canons who raſhly attempted to defend it: they then levelled the walls, and ſet the city on fire; and putting to death many perſons of note, and carrying others into captivity, they returned in triumph; loaded with much valuable ſpoil.[1]

The pacific ſpirit of the Confeſſor was rouſed by this formidable invaſion; and he commanded Harold, the ſon of earl Godwin, to collect forces from every part of the kingdom; which were to aſſemble at Glouceſter. At the head of this army that general marched into North Wales; and advancing, without any reſiſtance, to the Snowdun mountains,[2] he lay there encamped, expecting the approach of the enemy. Unable to oppoſe the Engliſh forces, Gryffydh, and the earl of Cheſter, retired into South Wales. As ſoon as Harold was informed of their retreat, he returned to Hereford; leaving however the greateſt part of his army, to preſerve his conqueſts, and give an early check to any future reſiſtance of the natives. During his reſidence in that city, he rebuilt its walls, and added new fortifications to that frontier poſt. He alſo entered into a negociation with Gryffydh; and at length concluded a peace not much to the honour of England; as Algar was indulged with a pardon, and the

[1] Saxon Chron. p. 169. Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Matth. Weſtm. p. 324.

[2] Ibid.

full

full enjoyment of his earldom; and no compenſation appears to have been made for the ravages, or the expence of the war.[1] The peace being concluded, that nobleman returned with his fleet to Cheſter; where the mariners and ſoldiers remained until they had received their pay.[2] Algar then repaired to the court of Edward, and obtained from that prince the confirmation of his pardon and dignity.[3] It is not eaſy to account for the conduct of Harold, in retreating ſo ſuddenly out of Wales; and in concluding ſo diſhonourable a peace with the Welſh, over whom his arms had gained an unuſual advantage.

The eaſy victory lately obtained over the Engliſh and Normans, though completely and heavily armed; added to the uſual incitements of plunder and national hatred; induced Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, in open violation of the peace, to make another inroad into the country about Hereford. In this incurſion the biſhop of that dioceſe[4] was ſlain at Glaſtonbury; as well as the viſcompte, or ſheriff of the county; and many of the Engliſh alſo, both laymen and eccleſiaſtics.[5]

Though the late peace had been broken by this violent outrage, no repriſals appear to have been made; and through the mediation of Harold, and of Leofric earl of Mercia, the tranquility of theſe hoſtile nations was for a time reſtored.[6]

[1] Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Matth. Weſtm. p. 324.
[2] Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Holinſhead's Engliſh Hiſt. p. 192.
[3] Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Matth. Weſtm. p. 324.
[4] Matth. Weſtm. p. 325. Roger Hovedon, p. 144.
[5] Sim. Dunelme, p. 188. [6] Sim. Dunelme, p. 189. R. Hovedon, p. 444.

A PERSON in the ſituation of Algar, muſt hold the favour of his prince by a very precarious tenure; as the clemency of ſovereigns is uſually of uncertain duration, when extorted by force or expediency. Lying again under the ſuſpicion of treaſon, he was a ſecond time baniſhed the realm; and ſought an aſylum in the dominions of Gryffydh the king of North Wales; by whoſe aid, and the aſſiſtance of a fleet from Norway, which accidentally arrived upon the coaſt, he was once more reinſtated in his earldom.[1] Edward, juſtly incenſed at the late barbarities, and violation of faith; and dreading, no doubt, the conſequence if Wales ſhould become the refuge of his malecontent ſubjects, determined to employ the whole force of his kingdom in the conqueſt of that country. He truſted the execution of this important deſign to Harold, the moſt diſtinguiſhed nobleman in his court for valour and abilities.[2] This general, having raiſed a very conſiderable army, marched with ſuch celerity and conduct into North Wales, that he had nearly ſurpriſed Gryffydh in his palace at Rhuddlan. The Welſh prince, ſcarcely appriſed of his danger a moment before the Engliſh preſented themſelves at the gates, as the only means of ſafety, threw himſelf, with a few of his attendants, into one of his ſhips, at that time equipped in the harbour; and ſailing that inſtant, fortunately made his eſcape.[3] The looſe annals of theſe times do not inform us to what country he retired in his diſtreſs.

A. D. 1058.

A. D. 1063.

[1] Simon Dunelme, p. 189. Roger Hovedon, p. 444.

[2] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446. Matth. Weſtm. p. 329.

[3] Ibid.

MORTIFIED

Mortified that the Welſh king ſhould eſcape ſo unexpectedly out of his hands, Harold, in reſentment, burned his palace; and ſet on fire all the ſhips of war and the other veſſels remaining in the harbour of Rhudd-lan.[1] He then returned to Briſtol; and having fitted out a fleet, on a new plan of deciſive operation, he ſailed round the coaſt of Wales;[2] with a view, no doubt, of preventing the importation of corn and of other proviſions.

In the mean time, a ſtrong body of horſe, under the command of earl Toſti, the brother of Harold, marched, by the previous command of the Engliſh king, into North Wales.[3] As ſoon as the Engliſh general had intelligence of the arrival of his brother, he landed, and joined him with his infantry; leaving his fleet, with orders to cruize as before along the coaſt of Wales.[4] On the junction of theſe troops, Harold made himſelf maſter of the level country.[5] Being ſenſible, in ſuch a country as Snowdun, that his ſoldiers ought not to be encumbered by their arms, he provided his infantry with targets made of hides, and other lighter kinds of armour;[6] more ſuitable for ſervice in a mountainous region broken by rivers, defiles and foreſts. His cavalry he left on the plains under the command of his brother; excepting only a few horſe, which, ſupported by ſmall parties of heavy armed infantry, he ordered to follow as a body of reſerve. Marching himſelf at the head of his troops, he advanced into

[1] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446. Matth. Weſt. p. 329.
[2] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446.
[3] Ibid. [4] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 47.
[5] Ibid. [6] Hiſtoria Ingulphi, p. 68. Gale's Script.

the

the mountainous parts of the country; and having driven the Welſh, with great ſlaughter, out of their inmoſt receſſes, he at length compelled them to ſue for peace.[1] Thus, by the united effects of vigour, activity and conduct, coinciding with other cauſes, did Harold ſubdue a people who had been hitherto invincible. In want of the animating preſence and ſpirited activity of their prince, without the means of concerting neceſſary meaſures of defence, and probably ſtraitened for proviſions; it is no wonder that the Welſh, ſurpriſed and diſpirited, ſhould ſink under the impreſſion of the Engliſh arms. On this occaſion Harold ſet up ſeveral pillars of ſtone; on each of which was engraved this Latin inſcription, *Hic Fuit Victor Haraldus*; to perpetuate the glory of having paſſed mountains, which had hitherto been the inacceſſible barriers between the ſpirit of freedom and the rage of conqueſt.[2]

So totally ſubdued were the Welſh, that they ſubmitted to the tribute which in ancient times they had uſually paid; and gave hoſtages to Harold, as pledges of their future obedience.[3] Under the impreſſion of fear, or incenſed at his late deſertion, they, likewiſe, renounced allegiance to Gryffydh, their ſovereign.[4]

Considering his active and warlike ſpirit, we can attribute the abſence of Gryffydh to no other cauſe, than to the general

[1] Camden's Britannia, p. 545, Gibſon's edition, from Giraldus Cambrenſis.
[2] Camden's Britannia, p. 545, Gibſon's edition, from Giraldus Cambrenſis.
[3] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Matth. Weſtm. p. 329.
[4] Ibid. Hiſt. Ingulphi. p. 68. Matt. Weſt. p. 329.

diſaffection of his ſubjects; at a time, too, when his own intereſts, and the very ſafety of his country demanded his preſence. Whatever were his motives of abſence, whether the revolt of his ſubjects, or inability to return on account of the Engliſh fleet, this prince came into North Wales in the ſummer of the
A. D. 1064. following year.[1] As ſoon as he landed, he attempted to aſſert his own rights, and to vindicate the common cauſe againſt Harold; who, by the incitement of Caradoc, the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, had invaded South Wales, and had ſubdued a great part of that country.[2] Inſtead of rejoicing at his preſence, or eagerly ranging under his ſtandard, this gallant prince was put to death by his own ſubjects, at the inſtigation of Harold, and during his march into South Wales.[3] As the firſt fruits of their vaſſalage, this improvident and ungrateful people ſent his head to the Engliſh general; together with the prow of the ſhip in which he had returned.[4] Beſides two ſons, Meredydh and Ithel, Gryffydh left a daughter called Nêſt; who was afterwards married to Trahaearn ap Caradoc, king of North Wales.[5]

In this manner died Gryffydh the ſon of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt; whoſe princely qualities entitled him to a happier fate. His talents for government, and the vigour and proſperity of his arms, ſoon turned the tide of affairs, vindicated the honour of his kingdom, and gave it an unuſual importance. His amiable

[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 48. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 101. [3] Ibid.
[4] Sim. Dunelm. p. 191. [5] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 95, 101.

manners,

manners, and his abilities in war, made him equally the idol of his people, and the terror of his enemies; and had rendered a reign of thirty-four years unclouded by any adverſity; until the late ſtorm, which perhaps it was not in his power either to elude or repel, in ſome meaſure ſhaded its glory, and deprived this excellent prince of his life, and his country of its freedom.

It is but too probable, that this foul murder was perpetrated, through the influence of Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, the ſons of Cynvyn by Angharad, the mother of the late king; as theſe princes were, by the appointment of king Edward, inveſted, on this occaſion, with the ſovereignty of North Wales and Powys.[1] At the ſame time, the Engliſh king gave the principality of South Wales to Meredydh, the eldeſt ſon of Owen ap Edwyn.[2] Theſe princes were obliged to take an oath of fealty to the king of England, and to pay the full tribute, which ever had been paid to any of his predeceſſors.[3] A law, at this time, was made by earl Harold, which enacts, that if any Welſhman, coming into England without licence, was taken on that ſide of Offa's dyke, his right hand ſhould be cut off. This ſtatute ſhews, that, ſo late as the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, this dyke was conſidered as the diſcriminating line between the two nations.[4]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 102. Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Wm. Malmſbury, p. 94.
[2] Welſh Chron. p. 102.
[3] Matth. Weſt. p. 329. Sim. Dunelme, p. 191. Chr. de Mailros, p. 159.
[4] Camden's Britannia, p. 585, Gibſon's edit. Speed's Chron. p. 401.

An incident happened in the late reign, which though not very ſtriking at firſt, at length aroſe into hiſtorical importance. Macbeth, the tyrant of Scotland, having cauſed Banquo to be murdered, of whoſe integrity and influence he was jealous; his ſon Fleance, to avoid the tyranny of that uſurper, fled into North Wales,[1] and was kindly received by Gryffydh ap Llewelyn; in whoſe court he was long entertained with the warmeſt affection. During his reſidence in the Welſh court, he became enamoured of Nêſt, the daughter of that prince; and violating the laws of hoſpitality and honour, by an illicit connection with her, ſhe was delivered of a ſon who was named Walter. In reſentment of ſo foul an offence, Gryffydh commanded Fleance to be put to death; and reduced his daughter to the loweſt ſervile ſituation, for having ſuffered herſelf to be diſhonoured by a foreigner. As the youth, who was the fruit of this illicit connection, advanced in years, he became diſtinguiſhed for his valour and an elevated mind. A diſpute having ariſen between him and one of his companions, the nature of his birth was retorted upon him by his angry antagoniſt in terms of reproach; which ſo irritated the fiery ſpirit of Walter, that he inſtantly killed him; and afraid of abiding the conſequences of the murder, he fled into Scotland. On his arrival in that kingdom, he inſinuated himſelf among the Engliſh, who were in the train of queen Margaret, the ſiſter of Edgar Atheling.[2] He ſoon acquired, by his wiſdom and conduct in this

[1] Buchanan Hiſt. Rer. Scot. p. 193. Welſh Chron. p. 98.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 98. Dr. Powel's notes on Giraldus Cambrenſis Itiner. Cambræ, lib. I. cap. II. p. 88.

country, the general eſteem; and his abilities unfolding as they were employed in the public ſervice, he was appointed lord ſteward of Scotland, and receiver of the revenues of the realm. From this office, he and his deſcendants have taken the ſurname of Stuart; and from this root have ſprung the royal houſe of that name, and many other branches of illuſtrious families in Scotland.[1]

As Caradoc, the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, had been the cauſe of the late invaſion by Harold, he was in hopes of obtaining, on the death of the late prince, the government of South Wales. Inſtead of ſatisfying the ambition of the Welſh chieftain, that nobleman baniſhed him the country; and, either placing no confidence in a man whom he knew to be ſubtile and deceitful; or finding that he could not obtain from him a lordſhip, which he was deſirous of poſſeſſing near Hereford, he cauſed Meredydh, as before related, whom he had found more compliant to his will, to be inveſted with the ſovereignty. On this lordſhip, Harold erected a very ſplendid houſe, at Portaſkewith in Monmouthſhire;[2] and having frequently given an invitation to king Edward, who at that time reſided at Glouceſter, that prince at length paid him a viſit.

This mark of favour excited the envy of Toſti, the eldeſt brother of Harold; which, a little time after, was highly inflamed by a trifling incident. Being at a feaſt with the king,

[1] Buchanan, p. 198. [2] Simon Dunelme, p. 192.

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in his court at Windſor, that prince ordered Harold to preſent him with a cup of wine; a preference which had ſuch an effect on the paſſion and the pride of Toſti, that ſetting aſide every ſenſe of fear or decency, he ſeized his brother, and dragged him to the ground by the hair of his head.[1] For this offence he was baniſhed the king's preſence.

Retiring from the Engliſh court in great fury, he proceeded to Hereford, where Harold was preparing an entertainment for the king; he there murdered all the ſervants belonging to his brother; and cutting off their heads, legs, arms, and other parts of their bodies, he put them into the veſſels of wine, metheglin, ale and beer, which were reſerved for the royal entertainment. He then ſent his ſovereign a contemptuous meſſage, that there was no occaſion to provide any other than freſh proviſions, as he himſelf had taken care to leave a ſufficiency of preſerved and powdered meats.[2] For this ſecond offence he was baniſhed the realm for life.[3]

This ſingular barbarity had not been perpetrated long, when Caradoc the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch came to Portaſkewith, the houſe lately erected by Harold; and to revenge the diſappointment he had lately received from that nobleman, ſlew the labourers who were there at work, with all his people and

[1] Simon Dunelme, p. 192.

[2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 331. Welſh Chron. p. 104, 105. Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Camden's Brit. p. 597.

[3] Ibid.

ſervants;

ſervants; and then defacing the ſtructure, he carried away the materials, which, at a great expence, had been brought to ornament the building.' Whatever illuſtrates the character of man, or diſcriminates nicely the ſpirit of the times, will be intereſting to the reader of ſentiment; though the incidents we have lately recorded, form no leading links, which are eſſential in the chain of our hiſtory.

In conſequence of the death of Harold, and of the deciſive battle of Haſtings, William, duke of Normandy, had mounted the Engliſh throne. During the conqueſt of England by that prince, the Welſh remained inactive ſpectators of the ſcene before them; viewing it with the ſame indifference, as if it had been a ſtruggle between two foreign nations. Indeed, it was not likely that they ſhould feel themſelves intereſted in the proſperity of either ſide; knowing whatever was the event, that in their turn, they themſelves might become the victims of the conqueror's fury; and it was certainly right conduct, to ſuffer two people, from whoſe ambition they had every thing to fear, to weaken or to deſtroy each other by mutual hoſtilities. But it is ſtrange, that a brave people like the Welſh, during the favourable moments which this conteſt afforded, did not, by a ſpirited enterprize of ſome effect and importance, wipe away the late national diſhonour; and by wiſe, united, and vigorous meaſures, attempt to recover the independence they had loſt. A. D. 1066.

[1] Matth. Weſtm. Welſh Chron. &c.

Not-

A. D. 1066. 1ſt of William the Conqueror.

Notwithstanding the want of ſpirit, or general inattention of the Welſh at this juncture, Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, the kings of North Wales, during the abſence of William in Normandy, joined Edric earl of Mercia, in a deſultory incurſion upon the borders; and laid waſte the country of Hereford as far as Wyebridge.[1]

These princes had ſcarcely returned into their own territories, when Meredydh and Ithel, the ſons of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, the late king of North Wales, appeared upon the ſtage as competitors for the crown. The young princes, in ſupport of their indubitable rights, raiſed an army, and fought a ſevere battle with the reigning princes, at a place called Mechain in the county of Montgomery. In this action, one of the rival princes on each ſide, Rhiwallon and Ithel, was ſlain; and Meredydh, after ſeeing his army defeated, was forced to fly for ſafety amidſt the inmoſt receſſes of the mountains. The openings into theſe mountains being ſtrictly guarded by Bleddyn, rendered his eſcape impoſſible; and the young prince miſerably periſhed by cold and hunger. This victory left Bleddyn ap Cynvyn ſole ſovereign of North Wales and Powys.[2]

A. D. 1068.

Caradoc the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, not brooking his late diſappointment, raiſed a large body of Normans; and joining them with his own vaſſals out of the diſtrict of Gwent, attacked Meredydh prince of South Wales, on the banks of the

[1] Simon Dunelme, p. 197. Welſh Chron. p. 109. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 109.

Rympyn,

Rympyn, a river in that country; whoſe forces being much inferior in point of ſtrength, were eaſily routed, and he himſelf ſlain in the action. Caradoc did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory; as he died ſoon after, and left his ſon Rhytherch to ſucceed to the government of South Wales.[1]

THOUGH no general or concerted meaſures of reſiſtance had taken place againſt the tyranny of William, a few inſurrections aroſe from the diſcontent or patriotiſm of the Engliſh lords. Under cover of celebrating a marriage at Norwich, between the ſiſter of the earl of Hereford, and Ralph earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, many of the nobility in England conſpired againſt William; and in the midſt of their carouſals, entered into a ſolemn engagement to defend their liberties.[2] To theſe nuptials ſeveral of the Welſh chieftains were invited, out of reſpect to the mother of the earl of Norfolk, ſhe being a native of that country; and in hopes, perhaps, of inducing the princes of Wales, by ſuch an act of courteſy, to favour their enterpriſe.[3] In the morning, when ſober reflection had returned, Waltheof, a Saxon nobleman, and one of the conſpirators, ſtruck with the diſloyalty of the enterpriſe, or its danger, repaired to the king in Normandy; and informed him of the conſpiracy, with the part which he himſelf had acted. That monarch, on receiving this intelligence, came into England; and with his uſual vigour, aſſiſted by the ſpirited meaſures of his miniſters, gave a check to the rebellion before

A. D. 1073. 7th of William the Conqueror.

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 103.

[2] Matth. Paris, p. 7. Watts's edition.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 111.

it had matured into ſtrength;[1] and this inſurrection, like all others, when they prove ineffectual, only ſerved to render the conqueror's power more abſolute. Two noblemen, and others of the conſpiracy, died by the hands of the executioner.[2] And many of the Welſh, under the pretext of treaſon, were involved in the ſame fate, though invited to the nuptials merely as ſpectators of the ceremony; ſome of whom were hanged, others had their eyes put out, and the remainder were baniſhed the realm.[3] This ſtroke of *aſſumed* juſtice points out the ſavage and deciſive character of William the Conqueror; and the tame ſubmiſſion of the Welſh, without repriſals or ſhew of reſentment, marks the low ebb of national ſpirit at this diſhonourable period.

A. D. 1073.

The ſame fate, which had ended the career of many of the Welſh princes, put a period to the days of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, the king of North Wales and Powys. This prince, from motives we are not able to account for, was aſſaſſinated by Rhys, the ſon of Owen ap Edwyn, the youngeſt ſon of Howel Dha; and who was aided, in this cruel tranſaction, by the Welſh chieftains who inhabited the banks of the Towi.*[4]

The inſtitution of a code of laws, and the general eſteem in which Bleddyn ap Cynvyn was held by his ſubjects, for his amiable manners and the mildneſs of his government, might have

[1] Stowe's Chron. p. 105. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 111.
[3] Matth. Paris, p. 7. Stowe's Chron. p. 105.
* *Yſtrad Tywi.* [4] Welſh Annals, p. 111.

tranſmitted his name with honour to poſterity, if deep ſuſpicion* had not fixed a ſtain upon his memory for the murder of his ſovereign; and if he had not betrayed the liberties of his country, and yielded up its honour, by deigning to receive his crown from the hands of its hereditary enemy, and by conſenting to hold its authority as a tributary[1] of the Engliſh princes.†

* Welſh Chron. p. 102.—That the reader may be enabled to form his own judgment on the juſtice of this ſuſpicion, the author has ſubjoined the very words of the Welſh Chronicle, as tranſlated by Dr. Powel; when ſpeaking of the qualities of Gryffydh, he adds this remarkable paſſage, "and unworthy of that cruel death, "that the ambitious deſire of rule did provoke his unkind ſubjects, and unnatural "cooſens, to prepare for ſo noble a prince, and ſo gentle a maſter as he was."—This aſſertion, with the other leading circumſtances in conſequence of the tranſaction, will defend the author, he truſts, from the charge of ſeverity or raſhneſs.

[1] Hiſtoria Ingulphi, p. 68. Hovedon, p. 446.

† Bleddyn ap Cynvyn had by ſeveral women many children, Meredydh, Llywarch, Cadwgan, Madoc, Ririd, and Iorwerth. Welſh Chron. p. 111.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK V.

FROM THE DEATH OF BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN TO THE DEATH OF GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN.

ALTHOUGH the late prince Bleddyn ap Cynvyn had left many children, Trahaearn ap Caradoc, his couſin, by the conſent of the people, was raiſed to the throne of North Wales. Beſides being himſelf a chieftain of eminence, he had ſome colourable pretence to that honour; having married Nêſt, the daughter of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn.[1] A. D. 1073.

AMIDST other cauſes of evil ariſing to the Welſh from their indiſtinct ideas of government,[2] the little attention which they paid to hereditary ſucceſſion was a ſource of infinite miſery; the jarring claims of various competitors kept their different ſtates

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 95, 105.

[2] It may be proper here to remark, that though the lineal ſucceſſion was frequently interrupted, yet the Welſh always paid a regard to the ſame blood royal, except in the inſtance of Ædan ap Blegored.

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in a continual ferment; infuſed a deeper ferocity into the manners of the people, and weakened their power of reſiſting a ſagacious and enterpriſing enemy.

Soon after the acceſſion of Trahaearn, Gryffydh ap Cynan, the ſon of Jago ap Edwal, thought this a favourable opportunity of aſſerting his right to the crown; from which he had been unjuſtly excluded by the late uſurpations. This prince, during the late reigns, had ſought refuge in Ireland, his mother being a native of that country; and having procured aid from ſome of the Iriſh princes his kinſmen, he landed a body of troops in Angleſey, and ſoon reduced that iſland to his obedience.[1] Encouraged by his early ſucceſs, and the ſupport of ſome powerful chieftains,[2] Gryffdh paſſed over the ſtraits of the Menai, and encamped his army in Caernarvonſhire; intending by degrees to penetrate farther into the country. Trahaearn, alarmed at this unexpected invaſion, haſtily raiſed what force he was able, and marched to attack his rival upon Bron-yr-Erw, near the caſtle of Harlech in Meirionydh; whom he defeated, and obliged to retire into Angleſey.[3]

Rhys ap Owen, of the royal houſe of South Wales, and Rhytherch the ſon of Caradoc, were at this time the ſovereigns of that principality. The tranquillity of their reign was early

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 112.

[2] Vita. Griff. fil. Conani, a manuſcript life of that prince, written in the Welſh language, as is ſuppoſed, near the time in which he lived.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 113.

diſturbed

diſturbed by an inſurrection raiſed by Gronw and Llewelyn, the ſons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn;[1] to revenge the murder committed on the late prince their grandfather. Though a victory was ſoon after obtained at Camdhwr in Caerdigan, by the two chieftains of Powys, it apparently produced no effect; as Rhys remained the ſole ſovereign of South Wales, on the murder of Rhytherch his colleague. This event was followed by another enterpriſe undertaken by the ſons of Cadwgan; and though theſe princes obtained a ſecond victory at Gwaynyttyd, it does not appear that this ſucceſs produced any thing deciſive in their favour; as Rhys continued for ſome time longer to enjoy his government.[2] A. D. 1074.

The king of North Wales, having forced Gryffydh ap Cynan to fly into Angleſey; and regarding the diſtracted ſtate of South Wales as favourable to his deſigns of conqueſt, invaded that country. Rhys, ſupported by all the power of his ſubjects, marched to oppoſe the invader. A very fierce action enſued at Pwllgwttic, in which the army of South Wales was defeated; and that prince, to avoid being taken priſoner, was forced to fly from one place to another; until at length, falling into the hands of his enemies, he and his brother Howel, were murdered in revenge of the death of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn.[3] Even in theſe miſerable times, when private reſentment ſuperſeded the ſober deciſion of the laws, the ſword of juſtice, though uſurped, ſeldom ſuffered the guilty to eſcape; as a keen ſenſe of injury, and, what was deemed a ſacred obligation, revenging the wrongs of

[1] Strength of the army. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 113. [3] Ibid.

their

their anceſtors, were principles eſſential in hereditary feuds, and were deeply engrafted in the manners of the Welſh.

In this ſtate of affairs, Rhys ap Tewdwr,[1] lineally deſcended from Howel Dha, and whoſe family had been long excluded from their rights by the capricious ſucceſſion of the times, put in his claim to the crown; and was elected prince of South Wales by the unanimous voice of the people.[2]

A. D. 1077.

Gryffydh ap Cynan, during theſe tranſactions, had received a reinforcement out of Ireland. A ſimilarity of intereſts, having inclined this prince and Rhys ap Tewdwr to form an alliance, they joined their armies; reſolving by every effort in their power to ſupport each other, and to vindicate the rightful ſucceſſion. To oppoſe an union ſo dangerous to his ſafety, Trahaearn ap Caradoc aſſembled his forces, and met the two princes upon the mountain of Carno;[3] where an engagement enſued, diſputed with the valour and obſtinacy natural to rivals who had every thing to hope and to fear. In this action Trahaearn was ſlain, and his army defeated.[4] This victory ſeated Gryffydh ap

A. D. 1079.

[1] The ſon of Einion ap Owen ap Howel Dha.

[2] According to Vaughan of Hengwrt, the immediate territories of this prince were only the preſent counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen; as Pembroke, Brecknock, Gwent, or Monmouthſhire, and Glewiſing or Herefordſhire, being governed by their ſeveral Reguli; though, there is no doubt, but all theſe acknowledged the ſovereign authority of South Wales. Britiſh Ant. Reviv. p. 7, 8. Welſh Chron. p. 114.

[3] Called Mynydd Carn, on account of a large Carnedd upon it, covering the remains of a great warrior, who had in ancient times been ſlain and buried there.

[4] Vita fil. Gryff. Conani. Welſh Chron. p. 114.

Cynan,

Cynan, and Rhys ap Tewdwr upon the thrones of their anceſtors.[1] And thus, by a ſudden turn in affairs, meeting, we ſuppoſe, the wiſhes of the people, was the lineal ſucceſſion reſtored; which as long as it continued, was a means of ſoftening the aſperity of the times, and of increaſing the national ſtrength.

After the late event, the king of North Wales invaded Powys, and laid waſte that territory.[2] This prince's proſperity, however, was very ſoon embittered by a deep reverſe of fortune. A native of Wales, called Meirion Goch, entered into a conſpiracy to betray him into the hands of the Engliſh. Agreeably to the plan which had been previouſly concerted with the earls of Shrewſbury and Cheſter, a ſtrong body of infantry and horſe were ſtationed at Rug in Edeyrnion. The ſnare being laid, Gryffydh ap Cynan was deſired by the treacherous Welſhman, at the inſtance of the two Engliſh lords, to give them the meeting under the colour of a friendly conference. With a ſimplicity, which neither agreed with the character of the times, nor with the dictates of prudence, the Welſh king came to the place appointed, attended only by a few retainers whom he had brought out of Ireland. He had no ſooner made his appearance, than he was ſeiſed, and carried in chains to the caſtle of Cheſter. His attendants were allowed to depart, without receiving any other injury than the loſs of a thumb, which was

[1] Vita fil. Gryff. Conani. Welſh Chron. p. 114.

[2] Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 16. Vita fil. Griff. Conani.

cut off from the right hand of each. This inſtance of whimſical barbarity might ariſe from the inſtigation of Meirion Goch; who, from the prejudices of his country, would deteſt them as foreigners, and who might alſo reſent the partiality which this prince had always entertained for the Iriſh.

Gryffydh remained many years in captivity; a confinement, no doubt, that was rendered more bitter, from a ſenſe of his own inability of affording protection to his ſubjects; and of preventing the fatal innovations, which during that period, were taking place in South Wales and in Powys. The earl of Cheſter, having diſarmed ſo formidable an enemy, committed dreadful ravages in North Wales; and in order to preſerve the conqueſts he had made, and render his inroads more ſafe; he erected a fortreſs at Aberllienawg in Angleſey, one alſo at Caernarvon, another at Bangor, and another in Meirionydh; and all which he furniſhed with ſtrong garriſons.[1]

Resenting, it is probable, the late inroad which the Welſh, in conjunction with Edric earl of Mercia, had made into the marches of England, William the Conqueror invaded their country with a powerful force. The Welſh princes, unable to oppoſe his arms, or awed by the influence of his mighty name, ſubmitted without reſiſtance to pay him homage; and to take the oath of fealty, as due from vaſſals to a ſuperior lord.[2] Theſe

[1] Camden's Brit. p. 655. Vita Griff. fil. Conani.

[2] Math. Paris, p. 9. Lord Lyttelton ſays, that William, ſatisfied with this mark of vaſſalage, exacted no tribute as from a conquered country; the feudal laws regarding

Theſe hoſtile intentions being ſet aſide by their peaceable demeanour, king William, agreeably to that ſpirit of piety which in theſe days tinctured the mind of the fierceſt warrior, marched with his army to the city of Saint David, and offered up his devotions at the ſhrine of that Saint.[1] A few years after his expedition into Wales, this great king died in Normandy; and was ſucceeded by William Rufus, his eldeſt ſon. On the death of the Conqueror, the ſpirit and genius of the Welſh nation revived, and with it revived alſo the variety of evils which are incident to inteſtine diviſions.

A. D. 1079. 13th of William the Conqueror.

A. D. 1087.

The three ſons of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, deſirous of recovering the ſovereignty which they had loſt by the murder of their father, and by the uſurpation of Trahaearn ap Caradoc, raiſed an inſurrection in South Wales againſt Rhys ap Tewdwr.[2] That prince not being able to oppoſe a force ſuddenly encreaſed by numbers of men bred in the licentiouſneſs of the times, retired into Ireland; and having powerful alliances in that country, he procured a body of troops compoſed of Iriſh and Scots; with which he returned into South Wales, and was joined by many of his own ſubjects. The princes of Powys, ſenſible that diſpatch was the life of ſuch an enterpriſe as theirs, by a rapid movement, attacked Rhys, on the ſudden, at a place called Lhechryd in Radnor; and before his army was ſtrengthen-

regarding all as ſubjects who were admitted to homage, and of courſe exempting them from ſuch impoſitions.

Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. of Henry II. vol. II. p. 49.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 115. [2] Ibid. p. 117.

ed by the reinforcement which was haſtening to join him. In the battle which enſued, fortune decided againſt the inſurgents. Two of the brothers Madoc and Ririd were ſlain; and Cadwgan the other brother, ſaved his life by a precipitate flight. This commotion being fortunately ended, Rhys ap Tewdwr, with rewards expreſſive of his gratitude, diſmiſſed his auxiliaries.[1]

The terror which had been impreſſed upon the minds of the Welſh, by the deciſive character of the late Engliſh monarch, and which had unnerved the public arm, ſubſided with the death of that fierce warrior. Early in the reign of his ſon William Rufus an inſurrection broke out upon the borders,
A. D. 1088. excited by the earls of Hereford and Shrewſbury. The Welſh, eager to embrace the firſt favourable moment for the recovery of their liberties, joined the malecontent lords; and ruſhing with great fury upon the Engliſh marches, like a fire which had been long pent up, they ravaged and laid waſte the country about Worceſter,[2] to the gates of that city.[3] They were however, in the event, repulſed with great ſlaughter, by the valour of the citizens, excited by the ſpirited conduct of Wulſtan their biſhop.

An incident happened at this time, ſpringing from a trivial occurrence, which produced a change in the affairs of South

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 110.

[2] Called by the Romans Brangonia, by the Britons Caer-Vrangon, and by the Saxons Worceſtre. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 26.

[3] Annales Waverlenſes, p. 136. Simon Dunelme, p. 214. Math. Paris, p. 12. Welſh Chron. p. 118.

Wales

Wales the moſt important and deciſive; and which in ſome meaſure was the cauſe of the final ruin of Cambria. Llewelyn and Einion, chieftains of eminence in South Wales, and the ſons of the lord of Pembroke, roſe in rebellion againſt Rhys ap Tewdwr their ſovereign; and they likewiſe drew into their treaſonable deſigns Gryffydh ap Meredydh, another chieftain of the country. Having joined their forces, they marched to attack prince Rhys, who then reſided at Llandudoch, in the county of Pembroke; where an action enſued, in which the rebels were defeated, and Gryffydh taken priſoner; the two other leaders having ſaved themſelves by flight. The rebel chieftain was inſtantly put to death as a traitor;[1] the firſt inſtance we have ſeen, in theſe miſerable times, of legal juſtice having dared to aſſert her prerogative.

Einion, deſperate by the late event, and afraid to truſt his ſafety with any of his own kindred, aſſociated with Jeſtyn ap Gwrgaint, lord of Glamorgan;[2] between whom there was a ſimilarity of ſituation and intereſt, he being at that time in arms againſt his ſovereign. To bind themſelves ſtill more cloſely to each other, it was agreed that Einion ſhould marry the daughter of Jeſtyn, on condition that he procured a body of Normans to aſſiſt in their enterpriſe; as that chieftain had ſerved in the Engliſh armies, and had formed an acquaintance with the Norman nobility.[3] Influenced by theſe powerful motives, Einion haſtened into England.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 119. [2] The territory of *Morganwg*, or Morgan.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 119.

The

The deſign was agreeable to the enterpriſing ſpirit of the age. The Engliſh princes too, had always employed in their various attempts of ſubjugating Wales, this principle of Machiavelian policy, *Divide et Impera*. And at this time, the treaſon of two men, coinciding with the views of Rufus, infuſed a fatal poiſon into the boſom of their country.

A. D. 1090.

Robert Fitzhammon, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber and baron of the realm, undertook the adventure. He ſelected for this enterpriſe twelve knights of conſiderable note, who agreed to ſerve under him with a large body of forces.[1] Theſe troops, early in the following year, landed in Glamorgan, and were received with great honour by Jeſtyn the lord of that country; who joining his forces with the Normans, laid waſte the territories of Rhys ap Tewdwr. At the time of this invaſion the prince of South Wales was above ninety years old. With a ſpirit and activity uncommon at his age, he marched in perſon againſt the rebels; and meeting them upon the black mountain near Brecknock, after a ſevere and bloody conflict, his army was vanquiſhed, and this ancient and gallant prince was himſelf ſlain in the action.[2] He left two ſons by his wife, the daughter of Rhiwallon ap Cynvyn; Gryffydh, and another ſon, who at his father's death was a priſoner in England.[3] In this manner died Rhys ap Tewdwr; attempting to repel the deepeſt oppreſ-

A. D. 1091.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 119.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 112. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 80. Polidore Virgil, lib. X. p. 171.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 81. Welſh Chron. p. 120.

ſion,

ſion, and fighting for the independency of his country. With this warrior ſunk the glory of the principality of South Wales; after whoſe death, betrayed by the vices of its own princes, and torn in pieces by foreign adventurers, it loſt its ancient importance, and gradually fell into decay.

The treaſon of the Welſh chieftains having thus attained ſo fortunate an iſſue, Jeſtyn kept all his engagements with the Normans very faithfully; not only diſmiſſing them with the ſtipulated pay, but with preſents ſuitable to the importance of their ſervice. Einion demanded of Jeſtyn his daughter in marriage, agreeably to the promiſe he had made; but proſperity having rendered that chieftain proud and inſolent, he rejected his ſuit, and even imbittered the refuſal by treating him with diſdain. Reſenting a conduct ſo faithleſs and ungrateful, Einion haſtened after the Normans, in hopes of overtaking them before they had ſailed. On his arrival at the ſea ſhore, he found they were already embarked; and as he might not be heard at ſo great a diſtance, he waved his mantle as a ſignal for them to return. Fitzhammon and his knights immediately put to ſhore, to know the cauſe of ſo extraordinary a procedure. As ſoon as they had landed, Einion laid open his grievances, and likewiſe the facility of ſubduing a territory likely to remain unprotected by the Welſh princes; who muſt have ſeen with an eye of indignation the late conduct of Jeſtyn. Touched in ſome meaſure with the injuries of their friend; but ſtill more, it is probable, with the proſpect of poſſeſſing ſo fertile a country, Fitzhammon and his knights readily engaged in the views of Einion; and

contrary to every principle of honour, ſuddenly invaded the territory of Glamorgan. Little expecting ſuch a turn of fortune, Jeſtyn was eaſily diſpoſſeſſed of his territories.[1] They then proceeded to parcel out the domain agreeably to feudal ideas. Fitzhammon, reſerving to himſelf the principal parts, with the ſeigniory of the whole; gave the remainder of that province, to be held as fiefs under himſelf, to the twelve knights[2] who ſhared in the adventure; leaving the rough and barren mountains the property of Einion.[3]

In this manner were the lords of the marches[4] eſtabliſhed in Wales; poſſeſſing in all caſes, except the power of granting pardons for treaſon, *Jura regalia*. In the caſtle of Caerdiff*, the lords of Glamorgan uſually kept their chancery, exchequer, and court; where the twelve knights, by their tenures, were obliged to attend one day in every month, having ſeparate apartments in the caſtle for that purpoſe.[5] Each of the other lordſhips had a

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 80. Welſh Chron. p. 120. from Ran. Ceſt. lib. VII. cap. VII. Marianus Scotus.

[2] The caſtle and manor of Ogmore, was given to William de Londres; the lordſhip of Neath, to Richard Greenfield; that of Coyty, to Paine Turberville; Llan-Blethyan, to Robert St. Quintine; Talavan, to Richard Siward; the caſtle and manor of Penmare, to Gilbert Humfrevile; the caſtle and manor of Sully, to Reginald Sully; the manor of Eaſt Orchard, to Roger Berkrolles; that of Peterton, to Peter le Soor; that of St. George, to John Fleming; that of Fenvon, to John St. John; and the manor of St. Donats to William le Eſterling. See Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 115.

[3] Camden's Britannia, p. 609. Gibſon's edit. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 80. Welſh Chron. p. 120.

[4] An old Engliſh word ſignifying *boundary*. * *Caerdâff*, or city on the river *Tâf*.

[5] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 115.

diſtinct

diſtinct juriſdiction; enjoying the ſame rights with that of Glamorgan, except in caſes of wrong judgment, when an appeal might be made to the ſuperior court. All diſputes in matters of equity ariſing in the ſeveral lordſhips, were determined by the chancellor, in the chancery court of Glamorgan.[1]

The fortunate iſſue of the late adventure raiſed among the Norman nobility an ardent ſpirit of enterpriſe. The king of England threw powerful incentives in their way; alluring them by motives of intereſt and power, thoſe ſtrong incitements to human conduct. Several barons petitioned the crown for licence to poſſeſs, under homage and fealty, thoſe territories which they might conquer in Wales. This liberty given to the Engliſh lords, of obtaining at their own charge the territories of the Welſh, though ſpringing out of a wiſe policy, was apparently grounded on the abſurd idea of forfeiture; becauſe that people had renounced the allegiance, to which they had ſubmitted through neceſſity, during the operations of Harold, and the deciſive reign of the Norman conqueror.

The ſituation of South Wales, rendered defenceleſs by the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, favoured the deſigns of theſe military adventurers. Among the foremoſt of whom was Bernard de Newmarche;[2] who eaſily took poſſeſſion of the province of Breck-

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 122.

[2] Several gentlemen came at this time to Brecknock with Bernard de Newmarche; to whom he gave the following manors, which their heirs enjoy to this time; the manor of Abercynuric and Slowch to the Aubreys; the manor of Llanhamlach and

Brecknock, containing three cantrevs; and to colour his title with ſome degree of popularity, he married Nêſt, a grandaughter of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn.[1] Roger de Montgomery earl of Shrewſbury was the next who did homage to the king for Caerdigan. Arnulph, the younger ſon of that nobleman, obtained likewiſe the great lordſhip of Pembroke.[2] In this eaſy manner, by the deſultory enterpriſes of a few Norman lords, was the principality of South Wales ſubdued; the ancient ſeats of the *Dimetæ* and *Silures*; who, ſupported only by native bravery, had given a check to the Roman arms; and whoſe deſcendants had baffled, until this period, the utmoſt efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes.

The kingdom of North Wales, and the principality of Powys, were not long ſecure from the incroaching ſpirit of the times. The earl of Shrewſbury did homage for all Powys; and brought under his ſubjection ſome diſtricts in that territory; particularly the town and caſtle of Baldwyn.[3] This important fortreſs he fortified more ſtrongly; and called it Montgomery, after the name of his family.[4] The principality of Powys from this period had little concern in the intereſts of Wales. The policy of England ſoon rendered that territory, which had been for ages a

Tal-y-Lhyn to the Walbiefs; the manor of Gilſton to the Gunters; and the manor of Pontwilym to the Havards, &c. See Welſh Chron. p. 150. Camden's Britannia, p. 590. Gibſon's edit.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 148. [2] Ibid. p. 151.

[3] Built by Baldwyn, lieutenant of the Welſh marches, in the reign of William the firſt. See Camden's Brit. p. 650. Gibſon's edit.

[4] Welſh Chron. p. 152.

barrier

barrier of defence, a dangerous neighbour upon the confines; and it became, by the defection of its princes, an inſtrument of miſchief in the hands of the Engliſh againſt the national quiet and ſafety.

Hugh Lupus, earl of Cheſter, likewiſe, did homage for Englefield and Rhyvonioc; with the country extending along the ſea ſhore from Cheſter to the water of Conway. Ralph Mortimer did the ſame for the territory of Elvel; as did Hugh de Lacie for the lands of Euas; and Euſtace Cruer for Mold and Hopedale.[1] Theſe barons endeavoured to ſecure their conqueſts by erecting fortreſſes;[2] and, as far as they were able, by ſettling in them Engliſh or Norman inhabitants. At this time, Briſtol, Glouceſter, Worceſter, Shrewſbury, and Cheſter, were rebuilt, or fortified; and formed a line of military poſts upon the frontiers.[3] Thus the laſt aſylum of the Britons was inveſted almoſt on every ſide, or broken into by their enemies. The kingdom of North Wales, at this time reduced to the iſland of Angleſey, to the counties of Meirionydh and Caernarvon, and to a part of the preſent counties of Denbigh and Caerdigan, ſtill preſerved the national character and importance. The natives of that country, aided by the virtue of their princes, became more formidable than ever to the Engliſh; and, at times, acquiring union with additional vigour from deſpair; their enemies, inſtead of being

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 151. [2] Vaughan's Britiſh Ant. Reviv. p. 18.

[3] Manuſcript relating to the marches of Wales, in the poſſeſſion of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Eſq. of Gwernhaeled in Flintſhire.

able to make new conqueſts, held thoſe which they had already obtained by a precarious tenure.

The late incidents having produced a ſtriking change in the ſituation of Wales, and the lords of the marches having introduced into that country a new ſyſtem of juriſprudence; ſome account of thoſe lords, and of the ſyſtem which they introduced, may be intereſting to the reader. The conqueſt of Wales had been always a leading object in the politics of England; not only from the deſire of more extenſive dominions, but as a means of preventing in future the devaſtation and miſery, which the animoſity of a warlike and an injured people had produced on the Engliſh borders. The utility, likewiſe, of employing in foreign enterpriſes a martial nobility, inclined the Norman princes to encourage, by every incitement of advantage and honour, the dangerous deſigns of ſubduing, or of making ſettlements in Wales.

To enable the Engliſh lords to preſerve the obedience of the people they had ſubdued, the kings of England allowed them to aſſume, in their ſeveral territories, an abſolute juriſdiction.[1] But they did not hold this authority under any grant from the crown; it was only for the preſent connived at by the prince; and aroſe, as a wiſe meaſure, out of their particular ſituations. There is not, it is ſaid, any record to be found in the Tower, or in other parts of England, of a grant having been given to any lord of the marches, to poſſeſs the authority annexed to that dig-

[1] Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Life of Henry VIII.

nity.

nity. The king's writs, iſſuing out of the courts at Weſtminſter, did not extend into any part of Wales; except into Pembroke, accounted at this time a portion of England; neither did the ſheriffs, nor other officers of the king, execute his writs or precepts in any other part of the country.

THE high privileges incident to the lords of the marches, could not for many reaſons be held by charter. The kings of England, when they gave to any baron ſuch land as they might conquer from the Welſh, could not fix thoſe immunities on any certain precinct; not knowing which, or whether any would be eventually ſubdued. The lords themſelves were not ſolicitous to procure ſuch immunities; as it frequently happened, that thoſe eſtates of which they had taken poſſeſſion, were afterwards recovered by the Welſh; either by compoſition with the kings of England, or by force of arms. Another cauſe of their not poſſeſſing any charters of prerogative, was; that ſuch privileges, ſo high in their nature, ſo royal and united to the crown, could not by the laws of England be diſunited from the ſame. It was therefore thought a wiſer courſe, to ſuffer them to eſtabliſh, of their own authority, ſuch royal juriſdictions, rather than to hold them under a grant from the ſovereign; which, if at any time called into queſtion, might be adjudged of no force. Thoſe lordſhips, which were conquered at the expence of the Engliſh princes themſelves, were ſubject to a more regular juriſdiction; being governed in general by the laws of England.[1]

[1] Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

The lords of the marches, ſelecting the moſt agreeable and fertile parts of their territories, erected caſtles for their own reſidence; and towns for the accommodation of their ſoldiers. It was in this manner, that moſt of the preſent towns and caſtles on the frontier of Wales were built. This appears by the ancient charters given to ſuch towns by thoſe lords who firſt conquered, or founded them, expreſſive of immunities to the burgeſſes, and freemen; few or none of them having purchaſed ſuch liberties from the kings of England till many years after; and when that was done, which was ſeldom the caſe, they were only confirmations of privileges granted them by their ancient lords. Among other towns and caſtles about this time built in Wales, were Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordweſt; erected by Strongbo, William de Valence, and the Haſtings. Newport was built by Martin, lord of Cemaes; the town and caſtle of Cydweli by Londres, and afterwards enlarged by the duke of Lancaſter; the towns and caſtles of Swanſey, Oyſtermouth, Loughor, Radnor, Buellt, and Rhaiadr, were erected by the Bruces, the Mortimers, and the Beauchamps; Blaen-llyvni by Herbert; Abergavenny by Dru de Baladon; and in after times, Ruthin by the lords Grey; and Denbigh by Lacie earl of Lincoln. The greateſt part of theſe were ancient towns or caſtles before the Norman conqueſt; which had been either injured or deſtroyed by the devaſtations of war, or in the lapſe of time.

The lords of the marches held under the kings of England, by the tenure of ſerving in wars with a certain number of their vaſſals;

vaſſals; and of furniſhing their caſtles with ſtrong garriſons, and with all military implements.

The Engliſh laws were for the moſt part adminiſtered in the marches of Wales; their tenures, likewiſe, were principally Engliſh; being tranſmitted by fine, recovery, feoffment, and livery of ſeiſin. Some lords, from motives of prudence, permitted their tenants, who were natives of the country, to enjoy many of their ancient laws; which were not repugnant to thoſe of England, or injurious to their own intereſt. Among other conceſſions in favour of the Welſh, were, the uſage of gavel-kind, and the transfer of land by ſurrender in court; which gained admiſſion into the juriſdiction of theſe lordſhips under the name of cuſtoms; though anciently they had formed part of the common law of Wales. A ſufficient number of people not being eaſily obtained to coloniſe the conquered countries, it was an obvious policy in the lords of the marches, to ſooth the aſperity of conqueſt, by allowing the Welſh to enjoy many of their ancient cuſtoms. As the mode of transfer, as well as the principles of ſucceſſion, were different among the two people; two courts were eſtabliſhed in many lordſhips, in which the cuſtom of each nation prevailed. There were, however, a few lordſhips, though entirely held by Engliſh tenures, in which the tenants were permitted the cuſtom of gavel-kind, although they tranſmitted their lands by feoffment. Theſe eſtates were ſaid to be held by Engliſh tenure and by Welſh *dole*. In thoſe lordſhips where the land was thus divided, and which was held by knights ſervice, the lord had the wardſhip of all the ſons, as well as daughters;

daughters; and as this was a point of great advantage, it might induce ſuch lords to encourage in their tenants the cuſtom of dividing their eſtates among their ſons. In many lordſhips the Welſh laws were not in uſe, and Engliſh cuſtoms entirely prevailed. The whole juriſprudence depended entirely on the will of the firſt conquerors.

The chief qualification of a lord of the marches, was, that he ſhould hold of the king in *capite*. Though conqueſt was the general principle on which his right was founded, in ſome inſtances his dignity proceeded from a different cauſe; as in the caſe of Powys; a great part of which was never gained by conqueſt, but changed into lordſhips marchers by the following means. The princes of Powys, ſeeing the perilous ſituation of their country, and actuated by fear, or intereſted motives, made their ſubmiſſions to Henry the firſt; and agreed to hold under him their ſeveral territories; paying the ſame obedience and duties, which the lords of the marches owed to the crown of England. Thus did ſeveral of the lordſhips in Powys differ from others; in one point, however, they agreed; that they did, and of neceſſity muſt, hold of the king in *capite*. This circumſtance, together with renouncing obedience to the princes of Wales, was all that was at firſt expected by the kings of England from the lords of the marches. The barony of Powys had not any manors which held under it, like other lordſhips which were obtained by conqueſt; and for the ſame reaſon there were neither knights fees, nor plow, nor ox lands in thoſe lordſhips

ſhips; theſe diviſions being introduced into Wales by the Engliſh and Norman lords; and were entirely unknown to the Welſh and to the ancient Britons.

Having thus given a ſhort account of the introduction, and the nature of the lords marchers in Wales,[1] eſtabliſhed in the country at different periods, we ſhall reaſſume the ſubject of the hiſtory.

North Wales had been left many years without a ſovereign, in the power of the earl of Cheſter, and expoſed to his mercileſs ravages. Since the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr no chieftain had ariſen in South Wales to rekindle the ſpirit of patriotiſm; and that country, wreſted, in a great meaſure, from the hands of its native princes, had been parcelled out among Norman adventurers.[2] In this ſtate of things, when the proſperity of Wales appeared irretrievably loſt, her fortunes were changed on a ſudden, by the enterpriſing ſpirit of a few individuals, poſſeſſed of neither power nor conſequence.

[1] This account of the lords marchers is taken from a manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Eſq. of Gwernhaeled, in Flintſhire.

[2] Brady relates out of Domeſday, that William the Conqueror granted to Hugh Lupus, earl of Cheſter, North Wales in farm at the rent of £40 per annum; beſides Rhôs and Rhyvonioc. Page 201.

Gryffydh ap Cynan had languiſhed twelve years in captivity,[1] neglected by his ſubjects, or what is more probable, without their having had the ability to procure his releaſe. The ſituation of this prince excited the compaſſion of a young man, named *Kynwric Hir*, a native of Edeyrnion; who determined, if poſſible, to effect his eſcape out of priſon, though at every hazard to himſelf. The enterpriſe was bold, generous, and full of danger. Attended by a few followers he repaired to Cheſter, under pretence of purchaſing neceſſaries; and having, early in the evening, gained admittance into the caſtle, while the keepers were deeply engaged in feaſting, he carried on his back the captive prince, loaded with chains, and conveyed him with ſafety into his own dominions. It is with pleaſure we contemplate an action, like this, heroic in itſelf, and directed by a principle of maſculine virtue.

Though Gryffydh ap Cynan had thus fortunately eſcaped out of the hands of his enemies, he had many difficulties ſtill to encounter; as his own ſubjects were either diſpirited, or alienated from him; and the Engliſh were maſters of the country. His danger was ſometimes ſo great, that he was obliged to lie concealed in woods and in other places of ſecurity; but after he had endured a variety of evils, and taken thoſe caſtles which the Normans had erected during his captivity, he recovered the entire poſſeſſion of his kingdom.[2]

[1] Camden's Brit. Gibſon's edit. p. 656. [2] Vita Griffith. fil. Conani.

It

IT was not likely that the impatient ſpirit of the Welſh, their ſovereign having obtained his liberty, would remain quiet under the late uſurpations. Gryffydh ap Cynan, fired with reſentment for the miſeries which he himſelf and his country had endured, with Cadwgan the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, invaded the territory of Caerdigan; and ſlew great numbers of the Engliſh, who had lately ſettled in that country.[1] After this enterpriſe the two princes returned into their own territories.

THE Normans having procured a reinforcement out of England, propoſed, by a ſudden inroad into North Wales, to revenge the injuries they had lately ſuſtained. This deſign was diſcovered by Cadwgan; and that prince, ſuddenly intercepting them as they marched through the foreſt of *Yſpys*, defeated their forces, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, and obliged them to retreat with conſiderable loſs. The rapid movements of the Welſh prince did not allow his enemies leiſure to breathe. Purſuing them cloſely in their flight, and aſſiſted by the general conſternation, he laid waſte the country of Caerdigan and Pembroke; demoliſhed every fortreſs lately erected, except the caſtles of Pembroke and Rydcors; which by their ſtrength, or the bravery of the garriſons, baffled his power. Having thus recovered, by ſo fortunate an enterpriſe, a great part of South Wales, Cadwgan returned into Powys.[2] A. D. 1092.

ELATED with ſuch unuſual proſperity, and animated by a ſpirit of patriotiſm, the king of North Wales, and the ſons of

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 152. Brit. Antiq. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 22.
[2] Welſh Chron. p. 152.

Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, again united their forces. Not content with expelling the enemies of their country, they carried their arms into the marches of England; a ſpirit of ferocity directing their operations. The Welſh princes divided their forces into different parties; one of which was defeated by the earl of Shrewſbury.[1] The other bodies, not meeting with any reſiſtance, with the force and impetuoſity of mighty torrents, ſpread along the Engliſh borders devaſtation and ruin. The counties of Cheſter, Hereford, Worceſter, and Salop, were laid waſte. The cities, the towns, and many villages were plundered, or ſet on fire, or levelled with the ground; and, with a cruelty that diſhonoured the juſtice of their cauſe, the inhabitants, without any diſtinction of age or of ſex, were carried away priſoners, or periſhed by the ſword.

William Rufus, inflamed with reſentment, that a people, who had yielded a tame ſubmiſſion to his father, ſhould dare to contemn his authority, and attack him in his own dominions, raiſed a great army, and marched in perſon into the confines of Wales. The Welſh with great ſpirit repulſed his attacks; and after loſing great numbers of horſes and men, he was forced to return with diſhonour into England to reinforce his army. Fluſhed with their ſucceſs, the Welſh princes, on the retreat of the Engliſh, ventured to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Montgomery; reputed the ſtrongeſt and the beſt fortified of any in Wales. The Normans gallantly defended the place for many

A. D. 1094. 7th of William Rufus.

[1] Annales Waverlejenſes, p. 139. from Ang. Script. Hiſtoriæ.

days;

days; but the Welſh, having found means to undermine the walls, took it by ſtorm; and after putting the garriſon to the ſword, levelled that fortreſs with the ground.[1]

One common ſpirit of aſſerting their freedom animated the Welſh at this fortunate moment. The Engliſh, who inhabited South Wales, were attacked in their different ſettlements; and after ſome deſultory reſiſtance, were obliged to evacuate the country. In the courſe of theſe hoſtilities, Roger Montgomery earl of Salop, William Fitzeuſtace earl of Glouceſter, and other Engliſh noblemen were ſlain.[2] Thus at length did this gallant people, whoſe ſpirit had long been depreſſed by the hand of power, recover, with ſomewhat like elaſtic force, the importance of their ancient character. A. D. 1094.

Though the Normans had been driven out of South Wales, they were in no meaſure reconciled to the loſs of their fertile poſſeſſions. They provided freſh ſoldiers to garriſon the different caſtles which they had erected in the country; beſides furniſhing each of them with a proper ſtock of proviſions. Returning into South Wales, once more to contend for the prize with the native inhabitants, they were aſſaulted by the ſons of Ednerth ap Cadwgan, and driven back into England with great ſlaughter. Their ſeveral fortreſſes, after a ſpirited defence made by the

[1] Brompton's Chron. p. 991. Simon Dunelme, p. 220. Polydore Virgil, p. 273. Walter Hemingford Canon of Giſlebourne, p. 465. Annales Waverleienſes, p. 139. from Ang. Script. Hiſtoriæ.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 154.

garriſons,

garriſons, were yielded up to the Welſh; who for ſome time were left in quiet poſſeſſion of a great part of the country. At the ſame time, two chieftains of North Wales, joining their forces with thoſe of the ſons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, one of the princes of Powys, made an inroad into Pembroke, then in the poſſeſſion of Arnulph the ſon of Roger Montgomery; and after having laid waſte the whole country, they returned into their reſpective territories enriched with plunder. The caſtle of Pembroke, lately erected by the above-mentioned lord, had baffled all the attempts of the Welſh; that fortreſs having been gallantly defended by Gerald de Windſor, the governor.[1]

The late diſaſters, and the diſgrace which he in perſon had received, excited in the fierce mind of Rufus the keeneſt indignation. He entered Wales, a ſecond time, at the head of a royal army. During his march, the activity of the Welſh cut off his proviſions, harraſſed his troops, and conſiderably diminiſhed his numbers both in men and horſes; for keeping aloof in the woods and marſhes, or on the tops of the mountains, they ſuddenly attacked the Engliſh, with great advantage, in the defiles of the country, and in the paſſages of rivers.[2] And ſuch was the valour of the Welſh, and ſuch the conduct of their leaders; ſo great were the difficulties likewiſe which Rufus found in attempting to penetrate through the country, or in drawing the enemy to a battle, that in deſpair he gave up the enterpriſe;

A. D. 1096. 9th of William Rufus.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 154.

[2] Brompton's Chron. p. 992. Matth. Weſtm. lib. II. fol. 12. Polydore Virgil, p. 174.

and

and after refortifying ſome caſtles upon the borders, returned with additional diſgrace into England.[1]

The late exertions of the Welſh, and the proſperous turn in their affairs, muſt ſurely give pleaſure to every reader of ſentiment, who feels a tender concern for the intereſts of humanity; and who has ſeen a ſpirit of private rapacity, directed by the policy of England, and acting in concert with its power, entrenching on the natural rights of a people, inferior in every means of reſource, and whoſe only ſupport was the juſtice of their cauſe, and an ardent valour inſpired by freedom.

Diſcomfiture and diſgrace having of late attended on the arms of England, a different mode of conducting the war was adopted. Many of the Norman nobility were encouraged to undertake, at their own charge, the conqueſt of the Welſh; and about this time, or before, many barons had acquired conſiderable ſettlements, in thoſe parts of Wales which had been lately ſubdued, or along the frontiers of the country. Among others, Peter Corbet ſettled on the lordſhip of Caurs, Mortimer on Wigmore, Fitz Alen on Clun and Oſweſtry, Monthault on Hawarden, Fitzwarren on Whittington, Roger le Strange on Eleſmere, Drude Baladon on Abergavenny, and Gilbert on Monmouth.[2]

At the ſecret inſtigation of Owen ap Edwyn, lord of Engle- A. D. 1096.
field, and of other chieftains in North Wales, a very formidable

[1] Brompton's Chron. Matt. Weſt. Polydore Virgil.

[2] Manuſcript treatiſe on the marches, in poſſeſſion of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Eſq.

army

army invaded that country, under the command of the earls of Cheſter[1] and Shrewſbury.[2] Gryffydh, the king of North Wales, and Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, not being able on a ſudden to collect a force ſufficient to oppoſe them, and not having the neceſſary confidence in their troops, gave way for a time, and retired to the mountains for ſecurity. The two earls, meeting with no reſiſtance, continued their march into that part of Caernarvonſhire which lies oppoſite to Angleſey. Gryffydh ap Cynan, ſeeing the danger which threatened the ſeat of his government, paſſed over the water of Menai, attended by his aſſociate Cadwgan; and having received a ſlight reinforcement out of Ireland, he ſeemed determined to defend the iſland.[3] At this critical moment, Owen ap Edwyn, whoſe daughter had married the Welſh king, and who was likewiſe his principal miniſter, openly avowed his treaſon, and joined the Engliſh army with his forces. The Welſh princes, alarmed at the perfidy and revolt of ſo powerful a chieftain, and unable to oppoſe the united force of the enemy, withdrew into Ireland.[4] No longer protected, the iſland of Angleſey fell an eaſy prey to the Engliſh; who poured upon the inhabitants the full meaſure of retaliation for the cruelties which had been lately committed in the borders of England. It is painful to relate the ſingular and ſavage barbarities exerciſed on this occaſion; reſembling more the deliberate malice of ruffians, than the impetuoſity of ſoldiers. Some of theſe people had their hands cut off, others their feet; ſome had their eyes

[1] Hugh *Vras*, or the fat earl of Cheſter.

[2] Called by the Welſh Hugh *Goch*, or Hugh with the red head.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 155. [4] Welſh Chron. p. 155.

pulled out, others were caſtrated, and great numbers were maſſacred. A prieſt of the name of Kenred, venerable for his years and his wiſdom, having taken ſanctuary in a church, the earl of Shrewſbury commanded him to be taken from thence; ordered one of his eyes to be pulled out, his tongue to be cut, and cauſed him likewiſe to be deprived of his manhood.[1] We ſhould have drawn a veil over ſuch a ſcene of barbarity, if the deſign of hiſtory had been only to adorn a ſtory; and not to point the inſtructive moral, or to delineate, with a faithful pencil, the portraiture of men and manners.

The ſafety of North Wales, at this perilous criſis, depended upon a train of fortuitous circumſtances. Magnus the ſon of Harold king of Norway, having taken poſſeſſion of the Orkneys and of the Iſle of Man, arrived accidentally upon the coaſt of Angleſey. Hearing of the cruelties committed by the Engliſh, and touched with a ſenſe of ḡenerous pity, he determined to land his forces, and to preſerve the miſerable inhabitants from deſtruction.[2] The Engliſh endeavoured to oppoſe the Norwegians. In the attempt, the earl of Shrewſbury was ſlain. The prince of Norway, obſerving that nobleman reſolute in oppoſing his landing, and whoſe impetuous valour had carried him into the ſea, levelled an arrow; which through the opening of his armour pierced̄ his right eye, and reaching his brain, he fell down convulſed into the water. The Norwegian prince, on ſeeing him

[1] Brompton's Chron. p. 994. Fabian, p. 315.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 156. Vit. Griffithi. fil. Conan.

fall, exultingly cried, "Let him dance."[1] This accidental ſtroke of juſtice, ſeen by the eye of ſuperſtition, made the Welſh to conclude, that the arrow had been directed by the immediate hand of the Almighty.

The death of the earl of Shrewſbury produced ſome diſorder among the Engliſh, and obliged them to abandon the ſhore. The earl of Cheſter, on this diſaſter, ſuddenly retreated into England; leaving Owen ap Edwyn to enjoy for a time the fruits of his treaſon. The Norwegians finding that the Engliſh had not left any thing to plunder, immediately re-embarked.[2] This attempt was the laſt enterpriſe of any of the northern nations, to plunder or to ſubdue this country.[3]

After an abſence of two years in Ireland, Gryffydh ap Cynan, attended by Cadwgan, returned into Wales; and concluded a peace with the Engliſh, upon terms of great diſadvantage. The
A. D. 1098. dominions of Gryffydh, by this treaty, were reduced to the iſland of Angleſey; and Cadwgan retained only the territory of Caerdigan, and a ſmall part of Powys.[4] Unacquainted as we are with the ſprings of action, it is not eaſy to account for the long abſence of Gryffydh; or to trace in his preſent conduct any marks of that vigour, and deciſion of character, which diſtinguiſhed the early operations of his reign.

[1] Girald. Cambr. Itin. cap. VII. Sim. Dunelme, p. 223. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 156.

[3] Hume's Hiſt. Eng. In the courſe of this expedition, the earl of Cheſter rebuilt the caſtle of Diganwy, the ſeat of the ancient princes of Wales. King's Vale Royal of Cheſhire, p. 48.

[4] Welſh Chron. p. 156.

It might ſeem, as if ſome degree of retaliative juſtice, diſtinguiſhed the death of William Rufus king of England; who was ſlain by accident, as he was hunting in the New Foreſt in Hampſhire. His younger brother, Henry the firſt, ſucceeded to the Engliſh crown. A. D. 1100.

Robert Belesmo, the ſon of Roger Montgomery earl of Shrewſbury, and Arnulph his brother earl of Pembroke, having engaged in rebellion againſt Henry, drew into their treaſonable deſigns Meredydh, Cadwgan, and Jorwerth; the three princes of Powys, and ſons to the late king Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. The Engliſh king marched in perſon with a large army againſt them; and repairing to the marches of Wales, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Bridgenorth. Finding this fortreſs too ſtrong, on account of its ſituation and warlike appointments, to afford him the proſpect of reducing it eaſily, he ſent privately to Jorwerth, one of the Welſh princes; in hopes, by ſuch motives as were likely to touch his reſentment, or his intereſt, to detach him from the rebels, and incline him to engage in his ſervice. He offered him the territories which the two earls poſſeſſed in Wales, without paying tribute, or taking any oath of allegiance; and at the ſame time, he recalled to his memory the many and deep injuries which his country had received from the families of thoſe lords. Theſe offers, artfully directed to the feelings of the Welſh prince, were gladly accepted. Jorwerth immediately joined the king; and with the uſual animoſity of a deſerter, detached his troops to ravage the eſtates of the two Engliſh earls. The perfidy of his conduct threw his brothers and the rebel lords into the utmoſt A. D. 1101.

diſmay; they deſpaired of being able to make head againſt the king, and, within a little time after, the confederacy was diſſolved.[1]

As ſoon as king Henry had returned into England, Jorwerth arreſted his brother Meredydh, and confined him in priſon; his other brother Cadwgan he took into favour, and gave him the territory of Caerdiff, and a part of Powys. He then repaired to the Engliſh court, in full confidence of receiving from Henry a ſuitable recompence for the ſervices he had lately performed. The king, however, wanting no longer his aſſiſtance, not only received him with great coldneſs, but deprived him alſo of thoſe territories which he had received as the reward of his treachery; and he was diſmiſſed from the court covered with ſhame and diſappointment.[2] Richard de Belmarſh the biſhop of London, was, at this time, appointed *Warden* of the marches. This prelate ſummoned Jorwerth to attend him at Shrewſbury, under pretence of conſulting about public affairs; but as ſoon as the
A. D. 1102. Welſh prince made his appearance, he was arreſted for treaſon, found guilty of the real or alledged charge, and committed to priſon.[3] The diſtruſt of a traitor, and the dread of the effects ariſing from diſappointed ambition, were no doubt the real motives which produced his diſgrace.

A SERIES of feuds and hoſtilities, unpleaſing in the recital, ariſe, at this period, in the hiſtory of Wales. Theſe inteſtine diviſions, too deſcriptive of the manners of the Welſh, were the

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 158. [2] Ibid. p. 159. [3] Ibid. p. 160.

means

means of accelerating the ruin of their ſtates; deſtroying by degrees their union and their ſtrength, and affording opportunities to the Engliſh kings of detaching the Welſh chieftains from the intereſts of their country.

Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, in the Chriſtmas holidays, invited the chieftains who reſided in the country adjacent, to a feaſt at his caſtle in ſome part of Pembroke. In the courſe of their feſtivity, *mead*, the wine of this country, having raiſed their ſpirits, Nêſt[1] the wife of Gerald, the governor of Pembroke caſtle, was ſpoken of in terms of admiration; the beauty and elegance of whoſe perſon, it was ſaid, exceeded thoſe of any lady in Wales. The curioſity of Owen the ſon of Cadwgan was ſtrongly excited to ſee her; and he had little doubt of obtaining admittance, as there was a degree of relationſhip ſubſiſting between them. Under colour of a friendly viſit, the young chieftain, with a few of his attendants, was introduced into the caſtle. Finding that Fame had been cold in her praiſe, he returned home deeply enamoured of her beauty, and fired with an eager deſire of enjoying her. The ſame night, returning with a party of his retainers, as daring and diſſolute as himſelf, he ſecretly entered the caſtle; and in the confuſion produced by ſetting it on fire, ſurrounded the chamber in which Gerald and his wife ſlept. Awaked by the noiſe, Gerald ruſhed out of bed to inquire into the cauſe of the diſturbance. His wife, alarmed at the danger which threatened her huſband, prevented his opening the door; and adviſing him to retire to the Privy, ſhe aſſiſted him in pulling up the A. D. 1108.

[1] Camden's Brit. p. 630. Gibſon's edit.

board;

board; by which means, and her farther aſſiſtance, he let himſelf down, and made his eſcape. The ruffian and his followers then broke open the chamber door; and after a diligent ſearch, not finding Gerald, they ſeiſed his wife and two of his ſons, beſides a ſon and a daughter which he had by a concubine; then leaving the caſtle in flames, and ravaging the country, he carried off Nêſt and the children into Powys. This adventure gave Cadwgan the greateſt uneaſineſs. Afraid leſt Henry might revenge on his head the atrocious action of his ſon, he came into Powys; and requeſted Owen that he would ſend back to Gerald his wife and children, as well as the plunder which he had taken. The young chieftain, whoſe love was heightened by the poſſeſſion of his miſtreſs, refuſed to reſtore her. Whether ſhe yielded to the violence of her lover from choice or from neceſſity, is uncertain; but he ſoon after ſent back to Gerald all his children, at her particular requeſt.[1]

A. D. 1108.

Owen being afraid of receiving from the warden of the marches the puniſhment due to ſuch an outrage, eſcaped with all his aſſociates into Ireland. His father Cadwgan ſecreted himſelf for a time in Powys; but having ſatisfied king Henry of his innocence concerning the late affair, he was permitted to remain in his own country, and to enjoy the town and eſtates which he held in right of his wife;[2] he was ſome time after reinſtated in the poſſeſſions which had belonged to him in Caerdigan, on paying to the king a fine of one hundred pounds.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 164. and Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 129.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 165.

After

AFTER many years confinement, Jorwerth ap Bleddyn was releaſed out of priſon, and reſtored to his territory; on his paying a fine of three hundred pounds in money, or of that value in cattle or horſes.[1]

SOON after his releaſe, this prince and his brother Cadwgan repaired to England, to tranſact with Henry ſome affairs of their own.[2] During their abſence, Owen the ſon of Cadwgan, who was juſt arrived out of Ireland, and whoſe turbulent ſpirit was always in motion, murdered a biſhop, with all his attendants, on his journey to the Engliſh court;[3] and then retired for ſecurity into his father's territories. This outrage being reported to Henry, Cadwgan was called to anſwer for the conduct of his ſon; but the excuſes he made not having ſatisfied the king, his eſtates were taken from him; that prince telling him, at the ſame time, that his territories ſhould be given to one, who with a firmer hand, would be able to reſtrain ſuch diſorders. He ſettled on him a penſion for life; and charged him on his allegiance, not to enter into any part of Wales until licence ſhould be given. A. D. 1109.

THE territory of the Welſh prince was given to Strongbow earl of Strigil, on the uſual condition of obtaining poſſeſſion by the ſword. This baron ſoon after landing in Caerdigan, eaſily accompliſhed his views of conqueſt; and to render his poſſeſſions more ſecure, he erected two fortreſſes; one of which he built on the ſea ſhore, about a mile from Llanbadarn, and the other at a place called Dingeraint, on the river Teivi.[4] A. D. 1109.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 166, 167, 168. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. p. 169.

Madoc ap Ririd,* a couſin, and a wild aſſociate of Owen, the ſavage chieftain of Powys, returned out of Ireland. Having ſecreted himſelf in the territory of his uncle Jorwerth, that prince, dreading the recent fate of his brother Cadwgan, gave orders to his vaſſals that they ſhould treat his nephew as an enemy. Madoc, upon this, collected a body of outlaws; with whom he lay concealed amidſt the rocks and receſſes of the woods, waiting for an opportunity of revenging the affront. He likewiſe entered into a friendſhip with Llywarch ap Trahaearn, between whom and the family of his uncle, ſubſiſted a deadly feud. Having intelligence that Jorwerth intended, on a certain night, to ſleep at Caereinion in the county of Montgomery, the two chieftains with their followers ſurrounded the place at midnight. The Welſh prince and his attendants, ſtarting from their ſleep, defended the houſe with much ſpirit a conſiderable time. The aſſailants, unable to make any impreſſion, ſet it on fire. In this extremity, the people within endeavoured to make their eſcape; in doing which, ſome of them had the good fortune to puſh through the enemy, others were ſlain in the attempt, and the remainder were burned in the houſe. Jorwerth himſelf, attempting to force his way, ruſhed on the ſpears of the aſſailants; but being overpowered, he was driven back, and periſhed in the flames.

As ſoon as Henry heard of this ferocious tranſaction, calling Cadwgan into his preſence, he received that prince into favour;

* Ap Bleddyn ap Cynvyn.

and

and gave him the territory which his late brother had poſſeſſed in Powys; and, from motives which do not appear, he even extended his grace unto Owen, deſiring his father to ſend for him out of Ireland; whither he had fled on account of the late murder of the biſhop.[1]

Madoc, finding his uncle Cadwgan in poſſeſſion of his late brother's territories, though his hands had been already ſtained with the blood of one kinſman, determined the firſt opportunity to imbrue them ſtill deeper, by the murder of his other uncle Cadwgan. This prince, having reduced his territories, in ſome degree, to a ſtate of tranquility, by a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, repaired to Pool * in Montgomeryſhire, attended by the elders of the country; where he began to erect the caſtle of Powys, in which he intended to reſide. During his reſidence at Pool, he was on a ſudden aſſaulted by his nephew Madoc, and baſely murdered before he had time to fly, or even to prepare for his defence. Thus died, after a variety of fortunes, Cadwgan the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn; dignified by Camden with the title of the renowned Briton; a prince, whoſe valour, ſenſe of juſtice, and other milder virtues, might, in any age but this, have exempted him from a death ſo cruel, and ſo unworthy of his character.

On the murder of his uncle, Madoc applied to the warden of the marches for land which had been formerly promiſed him; and that officer, influenced by the reſentment he had borne to

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 170, 171. * Trallwng.

Cadwgan and his family, granted his requeſt; and what is ſtill more ſingular, king Henry received the ruffian into favour, upon his paying a fine.[1]

A series of retaliated injuries ariſe in regular ſucceſſion; evils naturally ſpringing from the paſſions when they uſurp the ſword of juſtice. Meredydh, the only ſurviving ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, cauſed an inroad to be made in the territory belonging to Llywarch ap Trahaearn, who had been acceſſary to the murders lately committed on his brothers. Paſſing in the night through the land of Madoc ap Ririd, the retainers of Meredydh meeting a vaſſal in the ſervice of that chieftain, inquired for his maſter; the man at firſt affecting ignorance, was threatened with inſtant death; he then gave them intelligence that his chief was in a place at no great diſtance. Early in the morning, the party ſurrounded Madoc, ſlew many of his followers, and brought him priſoner to Meredydh; who ſent to his nephew Owen to decide his fate. That chieftain, reflecting that he himſelf had been, in various adventures, an aſſociate of Madoc, and that they were united by oath in the bonds of friendſhip, determined not to put him to death; though with a whimſical refinement in mercy, he ſatisfied his revenge by putting out his eyes.[2] Incidents like theſe, ariſing from the colliſion of contending parties, preſent, in ſanguinary tints, a lively picture of barbariſm.

A. D. 1112.

A. D. 1112. 12th of Henry I.

In the courſe of theſe events, Henry the king of England had an opportunity of giving to his territories in South Wales,

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 170, 171. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 172.

an

an increaſe of ſecurity and ſtrength, of the moſt beneficial and ſtable nature. In the reign of his father a great number of Flemings, having been driven out of their habitations by a very uncommon inundation, had come over into England. That king had entertained them with much cordiality, from juſt notions of policy; to increaſe, by ſuch a number of uſeful inhabitants, the riches and ſtrength of his kingdom. Many of theſe people, having been diſperſed in different parts of his dominions, began by their numbers to create ſome uneaſineſs; which Henry removed by ſettling them as a colony in South Wales; where he gave them the country adjoining to Tenby and Haverfordweſt, in which their poſterity remain to this day.[1]

The king of North Wales, for ſome time paſt, had never done homage, nor had paid tribute to the crown of England. Having lately overcome his foreign enemies, Henry, received complaints from the earl of Cheſter, that frequent devaſtations had been committed on his territories by Gryffydh ap Cynan, and by Gronw the ſon of Owen ap Edwyn the lord of Engleſield. Similar complaints had been likewiſe made by the earl of Strigil, to whom Henry had lately given Caerdigan; that Owen the ſon of Cadwgan kept a number of retainers, who frequently plundered and infeſted his country.[2] On theſe complaints, Henry ſwore in his anger, that he would not leave a Welſhman alive in North Wales, or in Powys; that he would exterminate

[1] Wm. Malmſbury, p. 158. Girald. Camb. Itin. lib. I. cap. XI. Verſtegan, chap. IV. p. 100. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 58.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 173.

the nation; and would ſettle in each country new inhabitants out of his own dominions. To execute this threat, he drew together, from different parts of his kingdom, a very conſiderable force; and Alexander the Fierce, who then reigned in Scotland, ſerved under him in perſon.

THREE armies were formed; one of which, compoſed of a large body of Scots, and the power of the north, under the conduct of the Scottiſh king, and the earl of Cheſter, was deſigned for the conqueſt of North Wales; another, conſiſting of the ſtrength of Cornwall, and a fourth part of England, led by the earl of Strigil, was ordered to invade thoſe parts of South Wales which were ſtill poſſeſſed by the natives; and a third, taking in the flower of his military vaſſals in the middle part of his dominions, was commanded by the king of England himſelf, with which he propoſed to ſubdue all Powys. Never was the Welſh nation, to all appearance, in ſuch danger as at this period; the ſtorm gathering from different quarters, ſeemed ready to burſt, and to overwhelm it in ruin.

A. D. 1114. 14th of Henry I.

INTIMIDATED at the proſpect, Meredydh the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, delivered himſelf up to the mercy of Henry; and his nephew Owen the ſon of Cadwgan fled to Gryffydh ap Cynan. The king, on this turn in affairs, changing his firſt deſign, and directing all his force againſt North Wales, advanced himſelf to Murcaſtell; and the king of Scots, in concert with him, penetrated as far as Pennant Bachwy. The inhabitants, as uſual, retired to the mountains; and by the prudent orders of their

their king, having carried away their cattle and proviſions, ſuch a large army could not purſue them for want of ſubſiſtence, as well as from the natural difficulties of the country: and the Engliſh parties who attempted to do it, were attacked by the Welſh in the defiles of the mountains, and were either cut to pieces, or repulſed with great loſs.[1]

Unable to penetrate the country, with ſafety to his troops, or with credit to his arms, Henry had recourſe to the arts of negotiation. The king of Scotland was made the firſt inſtrument in carrying on the deſign. He propoſed to Gryffydh ap Cynan, that if he would appear and yield himſelf up, he ſhould be taken into Henry's favour. But the Welſh king, aware of the deluſive nature of ſuch a promiſe, refuſed to lay down his arms. On the failure of this negotiation, the earl of Cheſter was then ſent to Gryffydh ap Cynan, to procure, if poſſible, his ſubmiſſion to king Henry; and in order more effectually to promote the deſign, he inſinuated that Owen ap Cadwgan had already made his peace with the Engliſh monarch. Incenſed at the ſuppoſed perfidy of his confederate, the king of North Wales agreed to lay down his arms; for they had taken an oath, that neither party ſhould conclude a peace, or make ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh prince, without the conſent of the other. He alſo agreed to pay a large ſum of money to king Henry; as a compenſation, perhaps, for the ravages which had been lately committed in Cheſhire. At the ſame time, Meredydh, under the pretence of treachery in the king of North Wales, brought over Owen his nephew.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 173.

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The means of intercourſe having been prevented by Meredydh, the two Welſh princes became the dupes of this artifice; and each of them made a ſeparate peace with the king of England.[1] It gives us a ſtriking idea of the valour of the Welſh, and of the exceeding difficulty of ſubduing their country by force, to ſee a prince, ſo potent as Henry the firſt, gloſſing over by a diſhonourable ſubterfuge, real diſgrace and diſappointment. For where was the advantage reſulting from the war? No homage or tribute appears to have been acknowledged or paid, nor any new territory obtained; no extermination of the inhabitants, as he proudly menaced; no new colonies eſtabliſhed in North Wales, or in Powys.

The buſy theatre of South Wales preſents, at this period, a new and an intereſting character. Gryffydh the ſon of Rhys ap Tewdwr, who, on the death of his father, had been conveyed for ſafety into Ireland, remained in that country until he was twenty-five years of age. Deſirous, then, of recovering the dignity which his anceſtors had poſſeſſed, he came privately into South Wales, under the pretence of viſiting Nêſt his ſiſter; who ſome time before had been concubine to king Henry, and had borne two ſons to that monarch.[2] After her connection with Henry had ceaſed, Gerald de Windſor, a gentleman of much eſtimation for his valour and conduct, then governor of Pembroke caſtle, obtained her in marriage; and, on that account,

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 174.

[2] Girald. Cambr. Itin. cap. XII. ſays one ſon. Brady's Hiſt. Eng. reign of Henry I. p. 171, ſays two ſons.

was

was appointed lieutenant over a part of that province. This lady was the ſame perſon, whoſe beauty had ſo lately excited Owen the ſon of Cadwgan to the act of violence already mentioned. With his ſiſter, and his other kinſmen, Gryffydh remained two years. But Henry's jealouſy did not allow this prince to continue long unmoleſted. For ſuſpicions ariſing that he began to carry on intrigues with the Welſh, who regarded him as the reſtorer of their ancient freedom, and that his ſecret deſign was to recover his kingdom, orders were ſent to have him arreſted. When Gryffydh ap Rhys had intelligence of this deſign, he implored the protection of the king of North Wales; who aſſured him, that for the friendſhip he had borne to his father, he ſhould be cordially received, and ſhould remain in perfect ſecurity within his dominions.[1] At the ſame time, Howel, the brother of the young prince, having been long a priſoner, made his eſcape out of the caſtle of Montgomery; and though ſorely maimed, fled, as to a friendly aſylum, to the court of Gryffydh ap Cynan.[2]

Henry, having heard of theſe events, and dreading the effects if drawn into precedent, of the protection which had been yielded to Gryffydh ap Rhys[3] in North Wales, ſent a letter to Gryffydh ap Cynan; expreſſing in terms of courteſy and friendſhip, a deſire of ſeeing him in England. Pleaſed with the flattering attention of ſo potent a monarch, he repaired to Henry's court; and was there received with honour and with much hoſ- A. D. 1115.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 175. [2] Ibid. [3] Or *hero*.

pitality, with the addition alſo of preſents in jewels, and other valuable effects, to a conſiderable amount. Having thus given a reception to the Welſh king, which might flatter his vanity, or gratify his avarice, Henry, one day, laid open his deſign; repreſenting to him the evils which might ariſe from giving protection to the ſon of Rhys ap Tewdwr, whoſe ambition was likely to diſturb the peace of all Wales; and offering, at the ſame time, the moſt ſplendid rewards, if he would ſend either the perſon or the head of the young prince into England.[1] A mind leſs ſavage than that of a barbarian muſt feel ſome reluctance, before it could reſolve to give up as a victim to the cruel and intereſted policy of Henry, an orphan prince who had ſought his protection. But the ſacred obligations of honour and of juſtice, the ties of friendſhip and the feelings of humanity, with every idea of prudence and patriotiſm, were, on this occaſion, annihilated.

The friends of Gryffydh ap Rhys, ſuſpecting ſome evil from the late ſingular proceedings, adviſed him and his brother Howel to withdraw themſelves; that they might have an opportunity of obſerving the conduct of Gryffydh ap Cynan upon his return into Wales. On the arrival of that prince at his palace of Aberffraw, he enquired for Gryffydh ap Rhys; but was informed that he had retired from the court. Diſcovering the place of his retreat, the king ſent out a body of horſemen to take him priſoner, and to conduct him back; but fortunately the young prince had notice of the deſign, though he had ſcarcely time

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 176.

to

to take ſanctuary in the church of Aberdaron; a privileged place in the preſent county of Caernarvon.[1] The king of North Wales, having violated more ſacred laws, had no ſcruple to infringe the privileges of ſanctuary; and commanded Gryffydh ap Rhys to be taken out of his aſylum by force. In this unpopular attempt his authority had no weight; for the clergy of that country, eager to defend their immunities, ſo effectually reſiſted the endeavours of his ſoldiers, that they were not able to execute his orders. In the night, the partiſans of the young prince ſecretly conveyed him to Strath Towi, a deep foreſt in South Wales; where having collected the adherents of his family, he meditated hoſtilities againſt the Normans and Flemings.[2]

The firſt enterpriſe of Gryffydh ap Rhys, was to deſtroy ſeveral caſtles belonging to the Engliſh. But, his forces increaſing, he extended his ravages into Pembroke; and even menaced with a ſiege the caſtle of Caermarthen, which Henry had made the principal ſeat of government. The Norman officers, who had the charge of this fortreſs, judging that their own ſtrength was inſufficient to maintain the place, ſent for the Welſh chieftains who were vaſſals to Henry; and, requiring each of them to defend it by turns for fourteen days, committed the caſtle to their cuſtody. Owen the ſon of Caradoc, whoſe mother was daughter to Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, was the firſt to undertake its defence. Gryffydh ap Rhys, having ſent ſpies to reconnoitre the ſituation of the place, ſuddenly inveſted it, being told that the works were A. D. 1116.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 176. [2] Ibid.

aſſailable. A ſhout which his troops ſet up as they advanced to the aſſault, gave Owen notice of his danger; upon which, that chieftain, depending upon the ſupport of his garriſon, ruſhed forward to oppoſe the enemy; but being deſerted by his ſoldiers, he was ſlain in the action, valiantly fighting upon the ramparts. The town was taken and demoliſhed; the caſtle was only diſmantled. The young prince, then, retreated with conſiderable booty to his poſt in the foreſt of Strath Towi; from whence he frequently iſſued, with the fierceneſs of a tiger, and ravaged the country around.

The ſpoils his followers had lately obtained, and the fame which he himſelf had acquired, drew to his ſtandard great numbers of men, whoſe age and ſpirit were congenial with his own; and who, admiring his activity and courage, were in full confidence that he would ſoon recover his father's dominions. Thus reinforced, Gryffydh loſt no time in purſuing his ſucceſs, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of two fortreſſes more belonging to the Engliſh; one of which was the caſtle of Gwyr, and the other the property of William de Londres. After this enterpriſe, he again retired to his ſtrong ſituation with the cattle and plunder he had taken.

These ſucceſſes had conſiderably raiſed the reputation of Gryffydh ap Rhys. In conſequence of which, the chieftains of Caerdigan eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſubmitted to his government; looking up to him as the guardian of his country, and calling on him to free them from the odious and ignominious tyranny

of

of foreigners. Much pleaſed with the invitation which theſe chieftains had ſent him, he entered their territories, and was received by them with great cordiality and honour.[1] The proſperity of his arms was equal to the rapidity of his movements. He ſuddenly came to Caerdigan Iſcoed, and laid ſiege to a fortreſs, which the earl of Strigil had erected at Blaen Porth Gwithan in that neighbourhood; and after a ſevere conteſt and ſuſtaining many terrible aſſaults, though with the loſs only of one of his own ſoldiers, the place was at length taken, and burned to the ground. As far as Penwedic the ſame devaſtation attended the deſerted houſes of the Engliſh inhabitants; who, ſtruck with diſmay, had fled from the fury of the Welſh. He then laid ſiege to a fortreſs called Strath-Peithyll in Caerdigan, belonging to the ſteward of the earl of Strigil; which he took by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword. Advancing to Glaſgrig, he there encamped to give his forces a day's reſt. Near this place was the church of Llanbadarn, one of thoſe ſanctuaries which poſſeſſed very high privileges; and in which the cattle, feeding within certain precincts, were regarded as ſacred.[2] Out of this aſylum he ventured to take ſome cattle to refreſh his army; an impolitic, though it might be a neceſſary meaſure; as it was likely to injure his reputation with his countrymen, by wounding their religious feelings. He then propoſed on the following day to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth. The governor, acquainted with the deſign, ſent to Strath-Meyric,* a neighbouring fortreſs, for a reinforcement; which during the night was ſafely

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 178. [2] Ibid. p. 179. * *Yſtrad Meirig.*

conveyed into the caſtle.[1] Ignorant of this, Gryffydh ap Rhys preſerved no order among his troops, and confident of ſucceſs, appeared before the place; but being drawn into an ambuſcade laid for him by the governor, his forces were defeated with much ſlaughter, and he himſelf compelled to quit that province.[2] He, A. D. 1116. however continued ſome time longer to maintain himſelf in the foreſt of Strath-Towi.[3] The conduct of this prince, which brightened his early life, promiſed to open with ſtill greater luſtre; but the diſaſter he had lately experienced, or, perhaps, a diminiſhed reputation, ſeems to have given a check to his career, and to have cooled the ardor of his enterpriſing ſpirit.

Unable to ſubdue this prince by open hoſtilities, Henry had recourſe to meaſures, wicked in their principles, and marking a mean and narrow policy. He ſent orders to Owen the ſon of Cadwgan, one of the late princes of Powys, to repair to the Engliſh court. On his arrival, the king expreſſed much confidence in his fidelity; and deſired him, on ſtrong aſſurances of recompence, to aſſaſſinate Gryffydh ap Rhys, or to take him priſoner. That chieftain, whoſe ſavage manners rendered him ſuitable for ſuch an employment, gladly accepted the commiſſion. Returning into Wales, he engaged in the ſame odious deſign Llywarch ap Trahaearn, a chieftain of that country; and with their joint forces they marched towards the foreſt of Strath-Towi, to form a junction with Robert earl of Glouceſter, the natural ſon of Henry by Nêſt his late concubine; whom the king his

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 179. [2] Ibid. p. 180.
[3] Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II. vol. II. p. 61.

father

father had ſent to give vigour to an enterpriſe, the deſign of which was the murder of his uncle. The ruffians being arrived on the confines of the foreſt, they bound themſelves in a ſolemn engagement, not to ſuffer man, woman, or child, who inhabited that diſtrict, to eſcape alive out of their hands. The people of that country, hearing of this ſavage reſolution, left their habitations, to hide themſelves in caves, and amidſt rocks and woods; while others ſought refuge even in the caſtles belonging to the Normans.

In order to facilitate their entrance into the foreſt, the approaches being narrow and difficult, the chiefs divided their force into ſeparate parties. Owen himſelf at the head of about a hundred ſoldiers, entered the woods; and in his way, perceiving the footſteps of men, he purſued and overtook them, killed ſome of their number, and diſperſed the remainder; then, ſeiſing on their cattle, he returned with his plunder towards the main body of the army. At this moment, Gerald the governor of Pembroke caſtle, made his appearance, intending to join the king's forces. Meeting the people who had fled from Owen, they complained of the injury they had juſt received, and implored his aſſiſtance. In an inſtant the idea of revenge ruſhed upon his mind, for the inſult which his honour had received ſome years before, by the outrage which Owen had committed on his wife. He inſtantly entered the foreſt in purſuit of that chieftain, who being warned by his followers of the approaching danger, refuſed to fly; confident that his purſuers intended him no injury, they, like himſelf, being vaſſals of the king of England. As

ſoon

ſoon as Gerald and his forces drew near, they diſcharged a volley of arrows. Owen, then, finding his miſtake, with much ſpirit, called upon his men to ſupport him; telling them, that though their enemies were ſeven to one in number, they were only Flemings, affrighted at the name of a Welſhman, and were only diſtinguiſhed by drinking deep at carouſals. In the firſt onſet Owen ap Cadwgan was ſlain; an arrow having pierced his heart. His death diſpirited his followers, who fled to the main body of the army; and the tidings of this outrage, having given the confederates a diſtruſt of the king's forces, they diſperſed, and returned into their reſpective countries.[1] In this manner died, ſuitably to the tenor of his life, this bold and profligate chieftain.

The princes of the houſe of Powys revolted, at this time, from their allegiance to Henry, and making inroads upon the Engliſh marches, committed there great depredations.

A. D. 1121. 21ſt of Henry I.

The Engliſh monarch, incenſed at their revolt, once more marched in perſon at the head of a powerful army into Wales.[2] When he arrived on the confines of Powys, Meredydh ap Bleddyn, and his nephews, the three ſons of the late prince Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, implored the aſſiſtance of Gryffydh the king of North Wales. But this prince, eſtranged from the real intereſts of his country, and ſtill deluded by the artifice of Henry,

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 182.

[2] Simon Dunelme, p. 245. Holinſhead's Chron. p. 42. Roger Hovedon, p. 477. John Brompton, p. 1013. Theſe writers ſay, that in this expedition, the king penetrated as far as Snowdun.

refuſed

refuſed to afford them any ſuccour, or to allow them the liberty of entering into any part of his dominions; he being then, as he told them, at peace with that monarch.

The Welſh princes, deſpairing of any other relief, than what they might derive from their own ſpirit and exertions, prepared for their defence; and with much judgment ſtationed bodies of men to guard the different paſſes into the country. The Engliſh king, having ordered his army to take a larger circuit, that the conveyance of his carriages might be rendered more eaſy, entered himſelf with a few troops into a narrow defile. The Welſh, ſtationed in places of advantage, began to ſkirmiſh with their arrows; killing ſome, and wounding many of his party. An arrow accidentally ſhot from an unknown hand, ſtruck the king on the breaſt: he received little or no injury from the blow, the force of it being broken by the excellent temper of his *habergeon*, or coat of mail.[1] It was uncertain from whence the ſtroke proceeded; but Henry, the inſtant he felt it, ſwore by the "death of our Lord," his uſual oath, that the arrow came not from a Welſh but an Engliſh bow.[2] The danger he had ſo narrowly eſcaped made him deſirous of ending the war; in which a ſingle misfortune, in ſo wild a country, might ſully the renown he had formerly acquired. There was ſomething faſtidious in the idea, that the glory of Henry would be tarniſhed, by any check his arms might receive from the Welſh; a people, who, though rude, and deriving little ſplendor from alliances, or the extent

[1] Stowe's Chron. p. 140. Welſh Chron. p. 185.

[2] William Malmſbury, p. 158. Franckfort edit. Baker's Chron. p. 40.

or ſituation of their country, had hitherto baffled the various attempts, which a powerful nation like the Engliſh, had made againſt their liberties.

The king, in this ſituation, and under the ſenſe of alarm, entered into a negociation with Meredydh the prince of Powys; who ſubmitted to give hoſtages, to pay a thouſand head of cattle, and a ſmall ſum of money as a compenſation for the treaſon committed in this inſurrection by himſelf, and by his nephews. On theſe terms, Henry very willingly granted them pardon and
A. D. 1122. peace; and returned into England, having appointed the lord Fitzwarren to be warden of the marches.[1]

A ſpirit of cruelty, which bordered upon frenzy, and which
A. D. 1125. broke aſunder the ties of nature, ſeiſed on the different branches
1127. of the houſe of Powys; an effect produced by the cuſtom of *gavel-kind*, that fatal ſource from which the Welſh have taſted ſo deeply of the waters of bitterneſs.[2]

It ſeems, at this time, as if Gryffydh ap Rhys had lain down his arms, and had been taken into favour by the Engliſh king; having received from that prince a diſtrict of land, on which for a while he remained in quiet. Though given for the ſupport of his family, or to ſecure his fidelity, this eſtate was, however, taken from him by Henry, on a fictitious charge brought

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 185, 186, 187. William Malmſbury, p. 159.
[2] Welſh Chron. p. 186, 187, 188.

againſt

againſt him by the Normans, near whom he reſided.[1] There was ſomething ſingular and cruel, in thus driving a prince into want, dependence and deſpair, in the very country of which he himſelf was the natural ſovereign. A. D. 1127. 27th of Henry I.

Meredydh prince of Powys, the laſt ſurviving ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, died at this time; who, forſaking the intereſts of his native country, had long become a ſubject to the king of England.[2] A. D. 1133.

Soon after this event died alſo Henry the firſt, and Stephen ſucceeded to the Engliſh crown. A. D. 1135.

The news of Henry's death, arriving in Wales, excited a general commotion: a ſpirit of revolt and hoſtility was inſtantly diffuſed. Even Gryffydh ap Cynan, who ſo long had deſerted the dignity of his character, deluded by artifice, or influenced by a perſonal regard for the late king, joined in the common cauſe againſt the Engliſh. The inſurrection began in the territory of Pembroke, and a conſiderable body of Normans were cut in pieces. Animated with ſucceſs, the inſurgents ſpread over and ravaged the whole of that country; putting to death all the foreigners wherever they came.[3]

To purſue the revolt with greater ability and vigour, Gryffydh ap Rhys found it neceſſary to go into North Wales, to

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 187. [2] Ibid. p. 188.

[3] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. I. p. 63. taken from Geſt. Reg. Step. p. 930, 931, 932. & Continuat. ad Flor. Wig. ſub annos, 1135, 1136, 1137.

procure a reinforcement of troops from his father-in-law Gryffydh ap Cynan. In the abſence of that prince, his wife Gwenlhian, deſirous of aiding the generous deſigns of her huſband, took the field in perſon at the head of her own forces, attended by her two ſons. This lady's ſucceſs was not equal to her gallant ſpirit. Her army was defeated not far from the caſtle of Cydweli, by Maurice de Londres, an Engliſh lord poſſeſſed of great property in the country. Morgan, one of her ſons, was ſlain in the action, and her other ſon Maelgwyn taken priſoner; and the princeſs herſelf, it is ſaid, was beheaded by the orders of her brutal enemy.[1] An action ſo ſavage, without precedent even in theſe times, called loudly for vengeance on the ſpirit of the injured princes.[2]

A. D. 1135. 1ſt of Stephen.

Alive to an injury ſo ſingular and atrocious, her brothers Owen Gwynedh and Cadwalader, laid waſte, with infinite fury, the province of Caerdigan.[3] Among a people, whoſe manners ſeem to have been little refined by ideas of chivalry, we are ſurpriſed at the appearance of characters, whoſe perſonal qualities, and bravery of ſpirit, whoſe courteous and gentle demeanour, might have entitled them to diſpute the palm with the accompliſhed knights of the feudal ages.[4] Theſe diſtinguiſhed

[1] Girald. Cambr. Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

[2] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itin. lib. I. cap. IX. and alſo Dr. Powel's notes on the ſaid chapter. This circumſtance clearly contradicts the aſſertion of Florentius Monk of Weſtminſter, that Gwenlhian wife to Gryffydh ap Rhys, by deceitful practices, had been the cauſe of his death. See Welſh Chron. p. 190.

[3] Welſh Chr. p. 189. [4] Girald. Camb. lib. II. cap. XII.

perſons were the ſons of Gryffydh ap Cynan. As ſoon as theſe princes arrived in South Wales, ſeveral chieftains joined their army; and being thus reinforced, they took and deſtroyed the caſtles of Aberyſtwyth,[1] Dinerth, and Caerwedros, and two other fortreſſes belonging to Walter Aſpec, and Richard de la Mare; all of which were ſtrong and well garriſoned. Having finiſhed the campaign, ſo much to the honour of their feelings, the princes returned into North Wales.[2]

In revenge, it is probable, of the late devaſtations, Ranulph earl of Cheſter made an inroad into Wales; but being on a ſudden intercepted by the Welſh, it was with great difficulty, that he himſelf, with five of his ſoldiers, were able to eſcape; the remainder of his forces having been put to the ſword.[3] A. D. 1136.

On the cloſe of the ſame year, Owen and Cadwalader again invaded South Wales, at the head of a formidable force; conſiſting of ſix thouſand infantry, and two thouſand horſe, all of which were compleatly armed. Gryffydh ap Rhys, who had married their ſiſter, and was all on fire for vengeance, beſides many eminent chieftains, joined the princes of North Wales; and ſtrengthened their army by conſiderable ſupplies.[4] With a violence not to be reſiſted, the confederate princes ſubdued the

[1] The word *Aber*, which frequently occurs in the Welſh hiſtory, ſignifies that point where a leſſer river runs into a larger; or where a river diſcharges itſelf into the ſea.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 189. [3] Simon Dunelme, Continuata, p. 258, 259.

[4] Welſh Chro p. 190.

whole country as far as the town of Caerdigan; expelling the foreigners, and reinſtating the native inhabitants. To repel this formidable inſurrection, the united force of the Normans, the Flemings, and the Engliſh, in Wales or in the marches, was exerted, under the conduct of ſeveral powerful barons; who determined by one great effort to recover the territories lately torn from them.[1] Theſe were the two ſons of Gerald de Windſor, with Robert Fitzmartyn, and William Fitz John, beſides Stephen the governor of Caerdigan; who, after the death of Gerald, had married Nêſt,[2] the widow of that lord.

The courage of the Welſh had, in various ſituations, been terrible to their enemies: on this occaſion, it ſeems to have been raiſed above the uſual ſtandard; fired with reſentment at the late outrage, and animated by the example of leaders, whoſe ſpirit and talents rendered them ſo fit for command. The Engliſh, after a ſevere and bloody conflict, were defeated, with the loſs of three thouſand men; and flying to their caſtles for ſafety, were ſo cloſely purſued, that many priſoners were taken, and great numbers drowned in the Teivi; a bridge acroſs that river having broken down, over which the fugitives were obliged to paſs.[3] Never before had the Engliſh, in their various attempts upon Wales, received ſo terrible a blow. Having finiſhed another proſperous campaign, the two young princes returned

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 189. [2] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. I. p. 63.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 189. Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 4. Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 364.

into

into North Wales; carrying with them, to grace their triumph, the horſes and armour, and the rich ſpoils they had taken.[1]

In the courſe of theſe events, Richard earl of Clare, to whom the territory of Caerdigan had been given by Henry, was murdered by Jorwerth, the brother of Morgan of Caer-Lleon; as he was riding through a foreſt, enjoying the pleaſure of muſic, and without ſuſpicion of an enemy.[2] His widow the counteſs of Clare, and ſiſter to the earl of Cheſter, had retired into one of his caſtles, on the murder of her huſband. In this fortreſs, during the late campaign, ſhe was beſieged by the Welſh. The ſituation of this lady was truly deplorable. She was inveſted by an irritated enemy, and in want of proviſions; the Engliſh were nearly all ſlain, or expelled the country; her brother was at a diſtance, and ſo employed in defending his own territories, that he could not afford her any timely relief: and, what contributed to render her ſituation ſtill more wretched, ſhe had reaſon to expect every hour a fate, which ſhe might deem more cruel than death itſelf; the Welſh, like many other nations, having uſually taken their female captives, even thoſe of the higheſt rank, to be their concubines.[3] In this dreadful ſtate, Milo Fitz Walter, who, by right of his wife the daughter of Bernard de Newmarche, was the lord of Brecknock, received orders from king Stephen to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſet at liberty the un-

[1] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 22.

[2] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

[3] Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II. p. 64. Cadwalader, one of theſe princes, afterwards married the daughter of this counteſs of Clare. Hiſt. Gwedir, p. 5.

fortunate

fortunate counteſs. There was ſo much difficulty and danger in the enterpriſe, that its ſucceſs appeared almoſt impoſſible. A generous pity, which a brave mind ever feels for weakneſs in diſtreſs, and the gallant ſpirit of chivalry, made him however attempt, at every hazard, to deliver the lady out of danger. He loſt no time, therefore, in marching, with a choſen body of troops, through ways which were leaſt frequented; traverſing along the tops of mountains and through the deep woods of the country; and at length, having had the good fortune to arrive at the caſtle, unſeen by the Welſh, he carried away the counteſs of Clare, and all her retinue.[1] An action ſo gallant and humane, equals many of the fanciful deſcriptions which are found in romance, and proves ſuch pictures to have borne ſome reſemblance to the manners of the feudal ages.

We ſee not on this occaſion, the ſame gallantry of ſpirit in Owen and Cadwalader; nor in other parts of their ſubſequent conduct; though theſe princes, it is ſaid, were highly diſtinguiſhed for humanity and courteous manners.[2]

A. D. 1137. The power of the confederacy againſt the Engliſh, was much weakened by the death of Gryffydh the ſon of Rhys ap Tewdwr; who, cloſing with his life a ſeries of gallant actions, reflected back the honours he had received from a long line of illuſtrious anceſtry.[3]

[1] Lord Lyttelton's Henry II. vol. II. p. 64. from Girald. Cambrenſis. Itin. Cam. cap. II. lib. I.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 189. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 190.

The

THE ſame fate, ſoon after the late proſperous campaign, attended Gryffydh ap Cynan king of North Wales; who died at the advanced age of eighty-two, and was buried on the ſouth ſide of the great altar in the church of Bangor.[1] This prince had three ſons and five daughters by his wife Angharad the daughter of Owen ap Edwyn lord of Engleſield. The names of the three ſons were Owen, Cadwalader, and Cadwallon; the youngeſt of whom was ſlain before the death of his father.[2] He had likewiſe five other children by another woman.[3]

A. D. 1137. 2d of Stephen.

IN ſuch a country as North Wales, where ſo many cauſes conſpired to render its government unſtable, and the enjoyment of it often fatal to the ſovereign, that the late prince ſhould have been able to extend his reign to fifty years, was an extraordinary inſtance of good fortune, and a proof of his poſſeſſing conſiderable abilities. The love of freedom, which had diſtinguiſhed the early part of his life, infuſed the ſame ſpirit into the minds of his ſubjects; and which led them to diſdain the ignominious yoke impoſed on them by a foreign power. His valour, and his abilities, aiding their returning virtue, delivered his country from the vaſſalage of England; and, in general, by his conduct with Henry, or by the vigour of his government, he preſerved his dominions free from the invaſions of the Engliſh, and from civil commotions. The recital of theſe virtues, which form the ſhining features of his character, is no more than a juſt eulogium on his memory. But other im-

[1] Vita Griff. fil. Conani. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 191. Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 1.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 191.

preſſions

preſſions are marked on the reverſe of the medal, expreſſive of a conduct neither amiable nor great. A juſt policy required him to unite in the common cauſe, as to one central point, the jarring intereſts which prevailed in the other principalities; and the importance of his own ſituation and character, ſhould have induced him to reflect, that he himſelf was the great ſpring, which was to give life and vigour, and efficacy to the exertions of the whole. He ought to have known that the conqueſt of Wales was a leading principle in the politics of England; and that the princes of that country would never ceaſe to exert every effort of ſagacity and power, until their ambition had been ſatiated by the conqueſt, or by the entire deſtruction of the Welſh. Impreſſed with ideas ſuch as theſe, he ought to have regarded every offer of friendſhip, made by the Engliſh monarch, as a deluſive ſnare to his honour: and at every gift, he ought to have exclaimed in the natural language of diſtruſt, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. Influenced by a perſonal regard to Henry, or by motives of a baſer nature, he was led to prefer a ſelfiſh and ſolitary peace with the Engliſh, to the more generous and manly conduct of ſharing in the common danger; and of attempting to preſerve the general freedom of his country, by uniting its ſtrength. He was prevented, indeed, by his tedious captivity in Cheſter, from taking an active part, in impeding the conqueſts which the Engliſh were making in South Wales; nor is it candid to ſuppoſe, in that period of his life, he was inſenſible to the danger of that country, or could be cold to its intereſts. The ſame plea will not juſtify another

part

part of his conduct. Inſtead of giving ſecurity to Powys, a barrier of ſuch importance to his kingdom, he left the princes of that country, on its being invaded by Henry, to abide their fate; refuſing, under a cold pretence, to afford them protection or relief. Theſe traits of his character, with a deſire of ſacrificing to the jealouſy of the Engliſh king an orphan prince, who had ſought his protection, and whoſe birth and talents might have rendered him the inſtrument of his country's ſafety, evince; that the conduct of Gryffydh ap Cynan was not entirely directed by the principles of honour, or humanity, or of a ſolid and extenſive policy.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN TO THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH.

On the death of Gryffydh ap Cynan, his dominions, agreeably to the cuſtom of the country, were divided among his ſons. His eldeſt ſon, Owen, ſurnamed Gwynedh, under the newly adopted title of *prince*, ſucceeded as ſovereign of North Wales. A. D. 1137. 2d of Stephen.

This active prince, in confederacy with his brother, began his reign by a third expedition into South Wales, with the ſame fortunate iſſue which had heretofore followed his arms; deſtroying in his progreſs the caſtles of Strath-Meyric, Stephen, and Humfrey, and burning to the ground the town of Caermarthen.[1] Retaining in his poſſeſſion all Caerdigan, and obliging the inhabitants of Pembroke to pay him tribute, he returned into his own dominions in high reputation.[2]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 193. [2] Brit. Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

The ſeries of proſperity which of late had attended the Welſh princes, might in ſome meaſure be owing to the embarraſſed ſituation of Stephen king of England. This prince, engaged in continual hoſtilities, and in ſupporting a doubtful title, had neither inclination nor leiſure to intereſt himſelf in affairs, in which he himſelf had no immediate concern; and were tranſacted too in ſo remote a part of the iſland. In conſequence of which, he concluded a peace with the Welſh, and allowed them to retain the territories they had lately recovered free of homage or tribute; at leaſt, it does not appear that either the one or the other was ever paid, during his reign, by any of the princes of Wales.[1]

An incident aroſe at this time, affording an example of ſavage manners; which proved fatal to the parties concerned, and, in the event, had nearly involved the ſtate in ruin. Anarawd the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhys, had married the daughter of Cadwalader, the brother of Owen prince of North Wales. A violent diſpute having ariſen between the father and the ſon, they decided the conteſt by a ſingle combat. In this rencounter Anarawd was ſlain. Owen was ſo incenſed at this outrage committed by his brother, that he, with his ſon Howel, invaded the territories of that prince; ſet on fire his caſtle of Aberyſtwyth, laid waſte the country, and obliged him to fly into Ireland. Engaging in his ſervice ſeveral Iriſh chieftains, and a large body of forces, Cadwalader landed at Abermenai in Caernarvonſhire; where he

A. D. 1142.

[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. of Henry II. vol. II. p. 66.

was

was oppoſed by the prince of North Wales with a powerful army; but before any action had taken place, a peace was concluded between the two brothers; which ſo incenſed the Iriſh, that they detained Cadwalader, as a ſecurity, until they had received their ſtipulated pay. That prince, to recover his liberty, gave them two thouſand head of cattle. As ſoon as the prince of North Wales had heard that his brother was at liberty, he ſuddenly attacked the Iriſh; ſlew great numbers of them, and recovered the cattle which had been given by Cadwalader, with the priſoners and other ſpoils they had taken in the country.[1] A. D. 1142.

After this expedition, Howel* and Cynan, the illegitimate ſons of Owen Gwynedh, made another inroad into South Wales; gave the Normans, who oppoſed them, an overthrow, and took poſſeſſion of the town of Caerdigan.[2] † This was ſucceeded by an attempt which was made by Gilbert earl of Clare; to recover thoſe territories which, it is probable, Stephen in the late treaty had ceded to the Welſh. With this view he came with a large army into Pembroke, and rebuilt the caſtle of Caermarthen, and another fortreſs.[3] To defeat his deſign, Cadell the ſon of the late Gryffydh ap Rhys, laid ſiege to, and made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Dinevawr. Joining then his forces with thoſe of his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, they inveſted the caſtle of Caermarthen; which was ſoon given up on condi-

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 197.

* Beſides being a gallant warrior, prince Howel was a Bard of ſome eminence; ſeveral poems of his being now extant.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 198. † *Aberteivi.* [3] Welſh Chron. p. 198.

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tion that the lives of the garriſon ſhould be ſpared.[1] This advantage encouraged them to appear before the caſtle of Llanſtephan,* in the county of Caermarthen; to the relief of which came a large body of the enemy; but ſucceſs ſtill attending on the arms of the Welſh, the Normans were defeated and the fortreſs was taken. The Normans and Flemings who inhabited that country, under the conduct of the ſons of Gerald, and of William de Hay, in hopes of recovering the caſtle, ſuddenly inveſted it. Meredydh the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhys, to whoſe cuſtody the fortreſs was committed, defended it with great valour, and with equal ability; for having ſuffered the enemy to ſcale the walls, and at the moment, when the ladders were crowded with ſoldiers, he cauſed them to be overturned by the means of engines he had previouſly provided. This diſcomfiture, with the loſs they had ſuſtained, obliged the Normans to raiſe the ſiege.[2]

A. D. 1143. 8th of Stephen.

An affliction of a private nature, the ſudden death of Rhun,[3] a favourite though an illegitimate ſon, fell at this time upon Owen prince of North Wales. In the bitterneſs of his ſorrow, the afflicted father gave himſelf up to ſolitude and to tears. But the deſire of aſſiſting the operations ſo ſucceſsfully begun in South Wales, as well as the importance of the object, reviving the ſpirit of an active and a gallant prince, he determined to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Mold, in Flintſhire. That fortreſs, ſituated on the Welſh frontier, was exceedingly ſtrong, and had within it a numerous garriſon of Engliſh; who frequently ſallying out,

A. D. 1144.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 198.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 198.

* Situated near the mouth of the river *Towi*.

[3] Ibid. p. 226.

much

much infeſted the adjacent country. It had been frequently beſieged by the Welſh; but on account of its ſtrength and warlike appointments, every attempt had hitherto proved unſucceſsful. The place was at this time inveſted by Owen, and the garriſon with great intrepidity ſuſtained many terrible aſſaults; at length, the Welſh, animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, bore down every reſiſtance, and entered the caſtle by ſtorm. Having taken priſoners thoſe who had eſcaped the ſword, prince Owen levelled with the ground the walls of that fortreſs. In doing which he gave no proof of his military ſagacity; ſuch a place being evidently of importance, as a check to the inroads of the Engliſh on the frontier of his dominions. The glory of this atchievement ſo elevated the ſpirits of the Welſh prince, that he ſoon forgot his ſorrows; and recovered the uſual tone of his mind, as well as a reliſh for his former amuſements.[1]

The ſons of Gryffydh ap Rhys having laid ſiege to the caſtle of Gwys in Pembrokeſhire, and finding their own force unequal to the enterpriſe, they deſired the aſſiſtance of Howel, the natural ſon of Owen Gwynedh; whoſe talents for the council or the field were high in the eſteem of his country. This young prince, eager for glory, joined the three Welſh lords; and having reconnoitered the fortreſs, he cauſed engines to be conſtructed to batter its walls, and to annoy the ſoldiers by throwing large ſtones into the caſtle. Preparations ſo formidable, and probably ſo novel, intimidated the garriſon, who inſtantly ſurrendered the fort. After this exploit, Howel returned into his own country.[2] A. D. 1145.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 199. [2] Ibid. p. 200.

A DISSENSION having ariſen between Howel and Cynan, the ſons of the prince of North Wales, and Cadwalader their uncle, the young princes led a body of troops into Meirionydh, to ravage his territories. The terror of this inroad cauſed the inhabitants to fly into different places of ſanctuary. But the princes having proclaimed, that no injury was intended to any perſon who ſubmitted to their authority, the people, accuſtomed to a change of maſters, quietly returned to their own habitations. They then inveſted the caſtle of Cynvael, erected by Cadwalader, and left by that prince to the cuſtody of the Abbot of Ty Gwyn. Neither menaces, nor offers of rewards, could ſhake the fidelity of this warlike prieſt; he defended the place with great intrepidity, until the walls of the caſtle were beaten down, and all the garriſon were either wounded or ſlain; he then made his eſcape by means of ſome friends which he had in the enemies army.[1] Some time after, another of his fortreſſes was taken by his
A. D. 1148. nephew Howel, his territory wreſted from him, and Cadwalader himſelf impriſoned.[2]

ANIMOSITY againſt the Engliſh, and the ſame gallantry of ſpirit which had diſtinguiſhed the father, animated the ſons of Gryffydh ap Rhys. Cadell, one of the ſons of that prince, having fortified the caſtle of Caermarthen, iſſued from thence with a body of troops, and marched to Cydweli, the country about which he ravaged and laid waſte; then, joining his forces with thoſe of his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, they entered into Caerdigan, and ſubdued a part of that diſtrict.[3]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 201. [2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 168.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 202.

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The incidents of this reign have been hitherto confined to enterpriſes of no national importance. But a tranſaction aroſe at this time, which in ſome meaſure menaced the ſafety of the ſtate, and called into exerciſe the military talents of the prince of North Wales. To recover the credit of his arms, which had been loſt by a former defeat in Wales, Ranulph earl of Cheſter meditated a formidable invaſion of that country.[1] Beſides his own vaſſals, he collected from different parts of England a large body of troops. He engaged likewiſe in the deſign Madoc ap Meredydh, at this time the prince of Powys; who diſdaining to hold his territories under the ſovereignty of North Wales, joined the arms of the earl of Cheſter; and the two leaders, with their united forces, entered the dominions of Owen Gwynedh. On this invaſion, that prince advanced into Flintſhire, to give his enemies the meeting at Counſyllt, on the confines of his kingdom. This movement, as rapid as it was bold, infuſed a ſpirit into his army, and ſecured his own territories from the devaſtations of war. Contrary to the uſual cuſtom of the Welſh, of ſcarcely ever riſquing a general engagement, or of attacking an enemy unleſs in ſituations of advantage, Owen, availing himſelf of the ardour of his troops, faced the Engliſh and offered them battle; though their forces were ſuperior to his own in numbers, and had alſo the advantage from the nature of their arms. The fortune of the day decided in favour of the Welſh; who ſo entirely diſcomfited the Engliſh, that few remained to witneſs their diſgrace; except thoſe who were taken

A. D. 1150. 15th of Stephen.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 197.

priſoners, and the leaders of the army, who eſcaped the fury of the purſuit by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes.[1]

Though urged to a different conduct, by every motive of prudence, Cadell, Meredydh, and Rhys, the ſons of Gryffydh ap Rhys, invaded Caerdigan, which was the property of Howel the ſon of the prince of North Wales; and ſubdued the whole of that territory, except a ſingle fortreſs in Pengwern. The loſs of the braveſt of their ſoldiers, which they ſuſtained at the ſiege of Llanryſtyd caſtle, ſo irritated the young princes, that when they gained poſſeſſion of it, they put the garriſon to the ſword. From thence they proceeded to the caſtle of Strath-Meyric; which, after they had taken, they fortified with new works; and the princes, then, diſbanding their forces, returned into South Wales.[2]

A. D. 1150. Cadell, the eldeſt of theſe lords, being fond of the pleaſures of the chace, engaged in a hunting party to amuſe himſelf after the toils of the late expedition. This prince had no ſooner begun his diverſion, than the inhabitants of Tenby, who had conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt him, ſuddenly attacked his party; and, unarmed as they were, eaſily put them to flight. Cadell himſelf, ſorely wounded, eſcaped with difficulty to his houſe, where he languiſhed a conſiderable time. In revenge of this treatment, his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, entered the territory of Gwyr in Glamorgan; and having laid waſte that

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 202. Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 4.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 170.

country,

country, they made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Aberllychwr, which they levelled with the ground; they then returned into their own territories, enriched with much plunder, and rebuilt the caſtle of Dinevawr, the ancient palace of their anceſtors. Some time after, the two princes laid ſiege to the caſtle of Penwedic in Caerdigan, belonging to prince Howel, of which, after ſome difficulty, they gained poſſeſſion;, then inveſting the caſtle of Tenby in the night, they took that fortreſs by eſcalade, before the garriſon was aware of any danger; obtaining revenge, by this laſt exploit, for the injury which their brother had lately received.[1]

The cuſtom of Aſiatic ſovereigns, of exterminating the younger branches of their family, was too frequently adopted by the Welſh princes; tinging more deeply their native barbariſm, by a policy ſo mean and ſanguinary. Cadwallon the brother of Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, having been aſſaſſinated, in the late reign, in revenge of ſeveral murders which he himſelf had committed, left a ſon of the name of Cynetha, the undoubted heir to his territories. To render his nephew incapable of ſupporting the claim which he had to his paternal inheritance, Owen had the barbarity to pull out his eyes; and refining on a ſavage and a deteſted policy, he alſo cauſed him to be caſtrated; that no heirs in future might lay A. D. 1151. claim to his territories, or might retaliate the injuries which this prince had received.[2] An action ſo atrocious, and not to be extenuated even by the rudeneſs of theſe times, throws a

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 203. [2] Ibid.

deep ſhade over the character of a prince, who, in many reſpects, was a friend to his country, and of an amiable and gallant ſpirit.

A. D. 1151. 16th of Stephen.

Cadwalader, who had been long kept in confinement by his nephew Howel, had the good fortune to eſcape out of priſon; and flying into Angleſey, he brought a great part of that iſland under his ſubjection. The prince of North Wales, hearing of his brother's eſcape, and of the proſperous ſituation of his affairs, ſent againſt him a body of troops; which proving too formidable to be reſiſted by Cadwalader, he was obliged to fly into England, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the relations of his wife, a daughter of the houſe of Clare.[1]

The late event was followed by another of much greater importance to Wales, by the death of Stephen the king of England; and Henry the ſecond, a more formidable enemy to its intereſts, ſucceeded to the throne.[2]

A. D. 1154.

While the Welſh princes were waſting the national force in mutual hoſtilities, the Flemings, who had ſettled as a colony in South Wales, acquired an acceſſion of ſtrength. One of the firſt acts in the government of king Henry, relating to Wales, was to baniſh out of England the Flemiſh ſoldiers, who had followed the fortunes of Stephen; and, poſſeſſing ſound principles of political wiſdom, he gave permiſſion to theſe foreigners, to ſettle among their countrymen in the province of Pembroke.[3]

A. D. 1155. 1ſt of Henry II.

[1] Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 5. Welſh Chron. p. 203. At this time (A. D. 1153.) died Meredydh the ſon of the late prince Gryffydh ap Rhys of South Wales.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 204. [3] Ibid. p. 205.

Several

Several cauſes conſpired, with the motives of ambition and glory, in engaging the king of England, to employ at this time, the utmoſt exertion of his power, in attempting the conqueſt of Wales. Madoc ap Meredydh, the prince of Powys, conſcious of having joined the enemies of his country; and dreading the reſentment which that conduct had excited in the breaſt of Owen Gwynedh, endeavoured, as a means of his future ſecurity, to incite the Engliſh king to the invaſion of North Wales. Cadwalader, likewiſe, ſince the fatal iſſue of the combat with his nephew, having been treated with ſeverity by his brother Owen, and by the ſons of that prince, had fled into England; and in that court, had employed in proſecution of the ſame deſign, his own ſolicitations, with the powerful intereſt of the houſe of Clare.[1] The glory to be acquired, and the importance of the object, with the apparent facility of the enterpriſe, from the defection of ſuch powerful princes, determined Henry to exert every means, which his great power afforded, for the conqueſt of the country.

He collected out of different parts of England, a very formidable army, with which he marched to Cheſter; then advancing into Flintſhire, he encamped his forces upon a marſh called Saltney, which borders upon the river Dee. Such was the mighty preparations which this prince had made for the conqueſt of Wales, that he compelled every two of his military vaſſals throughout England, to find a ſoldier to reinforce his army, and enable him with greater vigour to proſecute the war. A. D. 1157. 3d of Henry II.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 206.

war.* Owen, the prince of North Wales, with his uſual activity, advancing to the frontiers of his dominions, took poſt at Baſingwerk near Holywell in the county of Flint. In this ſituation he waited the approach of the Engliſh. The boldneſs of the movement encouraged Henry to hope, that the Welſh prince intended to riſque a general engagement. And in conſequence of which, he diſpatched a choſen body of troops under the command of ſeveral barons of diſtinction; with the deſign of bringing the Welſh to an action, or of diſlodging them from their poſt. This party, in paſſing through the woody and broken country of Coed Eulo, near Hawarden, was attacked by David and Cynan the ſons of Owen Gwynedh; and who, with a body of forces, had lain in ambuſh to intercept them. The ſuddenneſs and impetuoſity of the aſſault, with the unuſual difficulties of their ſituation, ſo intimidated the Engliſh, that they fled in great diſorder, and with much ſlaughter, to the main body of the army.[1] Alarmed at the danger, and mortified by the diſgrace, the king of England broke up his camp, and marched along the ſea ſhore to the town of Flint; intending by this manœuvre, to deceive the Welſh prince by leaving him upon the right, and by a nearer road to penetrate into the interior parts of the country. But in paſſing through a long and narrow defile at Counſyllt, he was intercepted by Owen.

* Matth. Paris, p. 81. There were ſixty thouſand knights fees created by the Conqueror, which muſt make the levy of Henry, raiſed at this time, to amount to 30,000 men. Hume's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 2. Appendix, p. 141.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 206.

The deſign was conducted with temper and judgment. The Engliſh were permitted to enter unmoleſted ſo far into the ſtrait, as to render their advance or retreat both difficult and dangerous. The Welſh, then, ruſhing with terrible outcries from out of the woods, aſſaulted them with ſtones, arrows, and other miſſile weapons. Struck with diſmay, encumbered with heavy armour, and unaccuſtomed to fight in ſuch ſituations, the Engliſh were again thrown into the utmoſt diſorder; being unable either to retreat, or to reſiſt ſo unexpected an onſet.[1] In the general confuſion, Henry himſelf was obliged to fly; Euſtace Fitz John, and Robert de Courcy, with other noblemen of diſtinction, were ſlain.[2]

The few of the vanguard who had eſcaped the ſword, fell back upon the main body of the Engliſh, who were advancing in regular order to the entrance of the defile. A rumour inſtantly prevailed of the death of the king; and the earl of Eſſex,* hereditary ſtandard-bearer of England, ſeiſed with the general terror, threw to the ground the royal ſtandard; at the ſame time crying aloud, "The king is ſlain." The terror then became univerſal.[3]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 207. Holinſhead's Chron. p. 67. Giraldus Cambrenſis, Itin. cap. X. lib. II.

[2] Stowe's Chron. p. 149.

* The year following, Eſſex was accuſed of treaſon by Robert de Montford; and being vanquiſhed by him in a ſingle combat, which happened in conſequence, he was condemned to death by king Henry; though the ſeverity of the ſentence was afterwards mitigated by that prince; his eſtate, however, was confiſcated, and after being ſhorn like a monk, he was confined during his life in a convent. Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. of Henry II.

[3] Holinſhead's Chron. p. 67. Chronica Gervaſii, p. 1380.

The Welſh, perceiving their diſorder, attacked the Engliſh with ſuch impetuoſity, that a general rout muſt have enſued; if at this moment the king, at length extricated from his perilous ſituation, had not made himſelf known to the army, by lifting up the vizor of his helmet. His preſence in an inſtant changed the ſcene. The Engliſh, acquiring freſh ardour from the gallantry of their ſovereign, and who with alacrity led them on to the charge, gave a check to the Welſh forces, and drove them back into the woods.[1]

The prince of Wales, after this ſlight diſaſter, retired to a poſt near St. Aſaph, called from this event *Cil Owen*, or Owen's retreat. On the nearer approach of the king, he retreated to Bryn-y-Pin, a ſtronger poſt ſituated five miles weſt of St. Aſaph.[2] At the ſame time, by the orders of Henry, an Engliſh fleet, which he had aſſembled at Cheſter, infeſted the coaſt of North Wales. The king of England meeting with no reſiſtance, advanced to Rhuddlan, where he erected a houſe for the knights templars;[3] a new kind of military garriſon in Wales, and eſtabliſhed, it is probable, for a purpoſe ſimilar to the original inſtitution of that *order* in Paleſtine. He, likewiſe, more ſtrongly fortified the caſtle of that town, with the fortreſs at Baſingwerk; and that he might ſecure the conqueſts he had made, by rendering more eaſy the marching of armies, he cut down the woods, and conſtructed new roads through the country he had ſubdued.[4]

[1] Holinſhead's Chron. p. 67.

[2] Stowe's Chron. p. 149. A manuſcript copy in Welſh of Caradoc of Llancarvan.

[3] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 159. [4] Matth. Paris, p. 81.

Owen

Owen did not remain an indifferent ſpectator of tranſactions ſo inimical to the intereſts of his country. He deſcended frequently from his poſt on the hill, to ſkirmiſh with the king's troops, and to moleſt them in their deſigns;[1] but no general action enſued; the two princes had been taught prudence by their paſt experience, and did not chuſe to riſque the fate of their ſeparate armies by engaging in improper ſituations. At the ſame time, the Engliſh fleet under the conduct of Madoc ap Meredydh the prince of Powys, made a deſcent on the iſland of Angleſey, ravaged a part of the country, and plundered two churches: on returning to their ſhips, the party was attacked by the whole ſtrength of the iſland, and entirely cut in pieces. Diſmayed with the fate of their aſſociates, the Engliſh fleet weighed anchor, and ſailed back to Cheſter.[2] Owen derived little advantage from theſe fortunate incidents; as the Engliſh were in force, and ſtrongly fortified in the maritime parts of Flintſhire. The wiſe meaſure likewiſe which Henry had employed in having ſtationed a fleet on the coaſt of Wales, gave the Welſh prince reaſon to fear that his army, cooped up in the interior parts of the country, might be in danger of periſhing for want of neceſſary ſuſtenance; as his kingdom had been accuſtomed to receive from foreign countries a great part of its proviſions. Theſe motives, cogent as they may be, will ſcarcely juſtify Owen, as a magnanimous and independent ſovereign, in concluding a peace with the king of England, upon terms ſo injurious to his country, and to his

[1] Manuſcript of Caradoc, ut ſupra. Stow's Chron. ibid.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 207. Giraldus Cambr. Itin. lib. II. cap. VII. William Newburgh, lib. II. cap. V. Brompton's Chron. p. 1048.

A. D. 1157. 3d of Henry II.

own particular honour and intereſts. By this treaty, he himſelf and his chieftains ſubmitted to do homage to Henry,[1] and which ceremony was performed in Snowdun;[2] to yield up thoſe caſtles and diſtricts in North Wales, which in the late reign had been obtained from the Engliſh;[3] to take Cadwalader his brother into favour, and to reſtore him his territories.[4] What contributed ſtill more to complete the humiliating ſcene, he was obliged to deliver up two of his ſons as pledges of his future obedience.[5]

Thus have we ſeen the Welſh nation, by a ſolemn act of their ſovereign, and by the means of an Engliſh fleet, reduced again to a dependence on the crown of England. If the long and gallant reſiſtance which this people had made for freedom, againſt a power ſo very unequal, excite our admiration and wonder, we ſhall be no leſs ſurpriſed that a nation like the Engliſh, ſo much farther advanced in political wiſdom, ſhould not have been able ſooner to terminate the conteſt.

A. D. 1158.

The year after this important event, a general peace took place between England and Wales.[6] The princes and all the chieftains of South Wales repaired to the court of England; where Henry granted them peace, on the terms of doing homage for their own territories; and on their ceding to him thoſe

[1] Brompton's Chron. p. 1048.

[2] Probably at Conway, where the diſtrict of Snowdun began. Matth. Paris, p. 81.

[3] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 159. [4] Welſh Chron. p. 208.

[5] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 79. [6] Welſh Chron. p. 208.

diſtricts, which in the late reign had been recovered from the Engliſh.[1]

Rhys the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhys, the immediate heir to the ſovereign dignity in South Wales, was not included in the general pacification.

Animated with the ſame ſpirit which had heretofore diſtinguiſhed his family, this prince was not willing tamely to yield up to ambitious foreigners, a ſovereign dignity, which had deſcended to him through a long line of anceſtors. Under the juſt fears that Henry would employ his force againſt him, he commanded his vaſſals to remove their goods and cattle into the foreſt of Towi; and from whence, unſupported by any confederate, he made war againſt the Engliſh.[2]

Pleased with his gallant ſpirit, or afraid of his power, Henry ſent him an invitation to his court, under the aſſurance of a gracious reception; but threatened, at the ſame time, if he rejected the friendly overture, that the whole force of Wales and of England ſhould be employed to convey him thither.[3]

The high ſpirit of the Welſh prince was obliged to ſubmit to ſo alarming a ſummons; and by the advice of his friends he repaired to Henry's court; where having done homage, and given up two of his ſons[4] as hoſtages for his fidelity, the diſtrict

[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 80. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 208.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 208.

[4] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 81. The like ſecurity was exacted from all the other Welſh chieftains and princes.

of Cantrev Mawr, the ancient demeſne of his family, was promiſed him.[1] But contrary to that promiſe, the king gave him only a few lordſhips, and other eſtates remote from each other, and intermixed with the Engliſh territories; with the deſign, no doubt, by ſuch a diſpoſition of his property, to render his power leſs dangerous. Neceſſity obliged Rhys to remain quiet under ſuch unjuſt and mortifying treatment.[2]

The ſituation of this prince, though little to be envied, excited the rapacious ſpirit of Walter Clifford, and of another Engliſh lord; who making an inroad into his territories, ſlew many of his vaſſals, and carried away conſiderable ſpoils. Rhys ſent immediate intelligence to the king of this outrage, deſiring ſatisfaction for the injury he had received. But Henry, partial to the conduct of his Engliſh ſubjects, and regarding with a jealous eye the intereſts of the Welſh, paid no other attention to his complaints, than holding out to him fallacious aſſurances of redreſs. Incenſed at a conduct ſo faithleſs, Rhys threw off his allegiance; determined that his ſword ſhould do him that juſtice, which had been denied him by the Engliſh king.[3] He begun his revolt, by laying ſiege to the caſtle of Llandovery* in Caermarthenſhire, of which he ſoon gained poſſeſſion. At the ſame time Einion, nephew to the Welſh prince, alike eager to throw off the ignominious yoke, flew to arms; regarding the oath of allegiance which his uncle had taken as diſſolved; the obligation

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 208. [2] Ibid.

[3] Dr. Powel's notes on Girald. Camb. Itin. lib. I. cap. X. * *Llanymddyfri.*

on

on the part of the king, of doing juſtice and of affording protection, not having been obſerved. He inveſted the caſtle of Humfrey, which he took by ſtorm, and put the garriſon to the ſword. In this fortreſs, he found a number of horſes and implements of war ſufficient to equip a conſiderable body of men. Rhys, likewiſe, with equal rapidity and ſucceſs, ſpread over the whole country of Caerdigan; which he ſoon brought under his ſubjection, after having levelled with the ground every fortreſs belonging to the Engliſh.[1]

Henry regarded this revolt of ſufficient importance to demand his preſence in South Wales, and entered that country by the ſea coaſt of Glamorgan. But finding all his efforts ineffectual, he was under the neceſſity of giving up the enterpriſe,[2] and of leaving Rhys ap Gryffydh in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts; on no other condition than that of giving hoſtages for the preſervation of the peace during the king's abſence in Normandy.[3] Thus did the prince of South Wales, deſerted by all his confederates, baffle the efforts of a mighty monarch. A. D. 1158. 4th of Henry II.

His ſubſequent conduct, by making a ſudden inroad into Pembroke, though only contending for his hereditary rights, yet threw ſome ſtain upon his honour; as it was likely to expoſe the hoſtages,[4] in Henry's hands, to the cruel treatment uſual in theſe times. Having laid ſiege to Caermarthen, the earl of A. D. 1159.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 209.
[2] Giraldus Cambrenſis, lib. II. cap. X.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 209.
[4] Brompton's Chron. p. 1059.

Briſtol,

Briſtol, natural ſon to Henry, with the earl of Clare and the Welſh prince Cadwalader, his brother by marriage, beſides two other barons, came to the relief of that place. Howel and Cynan, the ſons of the prince of North Wales, joined too, in the unnatural alliance. Unable to reſiſt ſo formidable an oppoſition, Rhys retreated to the mountains of Cevn Reſter, in which ſtrong poſt he remained in ſecurity. The confederate army, encamping for ſome time at Dynwyllir, built there a caſtle; after which, having no intelligence of Rhys ap Gryffydh, they broke up their camp, and returned to their reſpective countries.[1]

A. D. 1160. Madoc ap Meredydh, the laſt prince of Powys, dying at Wincheſter, his remains were removed from thence and interred at Meivod in Montgomeryſhire, the uſual burial place of his family. After his death that principality, one half of which, called Powys Vadoc, he had held entire,[2] underwent ſeveral diviſions by the cuſtom of gavel-kind, and was never again united under one ſovereign. This prince left three ſons, Gryffydh Maelor, Owen, and Elis; beſides a daughter, by Suſannah his wife, who was the daughter of Gryffydh ap Cynan; he had, alſo, Owen Brogyntyn, and two other ſons who were illegitimate; all of whom ſhared, agreeably to the cuſtom of Wales, the paternal inheritance. Likewiſe, Owen his nephew, the ſon of Gryffydh ap Meredydh, ſtiled Owen Cyveilioc, had a diſtrict called by that name, which contained near half of Powys.[3] The ſovereignty of England was acknowledged by all theſe chieftains.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 210. [2] Ibid. p. 210, 211. [3] Ibid.

Henry,

HENRY, being returned from Normandy, and having reduced the other Welſh princes to his obedience, turned all his attention to the affairs of South Wales; and to the hoſtilities lately committed againſt him by Rhys ap Gryffydh. That prince, ſtill remaining unſubdued, had, during the abſence of the Engliſh monarch, continually infeſted the adjacent country, from his ſtrong poſt on the mountains of Brecknock; encouraged by ſome prophecies then current in Wales, that the king would never return into England.[1] Incenſed at the frequent violations of the peace, Henry invaded South Wales; and advancing as far as Pencadaer, received the ſubmiſſion of Rhys; who, deſpairing of being able any longer to reſiſt his power, a ſecond time did him homage, and delivered up hoſtages likewiſe for his future fidelity.[2] This ceremony was alſo performed the year following at Woodſtock; where Rhys ap Gryffydh, attended by the other princes and chieftains in Wales, did homage to the Engliſh king, and to Henry his ſon.[3]

A. D. 1163. 9th of Henry II.

A. D. 1164. 10th of Henry II.

THE ſubmiſſive demeanour of Rhys ap Gryffydh was of no long continuance. His impatient ſpirit was again ſet on fire by an outrage; marking equally the ferocity of the times, as the weak, or partial government of the Engliſh king. Einion, the nephew of the Welſh prince, and a gallant youth, had been lately murdered in his bed by his own ſervant, at the inſtigation of the earl of Glouceſter.[4] Finding no protection from the

1 Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 152. 2 Welſh Chron. p. 220.
3 V. Diceto. Ymag. Hiſt. ſub Ann. 1163. Math. Paris, p. 84.
4 Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 189. Chron. of Wales, p. 220.

Engliſh,

Engliſh, or ſafety in ſubmiſſion, Rhys once more determined to truſt his fortunes to the deciſion of arms. In his firſt enterpriſe, he obtained poſſeſſion of the territory of Dinevawr, and the large diſtrict of Cantrev Mawr. Having recovered the ancient demeſnes of his family, he then invaded the territory of the earl of Glouceſter; deſtroying in his progreſs, the caſtle of Aberrheidol,* and other fortreſſes belonging to the enemy; and, at length, he reduced likewiſe the entire province of Caerdigan. Eager to recover his hereditary honours, and receiving, no doubt, an additional incentive from the place where he then reſided, which had been the royal ſeat of his anceſtors, Rhys carried his arms into Pembroke; and making many inroads on the eſtates of the Flemings, and ravaging their country, he returned to the caſtle of Dinevawr, enriched with ſpoils, and high in the eſteem of his country.[1]

Fired by his gallant example, a ſpirit of revolt ſprung up in Wales. With great judgment this prince, during the winter, either by his deputies, or in perſon, had conferences with the different Welſh princes. He called up their ſleeping virtue, and rouſed it into action, by ſuch incentives as were likely to touch a warm, free, and ſpirited people. He pointed out the proſpect of aſſerting their freedom, which had of late opened on their country, from the diſſenſions which had ariſen in England between Henry and the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and from the probability, likewiſe, that this prince would ſoon be engaged in

* On the confluence of the rivers *Rheidiol* and *Yſtwyth*.

[1] Welſh Chr. p. 220.

a war

a war with France; that country, as well as the Pope, having eſpouſed the cauſe of Becket.[1]

Animated by his generous ſpirit, by the proſperity which had attended his arms, and by ſuch a favourable conjuncture, the prince of North Wales and all his ſons, his brother Cadwalader and the chieftains of Powys, joined Rhys ap Gryffydh; in hopes of regaining the independency they had loſt, and of recovering that honour which of late they had forfeited. At no period, had the Welſh nation united into a confederacy like this; concentering with ſo much energy and force, the various policies and intereſts, the different tempers and abilities of the princes of Wales.[2]

The firſt enterpriſe, under the conduct of David the ſon of Owen Gwynedh, was an inroad into Flintſhire, where he committed moſt grievous devaſtations; carrying away the cattle and inhabitants to the Vale of Clwyd.[3]

During the abſence of the king in Normandy, ſome forces had been levied by parliament for the reduction of Rhys ap Gryffydh.[4] Henry, on his arrival, marched with theſe troops into Flintſhire, for the protection of Rhuddlan caſtle; which fortreſs he was afraid that the Welſh would beſiege. The enemy having retired, and the king, not being ſufficiently in

A. D. 1165. 11th of Henry II.

[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 439.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 220. Britiſh Antiq. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 221. [4] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 440.

force to purſue them, ſtayed only a few days to augment his garriſons, and marched back into England; in order, by raiſing new levies, to proſecute the war with greater vigour.[1]

His Britiſh dominions, and the different territories he poſſeſſed in France, furniſhed him with their choiceſt troops; from Normandy, Anjou, and Gaſcony, from Guienne, Flanders, and Britany; and with this combined and formidable force he marched into Powys, in the full reſolution of exterminating the inhabitants.[2]

The Engliſh army entered the Welſh confines at Oſweſtry, where Henry encamped for ſome time;[3] in expectation that the terror of his arms might, by ſhaking the firmneſs of the confederate princes, call them back to their allegiance; or at leaſt, that the protection which ſuch a power would naturally afford, might detach from the common cauſe the chieftains of the houſe of Powys, the uſual adherents of his family. It might have been expected that a confederacy like this, heterogeneous in itſelf, and forming its union from a ſudden impulſe, rather than from ſteady principles of either policy or patriotiſm, would have ſhrunk from ſo formidable an armament. But, determined to reſcue their country from a foreign domination, or to periſh in the attempt, the Welſh princes remained firm and intrepid.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 221. Brompton's Chron. ſub Ann. 1165. Chronica Gervaſii, p. 1398. Giraldus Cambrenſis Itin. lib. II. cap. X.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 221.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 221. Brompton's Chron. ſub. Ann. 1165. Chron. Gerv. p. 1398. Giraldus Cambrenſ. Itin. lib. II. cap. X.

The power of North Wales was collected under the command of Owen Gwynedh and his brother Cadwalader; the forces of South Wales were led by the gallant Rhys ap Gryffydh: thoſe of Powys by Owen Cyveilioc and the ſons of Madoc ap Meredydh. With theſe troops were joined the inhabitants of the country ſituated between the Wye and the Severn, under the leading of their chieftains, the two ſons of Madoc ap Ednerth.

The combined forces of the Welſh aſſembled at Corwen, a ſtrong country in Edeyrnion; in which ſituation of advantage they waited the approach of the Engliſh. With a view of advancing nearer to the enemy, and deſirous of bringing on an action, Henry marched his army to the Ceiriog; a river in the county of Denbigh, and which runs through the Vale of that name. And that he might not be liable to the ambuſcades of the Welſh, he ordered the woods on each ſide of the banks to be cut down.[1] It was probably on the paſſage of this river, that the Engliſh monarch was in imminent danger of his life. Attempting to force a bridge, an arrow aimed at him by the hand of a Welſhman, muſt inevitably have pierced his body, if Hubert de St. Clare, conſtable of Colcheſter, perceiving the danger, had not in a moment ſprung before his ſovereign, and received it into his own boſom; of which wound he inſtantly died.[2]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 221.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 222. Holinſhead's Chron. p. 73. who ſays, this accident happened at the ſiege of Bridge North.

While the Engliſh were employed in cutting down the woods, a party of the Welſh, without any orders from their leaders, but who were acquainted with the ford, paſſed over the river; and made a ſudden attack on the van of Henry's army, compoſed of pikemen, who were conſidered as the flower of his troops. A warm action enſued; many were ſlain on both ſides; at length Henry gained the paſſage; and advancing ſtill farther, came to the mountain of Berwyn, where, in order to refreſh his forces, he lay in camp ſeveral days. The two armies, during this interval, ſeemed to ſtand in awe of each other. The Engliſh were ſtationed on the acclivity of the hills; and the Welſh, preſenting a dark and formidable front, were poſted upon the ſummit of the oppoſite mountains. The ſituation of Henry ſoon became critical. For the Welſh, watching every movement, and loſing no opportunity of cutting off his proviſions, reduced his army to great diſtreſs for want of victuals and forage; the ſoldiers being afraid to ſtir out of the camp. To increaſe ſtill more his danger, there fell on a ſudden ſuch violent rains, as rendered it difficult for his ſoldiers to ſtand on their feet in that broken and ſlippery country; ſuch torrents of water, likewiſe, poured down from the hills into the vale where he lay encamped, that he was obliged to retire, with great loſs of ammunition and of men, and to afford to the Welſh ſo glorious an occaſion of triumph.[1] Deeply wounded with a ſenſe of his diſgrace, the liberal ſpirit of Henry was thrown off its bias. To gratify a mean revenge, unworthy of a hero,

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 222.

of

of injuring thoſe whom his arms had not been able to ſubdue, and that, too, in a manner, ſo wounding to ſenſibility; he commanded the eyes of thoſe hoſtages, which had been formerly given him, to be pulled out. Among the number of theſe unfortunate victims were the two ſons of Rhys ap Gryffydh, and two ſons of the prince of North Wales.[1]

Thus baffled in his operations at land, Henry had recourſe to the more effectual meaſure of attacking the Welſh by ſea. With this view he repaired to Cheſter; and remained there ſome time, until he had collected his fleet, and had received a reinforcement of ſhips, which he expected out of Ireland. Having finiſhed theſe preparations, he ſuddenly gave up the deſign, without any apparent cauſe; and diſmiſſed both his fleet and his army.[2] Unacquainted as we are with his motives, we can only account for this extraordinary conduct, in a prince ſo wiſe and ſpirited as Henry, from a juſt or imaginary fear, that his foreign dominions would be attacked while he was proſecuting the war in Wales. Whatever were the motives of his conduct, it is certain that Henry had tarniſhed the reputation of his arms; and of conſequence that the Welſh princes were more ſtrongly confirmed in their revolt.

[1] Holinſhead's Chron. p. 73. who ſays, that beſides theſe above-mentioned, he cauſed the ſons and daughters of ſeveral Welſh lords, to be treated with the ſame ſeverity; ordering the eyes of the young ſtriplings to be pecked out of their heads, and the ears of the young gentlewomen to be ſtuffed. Welſh Chron. p. 222.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 222.

Rhys

Rhys ap Gryffydh, ſuddenly inveſting the caſtle of Caerdigan, gained poſſeſſion of that fortreſs; and then invading the adjacent country, he made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Cilgerran,* a place of the greateſt importance, which he levelled with the ground. The Welſh prince, then, with great ſpoils, returned into his own territories, with an additional luſtre to his arms.

A. D. 1166. To keep up the ſpirit of revolt, and divide the attention of the Engliſh, the prince of North Wales took the caſtle of Baſingwerk, lately fortified by Henry, which he entirely demoliſhed.[1]

If any thing could have taught the Welſh the ſtrong neceſſity of union, to counteract the deſigns of an oppreſſive and hereditary enemy, it muſt have been the proſperity which had attended the late exertion of their arms; and which had raiſed them on a ſudden from an ignominious dependence, to manly reſiſtance, and generous ſentiments, and to the attainment of their freedom. But a ſpirit of diſunion, inherent in their genius; contracting their views, and governing their conduct, precluded any ſyſtem of general policy; and the public ſafety was left to depend upon rude valour, on a country almoſt inacceſſible, on the caprice of accidents, and on the ſprings of irregular paſſions.

Instead of giving efficacy to their late exertions, by a more cloſe and firmer union, Owen Cyveilioc, and Owen Vychan,

* Situated on the banks of the Tivi near Caerdigan. [1] Welſh Chron. p. 223.

two

two of the lords of Powys, wreſted from a chieftain of eminence, the eſtates he poſſeſſed in that country; and which they divided between themſelves. A like ſpirit of rapacity influenced the other princes of Wales. Breaking the ties of a common intereſt, the prince of North Wales, and his brother Cadwalader, with Rhys ap Gryffydh, invaded and took poſſeſſion of the territory of Owen Cyveilioc;[1] who, with the other chieftains of Powys, had ſo lately joined the confederacy againſt Henry. A part of this territory Owen Gwynedh retained to his own ſhare; the other parts he gave to Owen Vychan and to Rhys ap Gryffydh.[2] But Owen Cyveilioc, ſoon after, by the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh army, recovered his patrimony; an event of no moment in itſelf, but only ſerving to mark the little juſtice or wiſdom which directed the conduct of the confederate princes.[3]

Influenced by motives, more liberal and manly, the Welſh princes, in the abſence of the Engliſh monarch, inveſted the caſtle of Rhuddlan; lately fortified by Henry, and a place of importance upon the Engliſh frontier. The garriſon made a gallant defence, and reſiſted, a long time, and with great ſpirit, the utmoſt efforts of the aſſailants; at length, after a ſiege of two months, this fortreſs was taken, and levelled with the ground. With leſs difficulty, the princes obtained poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Preſtatyn, which they likewiſe demoliſhed. The fortifications of Baſingwerk having been lately deſtroyed, this A. D. 1167.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 223, 224.

[2] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 5, 6. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 224.

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ſucceſs gave Owen Gwynedh the entire poſſeſſion of the maritime parts of Flintſhire.[1]

A concern of greater importance than the revolt of the Welſh, had of late employed the attention of Henry. He was, at this time, in Normandy, engaged in a war with Lewis king of France. The confederate Welſh princes, deſirous of entangling the Engliſh monarch more deeply in foreign diſputes, ſent, in conjunction with William the *Lion*, king of Scotland, ambaſſadors to the French court; with an offer of aid to carry on the war againſt Henry. It does not appear that this propoſal was accepted; though it was the firſt attempt we have ſeen of the kind, which marked the growing importance of the Welſh princes; and the influence of which, they were deſirous of extending to the continent.[2]

A. D. 1169. The riſing proſperity of the Welſh was checked, on a ſudden, by the death of Owen Gwynedh the prince of North Wales. He reigned thirty-two years, and was buried in the cathedral church of Bangor. This prince married, for his firſt wife, Gwladys, daughter to Llywarch ap Trahaearn lord of Pembroke, by whom he had only Jorwerth Drwyndwn, or Edward with the broken noſe; by his ſecond wife Chriſtian, daughter of Gronw the ſon of Owen ap Edwyn lord of Englefield, he had David, Roderic lord of Angleſey, Cadwallon who was abbot of

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 224.

[2] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 534. from V. Epiſt. prædict.

Bardſey,

Bardſey, and Angharad married to Gryffydh Maelor. He had likewiſe twelve other children by different women.[1]

It has been often ſaid, that in order to form a juſt eſtimate of the happineſs of individuals, we are to wait until the period of their lives. It is in the ſame manner that we muſt judge of the character of the late prince. We have ſeen him in the early part of his reign, with equal proſperity and valour, reſiſting the mighty efforts of a wiſe and powerful monarch: and with a patriotiſm that reflected honour upon his judgment, we have ſeen him, on various occaſions, aiding the generous deſigns of Rhys ap Gryffydh. From what motive, then, ſhall we account for the change in his conduct? Having gained the advantage in the conflict at Counſyllt, without any apparent cauſe, unleſs it were the expediency of the moment, he himſelf, under humiliating circumſtances, ſubmitted to become the vaſſal of a foreign prince; and in the conſequence, reduced the chieftains of his country to the like diſhonourable ſituation. Inſtead of affording protection to Rhys ap Gryffydh, which a juſt policy demanded; we ſee him, at one time, aiding the deſigns of the Engliſh monarch to cruſh his gallant coadjutor; and, another time, we ſee him, waſting the national ſtrength, and diverting its force, and tearing aſunder the ties of union and of confidence, by attempting to conquer the territories of Owen Cyveilioc. In-

[1] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 3. According to the Welſh Chron. p. 226, this prince had by his firſt wife, beſides his eldeſt ſon Jorwerth; Cynan, Maelgon, and Gwenlhian; and by different women, Cynan, Meredydh, Rhun, Llewelyn, Edwal, Howel, Cadell, Madoc, Einion, Cynwric, Philip, Ririd.

ſpired by the example of Rhys ap Gryffydh, and joined in confederacy with the other Welſh princes, we at length ſee him, with an increaſe of importance to his country, recover independency. In this happy period of his days, full of years and ſurrounded by his children, he relinquiſhed the buſy theatre of the world; and, although the mid-day of his life was clouded and inglorious, the evening became ſerene, and cloſed with honour to himſelf and advantage to his country.

SO whimſical and indeciſive was the mode of ſucceſſion, that as many ſons of the late prince laid claim to the crown, as were under the influence of ambition, or of a fiery, and turbulent ſpirit. Jorwerth his eldeſt ſon, was unanimouſly ſet aſide on account of a blemiſh which he had in his face; and he appears to have reſigned himſelf quietly to the public judgment.[1] Howel, a natural ſon of the late prince, born of an Iriſhwoman, being the firſt who ſtarted for the prize, gained for a time a precarious poſſeſſion of the throne. David, the eldeſt ſon of Owen Gwynedh by a ſecond wife, regarding his own right, in this conteſt, as indiſputable; and diſdaining to hold under the ſovereignty of a brother, illegitimate and born of a foreign woman, raiſed

[1] He had however aſſigned him for his maintenance, a part of his father's inheritance; the *cantrevs* of Nanconwy and Ardudwy; and reſided at the caſtle of Dolwyddelan, ſituated in the county of Caernarvon. Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 7.—This prince was afterwards obliged to take ſanctuary at Pennant Melangell in Montgomeryſhire, where he died.

an army, fought a battle with his rival, and ſlew him in the action.[1] By this victory, David obtained the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne of North Wales.[2] A. D. 1169.

Madoc, another ſon of the late prince, ſeeing the contention which agitated the fiery ſpirits of his brothers, with a courage equal to theirs, but far more liberally directed, gave himſelf up to the danger and uncertainty of ſeas, which had been hitherto unexplored. He is ſaid to have embarked with a few ſhips; ſailing to the weſt, and leaving Ireland to the north, he traverſed the ocean, until he arrived by accident upon the coaſt of America. Pleaſed with its appearance, he left in that country a great part of his people; and returning for a freſh ſupply, was joined by many adventurers, both men and women; who, encouraged by flattering deſcriptions of advantage, and ſick of the diſorders which reigned in their native kingdom,[3] were deſirous of ſeeking an aſylum in the wilds of America.[4]

It ſeems, as if the death of the late prince of North Wales, had ſuddenly diſſolved the confederacy, and as if the motives for union no longer ſubſiſted. Rhys ap Gryffydh, having lately re- A. D. 1172. 18th of Henry II.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 227. [2] Memoir Gwedir Family, p. 7. Welſh Chr. p. 227.

[3] We know nothing of the reality of this diſcovery, but what is gathered from the poems of Meredydh ap Rhys, who flouriſhed in the year 1470; of Gutwin Owen in 1480; and Cynfrig ap Gronw, near the ſame period. Theſe bards preceded the expedition of Columbus; and relate or allude to that of Madoc, as an event well known, and univerſally received, to have happened three hundred years before. See Jones's Muſical Relics of the Welſh Bards, p. 19.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd. Welſh Chron. p. 228.

duced that part of Powys, which had been the territory of Owen Cyveilioc, gave king Henry the meeting; while he purſued his journey into Ireland. At this conference, he was received into the king's peace, and was confirmed in all the poſſeſſions, which he, at that time, enjoyed; and in conſideration of which, he offered that monarch a conſiderable ſupply of oxen and horſes towards the conqueſt he was meditating; and as a farther pledge of his future fidelity, offered him likewiſe fourteen hoſtages. Henry, proceeding in his progreſs through South Wales, and having entered into the city of Caer Lleon upon Uſke, ejected Jorwerth the lord of that place, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected. Highly incenſed at this outrage, Jorwerth, on the king's departure, ſent his two ſons, with many of his kindred and a number of their followers, to recover poſſeſſion both of the town and the fortreſs. They ſucceeded in part; the town they took and demoliſhed; but they were baffled in every atttempt which they made againſt the caſtle. The king, purſuing his journey to Pembroke, beſtowed upon Rhys a conſiderable extenſion of territory; all Caerdigan, Strath-Towi, Aruſtly, and Elvel. He likewiſe viſited that prince at one of his palaces, called the white houſe, or *Ty Gwyn*, in the preſent county of Caermarthen; where he delivered up his ſon Howel, who had been long left as a hoſtage in Henry's hands; he excuſed likewiſe for a time the delivery of thoſe hoſtages which had been lately promiſed, and remitted alſo the payment of the tribute until his return out of Ireland.[1]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 230, 231.

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The patriotiſm of the Welſh prince ſunk under the influence of theſe mutual civilities. The gallant and independent ſpirit inherited from a long line of anceſtors, and which had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed his own conduct; all that the terror of Henry's arms and a ſeries of hoſtilities could not ſhake, was done away by a few acts of a well directed courteſy. Forſaking the dignity and importance of his character, except in a ſingle inſtance, we ſhall ſee him in future only as a *ſatrap* to the Engliſh monarch. Mingling in the common maſs, and loſing for ever the ancient honours of his family, neither this prince nor his deſcendants, from this period,[1] will retain any marks of ſovereignty.[2]

On the return of Henry out of Ireland, the expedition having been rendered fruitleſs by a ſickneſs among his ſoldiers, he was again met by Rhys ap Gryffydh at Talacharn in Caermarthenſhire; where he paid him the cuſtomary duties of a vaſſal.[3] A. D. 1172.

So difficult is it to eradicate the ſentiments of freedom out of minds accuſtomed to the ideas of independence, and ſo natural are injuſtice and cruelty to men who are deſirous of exterminating that invaluable bleſſing, that Henry found he had not obtained the point of his ambition, by diſarming Rhys ap Gryffydh. Another family, ſtung with a ſenſe of injury, ſprung up to avenge their own private wrongs, and, if poſſible, for a time, to ſtem the torrent which was overwhelming their country.

[1] From this period the heads of this family were only diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Arglwydhi*, or lords. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 75.

[2] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 76. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 232.

Before

Before Henry's return into England he had ſent a ſafe conduct to Jorwerth, the chieftain whom he had ſo lately injured; deſiring that he himſelf, his ſons, and all his retainers, would meet him at a certain place on the Borders; that he might conclude a peace with them, and might leave that country in perfect tranquillity. Jorwerth paid inſtant obedience to the king's ſummons, and ſent orders to his ſon Owen to do the ſame, and alſo to give him the meeting on the road. The ſoldiers who garriſoned the New Caſtle* upon Uſke, being informed that Owen was upon his journey in obedience to his father's commands, laid wait for the young chieftain, whom they met on the road, and barbarouſly murdered; unarmed and almoſt without attendance, and reſting in ſecurity on the protection of a great monarch. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that a magnanimous prince like Henry, had any knowledge of a tranſaction ſo cruel, ſo faithleſs, and impolitic. Some of the attendants who eſcaped the maſſacre, carried the account of it to the father; who, deeply wounded by ſo poignant an injury, returned home with his other ſon Howel; determined in future to have no reliance on the faith of the Engliſh. Collecting all the Welſh, whom he himſelf, or his friends could engage in his cauſe, he made incurſions into thoſe parts of Monmouth which were poſſeſſed by the Engliſh; laying waſte thoſe diſtricts, and the bordering counties of England, as far as the gates of Hereford and Glouceſter.[1]

A. D. 1172.

The Engliſh king, hearing of this inſurrection, appointed Rhys ap Gryffydh chief juſtice of South Wales.[2] He thought,

* The preſent Newport.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 232.

[2] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

and

and with a penetrating mind, that even the ſhadow of power, amuſing a ſpirit capricious and vain, might conciliate the affections of this lord; and be a means of diverting his attention from the real dignity and power, which had been wreſted from his family.

The event juſtified the ideas of Henry. A civil war having broken out between that prince and his eldeſt ſon, Rhys ap Gryffydh ſent a choſen body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh monarch. A far different ſpirit influenced the conduct of Jorwerth the other Welſh chieftain. Taking advantage of the diſſenſions which then prevailed in England, he laid ſiege to the city of Caer Lleon, of which he was the natural lord, and gained poſſeſſion of that place; he then inveſted the caſtle, which ſoon ſurrendered on condition of giving up the priſoners he had taken; and purſuing his ſucceſs, he brought all Gwent-Is-Coed in Monmouth, except a ſingle fortreſs, under his ſubjection.[1]

A spirit of rapacity and injuſtice, very early in his reign, had influenced the conduct of David prince of North Wales. By force of arms, he took poſſeſſion of the iſland of Angleſey, the property of Roderic his brother;[2] whom he cloſely confined in priſon; he likewiſe ſeiſed on the territories of the reſt of his brothers, and his other kinſmen, whom he alſo baniſhed the realm.[3] A. D. 1173.

To ſubdue the little virtue which remained in the country, Henry employed a new mode of ſeduction; a ſpring that was

[1] Welſh Chr. p. 234. [2] Memoirs Gwedir Fam. p. 8. [3] Welſh Chr. p. 234.

not

not likely to fail of ſucceſs. He gave to David the Welſh prince his ſiſter Emma[1] in marriage; thus diſarming an hereditary enemy, by the faſcinating influence of ambition and love.[2] On his marriage with the Engliſh princeſs, David ſent over into Normandy a body of Welſh, a thouſand in number, to the aſſiſtance of the king his brother-in-law;[3] Henry being, at that time, engaged in a war with France.

A. D. 1175.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in the principality of North Wales. The ſtream ran equally in favour of the Engliſh in South Wales. The old king, and Henry his ſon, held a great council at Glouceſter, for ſettling the peace of South Wales and of the Borders. To this meeting came Rhys ap Gryffydh, juſt returned in the ſervice of Henry from the ſiege of Tutbury caſtle; attended by ſeven chieftains* of eminence, all of them lords in South Wales, and connected with his family by blood or by alliance: and even Jorwerth, forgetting his injuries, repaired with them to Glouceſter, where they all did homage, and made their ſubmiſſions to the Engliſh monarch.[4] In conſequence of this, through the mediation of Rhys, they obtained pardon

A. D. 1176. 22d of Henry II.

[1] By this princeſs David had a ſon named Owen. See Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 12.

[2] Benedict Abbas, vol. I. p. 205. Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 8.

[3] Holinſhead, vol. II. p. 93. Welſh Chron. p. 235.

* Cadwallon ap Madog, of Melienydd, who was couſin-german to Rhys; Einion Glyd, of Elfel; Einion ap Rhys, of Gwrthrynion, ſon-in-law to Rhys; Morgan ap Caradog ap Jeſtyn, of Glamorgan; Gryffydh ap Ifor ap Meuryg, of Senghennyth; Seiſyllt ap Dyfnwal, of higher Gwent, brother-in-law to Rhys; and Jorwerth ap Owen, of Caer Lleon.

[4] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

of

of the king for all former offences. To render the royal favour more complete, Jorwerth was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Caer Lleon.[1] And, to unite more cloſely his vaſſals, both Engliſh and Welſh, who were preſent at the aſſembly, the king obliged them to take an oath, that if any one ſhould be ſeparately attacked by any other power in Wales, all the reſt ſhould unite in his defence.[2]

A. D. 1176. It appears, at this period, as if the ſenſe of their native independence, that invigorating principle of action, no longer ſubſiſted in the minds of the Welſh. David prince of North Wales, Rhys ap Gryffydh, Owen Cyveilioc, and other chieftains in Powys, with many of the Welſh nobility, repaired, upon Henry's ſummons, to a parliament which he held at Oxford;[3] a ſcene, flattering to the Engliſh monarch, in which the ſpirit of the Welſh princes is ſeen to bend under the influence of ſuperior talents.[4]

The ſpirit of the times, foſtered by deadly feuds and by national hatred, was kept alive, and rendered more ferocious by a ſeries of reiterated injuries. Henry de Hereford, uncle to William de Bruce lord of Brecknock, had been lately murdered by ſeveral of thoſe chieftains, who, in the preceding year, had

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 236.

[2] Benedict Abbas, p. 110. Brompton's Chron. ſub. Ann. 1175, p. 1102.

[3] Holinſhead, p. 101. Benedict Abbas, vol. I. p. 111. Hovedon, p. 566.

[4] At this parliament, Henry gave Eleſmere in the marches to David prince of North Wales, and the territory of Meirionydh to Rhys ap Gryffydh. Hovedon, p. 566. Benedict Abbas, p. 205.

become vaſſals to king Henry. To revenge this murder on the heads of the perpetrators, but under pretext of celebrating their late union, William de Bruce invited to an entertainment at his caſtle of Abergavenny, Seiſyllt ap Dyfnwal, Geoffry his ſon, and many other chiefs of the moſt conſiderable diſtinction in Gwent. In the midſt of their feſtivity, with a view of inflaming their minds, and of giving ſome colour to the baſeneſs of his deſign, he informed the Welſh chieftains, that in future they ſhould not travel armed either with their ſwords or their bows; and he inſtantly required them to take an oath for the due performance of the ſame. It is eaſy to imagine in what manner a fiery and high-ſpirited nobility would reliſh ſo imperious a command, which they would only conſider as a badge of their ſlavery. It was univerſally rejected. On a ſignal, then, being made, a number of armed ſoldiers, who had been ſtationed in the caſtle for this purpoſe, ruſhed into the hall, and maſſacred the Welſh lords.[1] Not ſatisfied with the blood which he had already ſhed, Bruce, attended by his ruffians, proceeded to the houſe of Seiſyllt, at no great diſtance, which he ſet on fire; then, ſeizing the wife of that chieftain, and murdering in her preſence her infant ſon, he carried away the wretched mother to the caſtle of Abergavenny.[2] As the juſtice of Henry did not ſeverely puniſh this outrage, which every law of prudence and humanity demanded, we have the liberty of thinking, that even that great prince knew, when to relax its uſual vigour and firmneſs.

A. D. 1177.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 110.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 236, 237. Wynne's Hiſt of Wales, p. 204.

Roderic, who had been lately impriſoned by his brother the prince of North Wales, broke out of his confinement, and fled into Angleſey; where he was univerſally received by the people as their ſovereign; David, the reigning prince, having rendered himſelf odious by his cruelty, and having grown bold in the exerciſe of tyranny, by his alliance with the Engliſh king. David, unable to oppoſe, thought it prudent to withdraw from the ſtorm, and retired for ſecurity to the Engliſh ſide of the Conway;[1] retaining in his poſſeſſion only the caſtle of Rhuddlan, and the territories adjacent, which he held by the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh garriſon.[2] The young prince Llewelyn, the ſon of Jorwerth Drwyndwn, was at this time under the protection of his uncle Roderic, and reſided in his court.[3]

Cadwalader, the brother of Owen Gwynedh, having been forced, by the ſeverity of that prince, to reſide ſome time in England, and to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Henry; was at this time murdered by the Engliſh on his journey into Wales, while he was travelling under the ſafe conduct of the king. This breach of public faith ſoon met with exemplary puniſhment. All the perſons concerned in the murder were condemned to the gibbet.[4] Such an act of juſtice, politic to the laſt degree, throws a luſtre, in this inſtance, on the wiſdom and humanity of Henry's government.[5] A. D. 1179.

1 Welſh Chron. p. 236, 237. 2 Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 8. 3 Ibid. p. 9.

4 Math. Paris, p. 116. ſays Cadwallon; but he was ſlain before the death of his father. See Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 1. Welſh Chron. p. 238.

5 This prince was the Lord of Caerdigan, and uſually reſided at the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth. Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 6, 7.

A. D. 1184. The ſword of juſtice, however, a few years after, was taken up by the Welſh themſelves, enforced by the ſpirit of revenge; a ſpirit of all others the moſt potent in uncultivated minds. It ſeems, that Ranulph de Poer the ſheriff of Glouceſter, had been concerned with William de Bruce in the maſſacre committed, ſeven years before, in the caſtle of Abergavenny. And it is with reluctance we are obliged to relate, that this infamous tranſaction appears to have been perpetrated through the ſecret influence of the Engliſh king.[1] The nephews and the ſons of Seiſyllt ap Dyfnwal, and of the other chieftains who had fallen in the late ſcene of barbarity; having by this time arrived at a manly age, were ſtrongly incited to revenge on the Engliſh, the murder of their kinſmen and parents. In purſuit of this deſign, early in the morning, they aſſaulted the caſtle of Abergavenny; and having ſcaled the walls, took poſſeſſion of that fortreſs, and burning it to the ground, they carried away priſoners the governor and his wife, with all the garriſon. The young chieftains, not having met with the objects of their vengeance, ſtormed another fortreſs lately erected by Ranulph de Poer, near Monmouth; the garriſon of which, unable to reſiſt their fury, was driven down into the foſſes of the caſtle, and ſlain by the launces of the enemy. Ranulph de Poer, with nine of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in Monmouth, periſhed in the general carnage; and William de Bruce, himſelf, ſorely wounded, and overwhelmed in the foſſe, was with difficulty reſcued, and ſcarcely eſcaped with his life.[2]

[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

[2] Giraldus Cambrenſis, Itin. lib. I. cap. IV. Roger Hovedon, p. 617.

In-

A. D. 1184. 30th of Henry II.

Incensed at this outrage, the king of England advanced with a large army to Worceſter, with the deſign of puniſhing the revolters. His reſentment however was appeaſed by Rhys ap Gryffydh; who repairing to that city took freſh oaths of allegiance, and promiſed to deliver up, as pledges for the peace of the country, his ſon and his nephews.[1] But the young men, having in memory the fate of thoſe hoſtages, ſo lately the victims of Henry's reſentment, abſolutely refuſed to place themſelves in the ſame perilous ſituation.[2]

A. D. 1189. 35th year of his reign.

The views of the Engliſh monarch were, at length, nearly accompliſhed; the unremitting efforts of his power and his policy, had ſubdued the ſpirit, or had ſeduced from their virtue, a diſunited and improvident people. The fate of this nation was, however, ſuſpended, by the death of its formidable enemy Henry the ſecond. His eldeſt ſon Richard ſucceeded to the throne of England.[3]

The pages of the Welſh annals are diſcoloured at this period by hideous pictures of ſavage manners. Influenced by the "ſpirit of the firſt born Cain," a brother's arm is raiſed

[1] Holinſhead, p. 108. Benedict Abbas, vol. II. p. 411. Welſh Chron. p. 240.

[2] Holinſhead, p. 108. Benedict Abbas, vol. II. p. 411. Welſh Chron. p. 240.

[3] This event was followed by the death of Gryffydh Maelor, the ſon of Madoc ap Meredydh the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. He was buried at Mivod, and was lord of the two Bromfields and Mochnant-Is-Rhaider, and left one ſon named Madoc, which he had by Angharad, daughter of Owen Gwynedh, to ſucceed to that part of his father's inheritance which was called Powys Vadoc. Welſh Chron. p. 242.

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in horrid ſucceſſion againſt a brother; the parent[1] and his children by a courſe of injuries are engaged in mutual hoſtilities, tearing aſunder the ties of affection and of nature.[2] Scenes, ſuch as theſe, ſo expreſſive of horror, diſguſt the eye of humanity; and as the objects which they preſent, are only of a private nature, and do not relate to great or to public concerns, it is with pleaſure that we turn to the more agreeable proſpects, which are opening to our view, of order, and juſtice, of freedom and national importance.

[1] Rhys ap Gryffydh. [2] Welſh Chron. from page 240 to 250.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH TO THE DEATH OF DAVID AP LLEWELYN.

JORWERTH the ſon of Owen Gwynedh, on his father's deceaſe, had been ſet aſide from the ſucceſſion of North Wales, on account of a perſonal blemiſh. His ſon Llewelyn, by this time, arrived at years of maturity, and deſirous of aſſerting his indubitable right to the throne, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of his friends in Powys; his mother being the daughter of Madoc the chief of that family. With the aid which he obtained from thence, and what he received from his own kinſmen in North Wales, he demanded the crown in preference to David his uncle. The claim of the young prince, aſſiſted by his popular talents, was allowed. In this eaſy manner was Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, as the right heir to the crown, placed in the ſove- reignty of North Wales. His uncle David, the late reigning prince, retained in his poſſeſſion only a few fortreſſes which were garriſoned by the Engliſh.[1] A. D. 1194.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 245.

A. D. 1194. 5th of Richard I.

Richard king of England, returned, at this time, into his own dominions; having engaged four years before in a croiſade to the Holy Land; led away by his own romantic ſpirit, and the epidemic frenzy of the age.

A. D. 1195.

During the abſence of the Engliſh monarch in France, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was appointed juſticiary of the realm; and repairing to the Welſh Borders[1] with a large army, he laid ſiege to the caſtle of Pool, the property of Gwenwynwyn the ſon of Owen Cyveilioc. But finding his endeavours to take the place by ſtorm not ſucceſsful, he began to undermine the walls; which the garriſon perceiving, yielded up the fortreſs, on condition that they ſhould be allowed to depart with their arms. The works of the caſtle being ſtrengthened, and an Engliſh garriſon placed in it, the archbiſhop returned into England. On his departure, it was retaken by the original proprietor, on the ſame conditions on which it had been given up before.[2]

A series of hoſtilities with his ſons, had of late years imbittered the peace, and had marked the conduct of Rhys ap Gryffydh.[3] Having at length ended the unnatural conteſt, by ſurpriſing two of his ſons, and ſecuring their perſons in priſon,

[1] Roger Hovedon, p. 775. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 248.

[3] In the firſt year of king Richard's reign, Rhys ap Gryffydh came into England as far as Oxford, conducted by the earl of Moreton. And becauſe the king would not perſonally meet the ſaid Gryffydh, as his father had done, he fell into paſſion and returned into his own country. See Brady's Hiſt. Eng. p. 459.

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he revolted from his allegiance to king Richard; being deſirous of enlarging his territories, or touched by a ſenſe of returning virtue. The abſence of the Engliſh prince, during his reſidence in foreign countries, might encourage the moſt ſanguine hopes; and afforded to Rhys a favourable opportunity of accompliſhing his deſigns. The revolt opened by laying ſiege to the town and caſtle of Caermarthen, of which he eaſily gained poſſeſſion; then, after laying waſte the adjacent country, he led his army into the marches, and inveſted the caſtle of Clun; which, after a long ſiege, and many terrible aſſaults, he made himſelf maſter of, and entirely demoliſhed. From thence he proceeded to Radnor, which fortreſs he likewiſe obtained. To the defence of this place Sir Roger Mortimer came with a conſiderable body of well armed and veteran troops, which were oppoſed by the raw and almoſt unarmed ſoldiers of the Welſh prince; who, ſallying from the caſtle, drove the Engliſh, after a bloody action, out of the field. He then proceeded to Payne caſtle in Elvel, which having reduced, he delivered it back to William de Bruce on certain conditions.[1] A. D. 1195.

The late enterpriſes, which had given a luſtre to his declining day, cloſed the career of Rhys ap Gryffydh; and, in a little time after, he quitted this world, on the ſtage of which he had exhibited uncommon verſatility of character.[2] If there had been A. D. 1196.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 247, 248.

[2] He was interred in the Abbey of Strata Florida (*Yſtrad Fflur*) in the county of Caerdigan, which he himſelf had erected; and which became the burial place of the ſucceeding lords of his family. Manuſcript of Edward Llwyd in Sir John Seabright's collection. Brit. Ant. Rev. by Vaughan Hengwrt, p. 19. Welſh Chr. p. 247, 248.

leſs of caprice in his conduct, if his valour, his patriotiſm, and other talents for command, had been directed by a ſteady and uniform principle, the name of this prince would have appeared with the higheſt glory in the annals of his country; the honour and the liberties of which, he, at times, defended, with ſo much zeal and ſucceſs.

A. D. 1197. DAVID, the lately depoſed prince of North Wales, aſſiſted by an army of Engliſh, and a body of Welſh who ſtill adhered to his fortunes, made an attempt to recover the ſovereignty he had loſt. But the enterpriſe was eaſily diſconcerted by the rapidity of Llewelyn; who, advancing to give his uncle the meeting, defeated his forces, took him priſoner, and lodged him in confinement.[1]

ALTHOUGH by the combined influence of policy and power, the Engliſh had at length obtained the aſcendency in South Wales; individuals were frequently hurried into revolt, by the perfidious and inhuman conduct of the lords of the marches: but the ineffectual efforts of this miſerable people to recover their liberties, or to avenge their wrongs, as they acted only from the ſpur of their feelings, without concert or prudence, ſerved only to rivet more cloſely their chains. Trahaearn Vychan,

[1] At the cloſe of this year Owen Cyveilioc died, leaving the higher Powys to his ſon Gwenwynwyn; which territory in future was called by the name of that chieftain, to diſtinguiſh it from Powys Vadoc, the other diviſion of that country. This prince was a Bard of ſome eminence; a few poems of his are extant at this day, A. D. 1197. Welſh Chron. p. 250, 251. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

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a chieftain of diſtinction in Brecknock, as he was repairing to Langors to confer on buſineſs with William de Bruce lord of that country, was arreſted by order of the Engliſh baron; tied to a horſe's tail, and in that ignominious manner dragged through the town to the gallows, where he was beheaded, and his body ſuſpended by the feet three days.[1]

In revenge of this outrage, Gwenwynwyn laid ſiege to the caſtle of Matilda* in Elvel, the property of William de Bruce; declaring that after he had gained poſſeſſion of that fortreſs, he would ſet fire to all the country as far as the Severn; a ſacrifice which he owed to the manes of Trahaearn Vychan his kinſman. Not having any miners in his army, or battering engines, the Welſh chieftain lay three weeks before the caſtle; which delay gave time to William de Bruce to ſend into England for ſuccour. Geoffry Fitz Peter, juſticiary of England, inſtantly came to his relief, having joined to his army the different powers of the lords of the marches; and as the event of war was uncertain, he was deſirous of terminating the diſpute by concluding a peace with Gwenwynwyn. The offer was rejected with diſdain. The Welſh declared their firm reſolution of avenging, in this enterpriſe, the ancient wrongs of their country. The Engliſh, then, releaſed out of confinement Gryffydh, the ſon of the late Rhys ap Gryffydh; between whom and Gwenwynwyn they knew, at this time, ſubſiſted a deadly feud; and being joined by the forces raiſed by that chieftain, they advanced to the relief of the caſtle

A. D. 1198. 9th of Richd. I.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 250, 251. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

* In the preſent county of Radnor.

of Matilda. Confident of his ſtrength, Gwenwynwyn faced the Engliſh in an open plain; though experience might have convinced him of the prudence of a different conduct. In this action the Welſh were defeated; if that can with propriety be called an action, in which no other loſs was ſuſtained by the Engliſh army, than that of a ſingle ſoldier, and even that ſoldier ſlain by a random arrow from his own party. Beſides the wounded and the priſoners, many of whom were of conſiderable note, three thouſand and ſeventy of the Welſh were left dead on the field.[1] It is not eaſy to account for the facility with which the Engliſh obtained this victory. The raſhneſs of the Welſh leader was probably the cauſe of his defeat; in fighting on the open plain, with ſuch troops as his own, undiſciplined and ſlightly armed, againſt a firm and well appointed body like the Engliſh.

A. D. 1199. At this time Richard king of England was ſlain at the ſiege of Chalons, an inconſiderable town in Limoſin. John his brother ſucceeded to the throne.

Deeply engaged in foreign concerns, the Engliſh prince, on his acceſſion, ſent Hubert de Burgh his chamberlain, with one hundred knights, to protect the marches on the confines of Wales.[2] A treaty of peace was, likewiſe, concluded between Llewelyn ap Jorwerth prince of North Wales, and the earl of Eſſex juſticiary of the realm. In this treaty, Llewelyn, with the

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 162. Holinſhead, p. 154. Welſh Chron. p. 252, ſpeaks of the defeat, but not of the number ſlain.

[2] Roger Hovedon, p. 819. Holinſhead, p. 163.

principal chieftains of his realm, ſwore to the obſervance of the following articles. To maintain perpetual fidelity to king John, in the fulneſs of feudal ideas. To receive at the hands of the juſticiary of England livery and ſeiſin of his territories; which he was to hold in ſecurity until the king's return. On the arrival of the Engliſh king, when ſummoned to appear, he ſhould come and pay homage to him as to his liege lord; but when that duty was performed, he was to return into his own country in perfect ſecurity; only liable to pay a ſtrict obedience to any ſummons of the like nature. In conſideration of this, the king was to pardon all offences committed prior to the day of pacification; but if any complaints ſhould ariſe in future, it was to be in Llewelyn's choice, whether the cauſe ſhould be tried by the laws of England, or by thoſe of Wales. If he choſe that the merits of his cauſe ſhould be tried according to the Engliſh law, a court was to be appointed in England; where judgement ſhould be given, agreeably to the laws of that country. If the prince was deſirous that the Welſh laws ſhould determine the controverſy, and it were found on inquiry that he had a right to take cogniſance of ſuch a matter, the cauſe ſhould then be decided in his own court; but if it were found otherwiſe, the king, in that caſe, was to ſend ſome of his own ſubjects, eminent for their wiſdom, into the territory of Llewelyn, and where the matter was in controverſy; before whom the cauſe ſhould be tried, and judgement given by a certain number of Welſhmen, ſelected from places at a diſtance, as being on that account not liable to the ſuſpicion of partiality; and their award was to be final. If after the ratification of the peace, any injury ſhould be done by Llewelyn

welyn to the king, or to any of his ſubjects, reparation ſhould be made agreeably to the award of ſome of the Engliſh nobility, particularly mentioned for that purpoſe. But it was alſo required from thoſe arbitrators, that they ſhould adminiſter judgement with juſtice, to the honour of God and of the king. If any injury was done in the Engliſh territories, and the offenders ſhould eſcape into the dominions of Llewelyn, and the perſons ſuffering the damage, or others, purſuing them into the ſaid dominions, that Llewelyn ſhould cauſe the plunder to be reſtored, and execute juſtice on the malefactors. If the offenders ſhould have eſcaped into the territories of Llewelyn, or concealed themſelves therein, that prince, then, engaged to do all in his power to obtain ſatisfaction, as if the injury had been done to himſelf.

A. D. 1202. 3d of John. This peace was ſigned by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by the ſon of the juſticiary of the realm; who ſet their ſeals to the writing as a ſecurity for the due obſervance of the treaty, until it ſhould be ratified by the king on his return into England. The tenor of this treaty, though in general formed on the principles of juſtice, was ſo fully expreſſive of vaſſalage, that it ſeems, as if the independency of Wales was annihilated.[1]

The peace with England afforded Llewelyn the opportunity of exerting the native vigour of his mind. Some time before, he had confiſcated the eſtates of Meredydh his couſin,[2] and had baniſhed him the realm upon a ſuſpicion of treaſon.[3] He thought

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, p. 123.

[2] The Cantrevs of Llun and Evionydd, ſituated in the South Weſt parts of Caernarvonſhire. Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 20.

[3] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 20.

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an interval of leiſure could not be more uſefully employed, than in attempting to reſtore the ancient conſtitution of his country; a rude though venerable fabric; which, having long remained a monument of its priſtine grandeur, had fallen into decay in the lapſe of ages.

The Welſh princes, by the laws of Roderic the Great, and by thoſe of Howel Dha, though independent in their own territories, yet acknowledged the ſovereignty of North Wales. To connect the looſe and ſeparated parts into one ſyſtem of government, Llewelyn convened an aſſembly of all the chieftains throughout Wales. Theſe nobles, ſenſible of the advantage of union, and of adhering to ancient forms, took the uſual oaths of fealty.[1] Gwenwynwyn, alone, the lord of the higher Powys, refuſed to attend the meeting, or to take the oath of allegiance. His refuſal being known to the aſſembly, they declared, that he ought to be compelled to the performance of his duty, or to forfeit his territories, as a part of the feudal obligation. One chieftain, alone, of the name of Elis, refuſed his conſent to any mode of compulſion, and ſuddenly withdrew from the meeting. Deeply intereſted in the event, Llewelyn did not ſuffer the ſeeds of diſobedience to mature by time into ſtronger reſiſtance. He led an army into Powys; but that force, by the mediation of ſeveral perſons in eſtimation for wiſdom in the country, was rendered unneceſſary; and Gwenwynwyn made his ſubmiſſion to the prince of Wales, which he confirmed by the uſual formalities. Reſenting the conduct of Elis, Llewelyn took poſſeſſion

[1] Britiſh Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

of

of his eſtates, and obliged him to fly out of the country; but that chieftain, ſoon afterwards, yielding himſelf up to his mercy, had a caſtle, with ſome land, aſſigned him for his maintenance.

A. D. 1203. Having ſo happily finiſhed this important meaſure, Llewelyn returned into North Wales.[1]

The Engliſh king, having loſt a great part of his territories in France, returned into England. On his arrival, he gave Joan, a daughter, which he had by a lady of the houſe of Ferrers, in marriage to Llewelyn; as a reward for the due obſervance of the late treaty, or as a means of ſecuring thoſe advantages, which he might think would naturally reſult from ſuch an alliance.

A. D. 1204. 5th of John. With this lady, was given as a dower, the lordſhip of Eleſmere in Shropſhire.[2]

Prince Llewelyn, in his youth, had married Tangwyſtl, daughter of Llywarch Goch the lord of Rhos; by whom he had a ſon, very brave, called Gryffydh ap Llewelyn; who, as heir apparent, had the *Cantrevs* of Englefield, Rhos, Rhyvonioc, and Dyffryn Clwyd given him by his father, being the country adjoining to England; in order that the young prince might be induced, by a cloſer motive of intereſt, to defend his own territories, from the common enemy the Engliſh. He married, during his father's life, Sina daughter of Cariadoc ap Thomas.*[3]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 257, 258.

[2] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 22. ſays ſhe was a legitimate daughter. Fabian, in his reign of John ſays, that ſhe was a natural one. Welſh Chron. p. 259.

* Ap Roderic ap Owen Gwynedh. [3] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 24. Britiſh Ant. Revir. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

David,

David, the depoſed prince of North Wales, having been ſet at liberty by his nephew, fled into England; and procured in that country an army to aſſiſt him in recovering the throne. The enterpriſe failed of ſucceſs; he was met on his march by Llewelyn, and his army defeated;[1] and ſome time after, that unfortunate prince, with his ſon Owen, were ſlain at Conway.[2]

Gwenwynwyn, the chief of the higher Powys, having repaired to Shrewſbury, that he might confer with the lords of the council, was arreſted by their order, and detained a priſoner;[3] without any apparent cauſe, unleſs to extort, as conditions of obtaining his liberty, the following conceſſions. That he ſhould, in the uſual forms, become a vaſſal to the king of England; that he ſhould ſerve him faithfully as holding under him his life and territories; that he ſhould abide the juſtice of his courts whenever ſummoned to attend; that he ſhould deliver up twenty hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty; and ſhould remain in cuſtody until thoſe hoſtages were all given up. At the ſame time the king bound himſelf to take his territories under his protection, and to be reſponſible for any injury which they might receive.[4] A. D. 1208.

In this ſituation of Powys, Llewelyn invaded the territories of the impriſoned chieftain, and gained poſſeſſion of all his caſtles and towns; he then marched into South Wales, and

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 259
[2] Hiſt. Gwedir Fam. p. 13.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 260.
[4] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 151.

after ſome ſlight ſucceſſes, returned into his own country.[1] The ſame year, however, in conſequence of Llewelyn's ſubmiſſion, as appears by his letters directed to the king at Briſtol, a full pardon was granted him by that monarch, for the depredations he had lately committed on the territories of Gwenwynwyn, while under his protection;[2] which pardon appears alſo to
A. D. 1209. have been confirmed the year following; as the Welſh prince did homage, either in perſon or by proxy, to the king at Woodſtock.[3]

The earl of Cheſter, having made an inroad into North
A. D. 1210. Wales, rebuilt the caſtle of Diganwy upon the water of Conway, which had been lately demoliſhed by Llewelyn; he likewiſe more ſtrongly fortified the caſtle of Holywell.* The prince of Wales, in return, invaded the earl's territories, deſolated a great part of them, and carried away conſiderable plunder.[4]

Incensed at this incurſion, and breach of fidelity, John
A. D. 1211. 12th of John. aſſembled a large army at Oſweſtry, upon the Borders of Wales. He was there joined by many of the Welſh chieftains his vaſſals; the moſt conſiderable of whom were Madoc ap

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 261. [2] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 151.

[3] Matth. Paris, p. 191. who ſays, that this was the firſt homage which had ever been heard of, and that ſuch journies were very oppreſſive both to the rich and poor.

* *Treffynnon.*—A. D. 1210. This year died Maud de Bruce, wife to Gryffydh ap Rhys, and was buried in a monk's cowl, at Strata-Florida, by her huſband. Welſh Chron. p. 264.

[4] Welſh Chron. p. 262.

Gryffydh

Gryffydh Maelor, and Gwenwynwyn, who on this occaſion was reſtored to his liberty; beſides the two ſons of Rhys, the late prince of South Wales. With this formidable army he marched to Cheſter, in the full reſolution of exterminating the people of North Wales.[1]

Llewelyn, unable to reſiſt a force, compoſed not only of a foreign enemy, but of his own vaſſals, who had baſely deſerted their late engagements, thought it prudent to withdraw from the ſtorm; and he ordered the inhabitants of the inland country,[2] to remove with their goods and cattle to the mountains of Snowdun. The Engliſh army, advancing along the ſea coaſt, came to Rhuddlan;* and from thence to the caſtle of Diganwy,[3] oppoſite to the country of Snowdun; where they remained for ſome time. But Llewelyn ſo continually infeſted the roads with his light parties, that John and his forces were reduced to the greateſt difficulties. By cutting off their proviſions as they arrived out of England, the army was reduced to the neceſſity of feeding upon the fleſh of horſes; and the ſoldiers, whenever they ſtirred from the camp, were liable to be cut in pieces; the Welſh, from a knowledge of the country, and from being poſted on eminences, had uſually the advantage in every ſkirmiſh. From this ſituation, John thought it prudent, after the loſs he had

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 264. [2] Parts of Denbighſhire and Flintſhire.

* Red Banks; and which might probably take its name from the appearance of the country; or from the battle, ſo fatal to the Welſh, which was fought upon Rhuddlan marſh.

[3] Annales de Margan, p. 15. Welſh Chr. p. 264.

ſuſtained, to retreat into England, ſtung with diſgrace, and breathing the ſpirit of revenge.[1]

A. D. 1211. 12th of John.

Having augmented his army, a few months after, the king came again to Oſweſtry; and being there joined by the Welſh chieftains[2] who were his vaſſals, he advanced to the Conway; which having paſſed, he encamped his forces upon the banks of that river. He then diſpatched a detachment of his army, attended by proper guides, to burn the town of Bangor. The deſign was executed with ſpirit and ſucceſs; the place was ſet on fire, and Rotpert the biſhop of that dioceſe taken priſoner, though afterwards ranſomed for two hundred hawks. Llewelyn, ſeeing the power of Wales and of England combined againſt him, and that power, too, commanded by an Engliſh monarch, who had penetrated far into his country; and ſeeing alſo that he, himſelf, was confined within the extreme verge of his dominions, thought it more prudent to ſue for peace, at the expence of ſome important conceſſions, rather than to hazard the whole, by carrying on ſo unequal a conteſt. As he had in his own perſon ſo little pretenſion to the king's clemency, having lately violated the probable conditions of his pardon, Llewelyn thought it more wiſe to negociate by the mediation of his wife. This princeſs ſo powerfully interceded

[1] Annales de Margan, p. 15. Welſh Chron. p. 264.

[2] Howel ap Gryffydh ap Cynan ap Owen Gwynedh; Madoc ap Gryffydh Maelor, Lord of Bromfield, Chirk and Yale; Meredydh ap Rotpert, lord of Cydewen; Gwenwynwyn, lord of Powys; Maelgon and Rhys Vychan, the ſons of prince Rhys of South Wales.—Welſh Chron. p. 264.

with

with her father, that he was willing, on certain conditions, to take Llewelyn into favour. Hoſtages were ſent to that prince, that he might with ſafety repair to the Engliſh camp; where having done homage, a peace was concluded on the conditions of giving forty horſes, and twenty thouſand head of cattle, towards defraying the expences of the war; he likewiſe ceded to the king for ever the inland parts of his dominions. Twenty-eight hoſtages were given by Llewelyn, as a ſecurity for the obſervance of the treaty. After this fortunate expedition, king John returned into England.[1] Reſenting the conduct of thoſe military vaſſals who had not ſerved him in the late expedition, he exacted from every knight, a ſcutage of two marks of ſilver.[2] A. D. 1211.

Thus was the remnant of the Britiſh empire, after many and gallant ſtruggles for freedom, driven almoſt to the verge of the ocean. But the proſperity of this injured people, though deeply clouded for the preſent, was not extinguiſhed for ever. Their native ſpirit, confined in narrow limits, and ſet on fire by the agency of various cauſes, burſt through every reſtraint; and, like the irruptive violence of a volcano, poured down devaſtation and vengeance upon the heads of their hated oppreſſors.

The wild diſorder in the conduct of the king of England, happily for poſterity, had convulſed every part of his domi-

[1] Annales Margan, p. 15. ſays thirty-two hoſtages. Welſh Chron. p. 265. Thomas Wykes, p. 36. Chron. Walter Hemingford, p. 556.

[2] Matth. Paris, p. 193, 194.

nions;

nions; and, aided by ſuperſtition, had looſened every ſpring of government, and every tie of duty or affection which binds the ſubject to the prince. The Pope, at this time, releaſed Wales from the interdict under which that country had lain; and alſo abſolved Llewelyn from the oaths of homage and allegiance which he had taken at the late peace.[1]

A CONJUNCTURE ſo favourable determined Llewelyn, if poſſible, to reſcue his country from the vaſſalage, into which it had fallen by the neceſſity of affairs, and the diſunion of its chieftains. He convened, for this purpoſe, Gwenwynwyn, and Madoc ap Gryffydh Maelor, the lords of Powys; with Maelgwyn ap Rhys from South Wales, and Meredydh ap Rotpert from
A. D. 1212. Cydewen. To theſe chieftains, he repreſented the miſerable ſituation of their country, owing to their own want of virtue, in having baſely deſerted its intereſts; he aſſured them, that even now, by their ſpirit and united exertions, inſtead of living voluntary and abject vaſſals under the preſſure of a foreign yoke, they might ſtill enjoy their ancient liberties under the dominion of their native princes. Superſtition, or the force of his reaſoning, or the mingled effect of both, impreſſed on the minds of theſe capricious chieftains, a momentary gleam of patriotiſm. They once again took the oaths of allegiance to the prince of North Wales. Being joined by their ſeveral powers, Llewelyn commenced hoſtilities; ſeiſing all the fortreſſes which the Engliſh poſſeſſed in his dominions, and putting to the

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 194. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 174. Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 26.

ſword, with a barbarous rage, all the knights and ſoldiers who defended them.[1] In the courſe of this inroad, he ſet on fire many villages, and carried away very conſiderable plunder.[2] Not being able to make any impreſſion on the caſtle of Rhuddlan, and on the ſtrong fortreſs of Diganwy, he fell with great fury upon Powys, and inveſted the caſtle of Mathraval, lately fortified by Robert Vepont; but the ſtrength of that fortreſs, delaying, ſome time, his operations, gave John an opportunity of coming to its relief. On his approach the confederates retired. Having cauſed this fortreſs to be demoliſhed, king John returned into England, more important objects, in his own dominions, demanding his attention. Llewelyn, on the king's departure, again rendered the marches a ſcene of deſolation.[3]

As ſoon as John heard of theſe incurſions, of the ravages which Llewelyn had made, and of the cruelties he had exerciſed on his priſoners, he advanced to Nottingham, with a great army of infantry and horſe; in the full reſolution of chaſtiſing the revolters, by exterminating the inhabitants of the country. So violent was his anger, that the moment he arrived at that town, he commanded the hoſtages, twenty-eight in number, to be inſtantly hanged; and he refuſed to take any refreſhment until the execution was over.[4] The moſt cruel of the Roman tyrants, thoſe ſcourges of the human race, had ſurely, at this inſtant, infuſed his infernal ſpirit into the ſoul of the Engliſh monarch. A. D. 1212. 13th of John.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 266. [2] Matth. Paris, p. 194. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 267.
[4] Matth. Paris, p. 194.

Theſe

Theſe innocent victims,[1] delivered up to John at the late peace, were all of them very young, and allied to the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in Wales.[2] This tragedy being finiſhed, while he was yet at table, meditating vengeance on the Welſh, he received two letters; one of which was from the king of Scotland, and the other was from his daughter,[3] the wife of prince Llewelyn. Theſe letters, though proceeding from different quarters, conveyed to him the ſame alarming intelligence, that a dangerous conſpiracy was forming againſt his life. This information threw the Engliſh monarch into the deepeſt diſmay; he ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Nottingham, where he continued a fortnight in a ſullen and gloomy ſolitude; ſcarcely any perſon whatever being admitted into his preſence. Having made no farther diſcovery in the affair, time at length diſperſed his fears; and perſiſting in the deſign of ſubduing the Welſh, he advanced to Cheſter. He once more received in that city, from the princeſs his daughter, intimations of the ſame dangerous import; that if he advanced any farther, his ruin was inevitable; as he would certainly be either murdered by the nobility in his own army, or be betrayed into the hands of the enemy. The king's firmneſs, and his deſire of revenge, gave way to theſe repeated alarms; fear and diſtruſt took poſſeſſion of his mind; and hearing, at the ſame time, that the Pope had diſ-

[1] At the ſame time Robert Vepont hanged Rhys the ſon of Maelgwyn, a child not ſeven years old, at Shrewſbury. Welſh Chron. p. 267.

[2] Annales Margan, p. 15. Holinſhead, p. 176. Welſh Chron. p. 267.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 267.

ſolved

ſolved the allegiance of his ſubjects, he diſmiſſed his army on a ſudden, and returned to London [1]

The animoſity which is natural to men, who had juſt broken aſunder their fetters, and who were eager to recover their liberty, was heightened ſtill more by the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm. The Welſh had not only been releaſed from the oaths which they had taken to John, but the Pope had likewiſe denounced his bittereſt curſes, if they did not, under the banners of the church, riſe up to fulminate its vengeance; by attempting the utter deſtruction of a prince who had preſumed to contemn his authority. Influenced by theſe powerful motives, the inhabitants of the inland country, which at the late peace had been ceded to John, acknowledged the ſovereignty of Llewelyn.[2] He ſoon after obtained poſſeſſion of the caſtles of Diganwy and Rhuddlan; places of great importance on the frontier of his kingdom.[3] Thus were the Engliſh, by a ſudden turn in affairs, entirely driven out of North Wales.[4] The diſſenſions, at this time, prevailing in England, favoured the generous deſigns of Llewelyn. But that prince, inſtead of checking the current of his fortunes, took advantage of the tide which was flowing in his favour; and preſſing forwards with an eager ſpirit after glory, extended the circle of his conqueſts, and added freſh reputation to his arms. A. D. 1214.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 194. Brady's Hiſt. England, p. 482. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 173. Thomas Wykes, p. 37. Holinſhead, p. 176.

[2] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 174. Welſh Chron. p. 268, 270. [3] Ibid.

[4] Annales Margan, p. 15.

The barons of England, having renounced their allegiance to king John, on his refuſal to confirm their conſtitutional rights, entered into a confederacy with Llewelyn prince of Wales.[1] It ſeems, as if this alliance had given great alarm to the Engliſh monarch, as he ſent an order to Llewelyn to meet his commiſſioners at Griffin's Croſs; that the Welſh prince might confer with them on matters of importance, which related to his honour and his intereſts.[2] With a verſatility of conduct, which inſulted the common ſenſe of mankind, the Pope, at this time, excommunicated Llewelyn and all his adherents; for having made war upon a prince,[3] recently the object of his vengeance, but who of late had been admitted into the boſom of the church; a privilege he had meanly purchaſed by conceſſions, degrading to the dignity of princes, as well as injurious to the rights of his people, and the imperial crown of his anceſtors. In defiance of this anathema, Llewelyn made an incurſion into Powys, and, with much eaſe, gained poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of Shrewſbury; no longer intimidated by cenſures ſo ſcandalouſly proſtituted, nor by oaths of allegiance from which he had been lately abſolved.

A. D. 1215. 16th of John.

A. D. 1215.

On his return into his own dominions, and in order to ſtrengthen the intereſt of his family by a powerful alliance, Llewelyn gave his daughter in marriage to Reginald de Bruce, an Engliſh lord of great eminence, in South Wales.[4]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 270. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 182.

[2] Rymer, p. 196.

[3] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 182. Welſh Chron. p. 271.

[4] Welſh Chron. p. 273.

Sinking

SINKING under the cenſures of the Church, Giles de Bruce, an Engliſh baron, deſerted the confederacy, and made his peace with the Engliſh king. Llewelyn, firm to his engagements, and active in ſupport of the common cauſe, inſtead of ſhrinking from the danger, inveſted with a conſiderable force the caſtle of Caermarthen; which, after a reſiſtance of five days, he made himſelf maſter of, and levelled with the ground. The ſame fate attended the fortreſſes of Llanſtephan, St. Clair, and Talacharn. To keep alive the ſpirit of his troops, he marched into the diſtrict of Caerdigan, and gained the caſtles of Emlyn, Cemaes, and Newport; then cloſing the campaign by the reduction of the caſtles of Caerdigan and Cilgerran, he returned into his own dominions. In this expedition, he was attended by all the confederate chieftains, whoſe attachment to his intereſts he had hitherto ſecured, by the vigour and wiſdom of his conduct.[1]

THE late fortunate campaign having given to the Welſh prince a great part of South Wales, he came again into that country as the lord paramount; to arbitrate ſome diſputes which had ariſen in the family of the late Rhys ap Gryffydh. Having adjuſted the ſeveral claims by a diviſion of the country in diſpute, as he was returning into his own dominions, he received intelligence that Gwenwynwyn, the lord of the higher Powys, had renounced his allegiance, and was again become a vaſſal to the Engliſh king. This information gave Llewelyn the greateſt uneaſineſs; he ſaw the evil that would ariſe, if a chieftain of ſuch A. D. 1216.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 273. Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 26.

influence and power, ſhould, at a juncture like this, deſert the confederacy; when fortune had hitherto ſo happily favoured the united exertion of their arms. Deſirous, by the mildeſt means, of drawing him back to a ſenſe of his honour and duty, Llewelyn ſent to him ſeveral biſhops and abbots to remonſtrate on the nature of his conduct. The prelates pointed to the oaths he had violated, ſhewed him the very deed ſubſcribed by himſelf, and which he had given as a pledge of his fidelity; the clemency alſo of the prince he had offended, and the danger of expoſing to the reſentment of Llewelyn the hoſtages which were left in his hands. Theſe conſiderations were urged in vain. Gwenwynwyn was obſtinate, and would liſten to no terms of reconciliation. That his juſtice, then, might puniſh the delinquency of a vaſſal, whom his mildneſs had not been able to reclaim, Llewelyn inſtantly invaded Powys, laid waſte with fire and ſword the territories of that chieftain, and obliged him to fly for protection into the dominions of the earl of Cheſter.[1]

The confederacy, of late, had received a ſanction and a ſtrength, by the acceſſion to their party of Lewis the Dauphin of France. Deſpair, and the dread of a tyrant, had ſuggeſted the wretched alternative, and had hurried on the dangerous expedient. Unable to reſiſt the malecontent barons, increaſing both in power and importance, the Engliſh king retreated to Hereford; and from thence, ſent to ſolicit the aid and protection of Reginald de Bruce, and of his ſon in law the prince of Wales. Neither ties of affinity, nor the emotions of pity, had, however,

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 274.

any

any influence on the conduct of Llewelyn. On juſt principles of policy, he rejected the ſolicitations of the unfortunate monarch. Experience, and the ſtrength of his mind would inform him, that no confidence ought to be placed in a prince ſo weak and capricious; that the aſcendency which his arms had lately obtained over England, was principally owing to the diſtracted ſtate of that kingdom; and that it was his duty, as the guardian of the public weal, to foment its diſſenſions; the liberties and even the ſafety of his own country depending upon the weakneſs, or inteſtine diviſions of the Engliſh.

Resenting this conduct in the Welſh prince, John demoliſhed the caſtles of Radnor and Hay; after which, proceeding farther into the marches, he ſet fire to the town of Oſweſtry.[1] But, in a little time after, diſgrace and misfortunes ſtill purſuing his conduct; a victim to fatigue, to ſickneſs and a broken ſpirit, this weak and miſerable prince ended his days. His ſon, Henry the third, yet an infant, ſucceeded to the crown of England. A. D. 1217.

On his acceſſion to the throne, Reginald de Bruce, who had lately married Llewelyn's daughter, returned to the allegiance which he owed to the Engliſh monarch; deſerting in a moment of caprice the ſolemn engagements which he had made to the prince of Wales. It ſeems in theſe miſerable ages, as if oaths, and the other ſacred ties of ſociety, had loſt all their power of binding the conſcience.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 275.

Resenting

Resenting the defection of ſuch a powerful baron, ſo cloſely united to his family, Llewelyn made an incurſion into the territory belonging to Bruce; and inveſted Brecknock* its principal town. But the inhabitants, imploring his mercy, he conſented to raiſe the ſiege, on condition of receiving five hoſtages, and one hundred marks. Purſuing his march towards Gwyr, and, paſſing over the black mountains in Glamorgan, he had the misfortune to loſe many of his carriages. While his army lay encamped at Llangruc, Reginald de Bruce came, attended by ſix knights, to implore the clemency of his father; a favour which he eaſily obtained; being not only received in the mildeſt manner, but having alſo a fortreſs delivered up to him, as an additional proof of that prince's confidence. Having regulated the affairs of that province, Llewelyn continued his route into Pembroke; and at Cevn Cynwarchan, he received propoſals of peace from the Flemings who were ſettled in the country. He, at firſt, refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation; and part of his army having paſſed the river Cledheu in order to attack the Flemings, the biſhop of St. David, attended by his clergy, repaired to the prince of Wales; in hopes that his own ſolicitations, and the influence of religion, might ſoften his reſentment. The interceſſion of the biſhop, at length, prevailed; and a peace was concluded, on the conditions, that the inhabitants of Rhos and Pembroke ſhould be ſubject to the prince of North Wales; and, as their liege lord, ſhould hold of him their eſtates, under the duties of homage and fealty; that they ſhould pay him one thouſand marks towards defraying the charges of the war, and ſhould like-

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* *Aberhonddu.*

wife

wiſe deliver up twenty hoſtages, of the firſt note in their country, as a pledge of their future fidelity.' By the activity of his ſpirit and the vigour of his conduct, Llewelyn had made himſelf almoſt the entire maſter of Wales. And, as neither ferocity nor injuſtice had directed his arms, he returned from the late campaigns, encircled with more ſolid glory than could be derived from conqueſts, which are only illuſtrious from the wide ſweep their ravages have taken.

The ardour had ſubſided, with which the Engliſh barons had at firſt engaged in the cauſe of Lewis the Dauphin of France. The duplicity of his character, and the inſolency of his ſpirit, had rendered him the object of diſtruſt and of hatred. The great talents of the earl of Pembroke ſeiſed the fortunate moment. Guided by ſentiments of the pureſt patriotiſm, he drew back to their allegiance the revolted barons; and ſettled the diſtracted ſtate of the kingdom on principles the moſt humane, liberal, and wiſe. In this treaty, equally with the king of Scotland, Llewelyn was included; on condition that he ſhould reſtore all the places which he had ſeiſed during the war.[2]

It is probable, on this occaſion, that the prince of Wales received a ſummons to repair with the chief of his nobility to Hereford; as an order was ſent to Hugh Mortimer, that provided Llewelyn came to that city, and was abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication, he ſhould eſcort him to Northamp-

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 278. [2] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 225.

ton;

ton; where he and his attendants were to do homage to the king.[1] It does not appear that Llewelyn paid any regard to this ſummons; as at this time, the earl of Pembroke, by force of arms, took poſſeſſion of the city of Caer Lleon;[2] and in the following year, the Welſh prince received a ſimilar order to appear before the king at Glouceſter, there to perform his homage, in preſence of the council and of the Pope's legate. To this ſummons Llewelyn thought proper to pay obedience. Being abſolved by the legate, he ratified by oath the conditions of the treaty; promiſing to reſtore, with their reſpective territories, the caſtles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan; as well as all other lands and fortreſſes which had been taken during the war from Henry's vaſſals in South Wales. Under the like ſolemn engagements, he promiſed, by every means in his power, that all the nobility in Wales ſhould do homage to Henry, as to their liege lord; that none of his enemies ſhould be allowed protection in Wales; and that, whatever injuries the king might receive, he would revenge them as if they had been done to himſelf.[3]

A. D. 1218. 1ſt of Hen. III.

In ſo proſperous a ſtate of his affairs, we are at a loſs to account for a change, ſo ſudden, in the conduct of Llewelyn. The wiſdom and vigour of Pembroke's adminiſtration, or the dread of ſpiritual anathemas, acting upon his own ſuperſtition, or on that of his people, might have ſhaken, at length, the firmneſs of his mind. If we conſider his conduct, as only derogating from the dignity of an independent ſovereign, the idea of diſhonour is

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 225. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 278.
[3] Rymer, vol. I. p. 225.

loſt

loſt in the nature and habits of a feudal government. Even the king of Scotland, the year before, had performed the ſame duty at Northampton. But the homage which was paid by that prince, was due by mutual agreement, for the fiefs he poſſeſſed in England; whereas the duties impoſed upon Llewelyn, had been extorted, at various times, without any equivalent. As it is *opinion* alone that gives dignity to princes and energy to government, theſe claims of the Engliſh, aſſuming a royal juriſdiction over Wales, and riſing every day into precedent, were highly dangerous to its freedom, and were eventually the means of ſapping the foundation of its power. A tacit acquieſcence in claims ſucceſſively made, in length of time conſtitutes a right. The habit of ſeeing the Welſh princes, paſſing as vaſſals through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, would naturally produce, in the minds of the Engliſh, contemptuous ideas of an enemy, whom hitherto they had only heard of at a diſtance, or had ſeen ſpreading terror and conflagration through the frontiers of their country. The Welſh, too, muſt loſe much of that veneration which they themſelves had been accuſtomed to feel for their princes; when, inſtead of ſeeing them at the head of armies, aſſerting the public freedom, they ſaw them, on every call which pride or policy ſuggeſted, deſerting the dignity of their ſtations; and like obſequious vaſſals, falling at the feet of a faſtidious monarch, the hereditary foe of their nation. In the habit of conſidering their country as a fief of the crown of England, a fond attachment to its intereſts, a ſenſe of national glory, and all manly ideas of patriotiſm, would loſe their energy and force, and would ſink at length into a cold in-

difference to its fate. Having neither empire nor freedom to contend for, their valour and their mountains would be equally uſeleſs, and no longer fed from its parent ſource, their native ſpirit, eager for liberty, and impatient of controul, would naturally ſubſide into a tame and hereditary ſubmiſſion.

In conſequence of theſe important conceſſions, the king ſent to acquaint Llewelyn, that ſeveral of the Welſh nobility had paid their homage; and enjoined him to give them poſſeſſion of their eſtates; he likewiſe required that the remaining chieftains ſhould be ſent to perform their ſtipulated duties.[1] Agreeably to this injunction, Llewelyn ſent Rhys ap Gryffydh, an eminent chieftain in South Wales, to do homage to Henry. But, with an inconſiſtency of conduct, accounted for only by the levity of the times, he placed new levies of ſoldiers in the caſtles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, inſtead of delivering them up in conformity to his late engagements.[2] With a view of extending his intereſt ſtill farther among the Engliſh nobility, Llewelyn gave one of his daughters in marriage to John de Bruce, a powerful baron.[3] And ſome time after, he likewiſe married another of his daughters to a Scots lord, who was nephew and heir to the earl of Cheſter.[4]

A. D. 1219. 2d of Henry III.

A. D. 1219.

The Flemings having ſeiſed by force on the caſtle of Caerdigan, Llewelyn marched into that country; and regaining poſſeſſion of it, he razed the fortreſs, and put the garriſon to

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, p. 227.
[2] Welſh Chron. p. 279.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 279.
[4] Holinſhead, p. 204.

the

the ſword. Advancing into the territory of Gwys in Pembroke, and, likewiſe, deſtroying that caſtle, he ſet fire to the town; then, penetrating farther, he continued his ravages into the country adjoining to Milford Haven;[1] and as far as the caſtle of Haverfordweſt.[2] A. D. 1220.

In conſequence of this inroad, Henry diſpatched a letter to Llewelyn, complaining of the late violation of the peace, of his neglect to appear at Oxford, and afterwards in London, agreeably to the different ſummonſes which he had received; enjoining him, at the ſame time, to repair to Worceſter on a certain day, to anſwer the charges which might be brought againſt him.[3] The prince of Wales did not pay obedience to this ſummons. Inſtead of obeying the mandate, he laid ſiege to the caſtle of Buellt, the property of Reginald de Bruce; who ſending to the king intelligence of his danger, that prince came to his relief.[4] Llewelyn, ſeeing his forces inferior to the Engliſh, raiſed the ſiege. The king, then, on his return towards the marches, rebuilt the caſtle of Montgomery, in a ſituation which he thought impregnable; and as a check to the incurſions of the Welſh.[5] A. D. 1221. 5th of Henry III.

Amidst the anxieties which attended Llewelyn in his public ſituation, his private peace was embittered by the turbulent ſpirit of his eldeſt ſon Gryffydh. That young prince had ſeiſed

1 The cantrevs of Rhos and Daugledheu, or two ſwords. 2 Welſh Chron. p. 279.
3 Rymer's Fœdera, p. 249. 4 Rymer, p. 261. Welſh Chron. p. 280.
5 Matth. Paris, p. 262.

A. D. 1223. on the Cantrev of Meirionydh; and affected to hold it independently of his father's authority. Not of a temper tamely to bear ſuch an inſult, the prince of Wales commanded his ſon to appear before him. Gryffydh refuſed to obey his commands. Reſenting this undutiful demeanour, Llewelyn ſwore that he would take ample vengeance on his ſon, and on all his adherents, for the diſhonour which they had thrown upon his character as a ſovereign and a father; and with this deſign, he marched a conſiderable force into Meirionydh. Gryffydh, determining to abide the iſſue of arms, raiſed his followers, and met Llewelyn in the field. But during the action which enſued, an accommodation took place; and the ſon, yielding himſelf up to the mercy of his father, and imploring his forgiveneſs, was received into favour. But though Llewelyn, amidſt the conflict of arms, indulging the tender feelings of a parent, had thought proper to pardon his ſon, he did not entirely forget the offence; but with a juſt ſeverity, deprived him of that diſtrict, which had been the cauſe of ſo flagrant a failure in his duty.[1]

Under the influence of chagrin, reſpecting a diviſion of property, Rhys, the ſon of the late Gryffydh ap Rhys, joined the party of the earl of Pembroke; who, at this time, was in arms againſt the Welſh. To puniſh the defection of his vaſſal, though he had been lately ſent to do homage in the court of England, Llewelyn took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth and all its dependencies. The Welſh chieftain, upon this, repaired to Henry, to complain of the injury, and to ſolicit his

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 280. [2] Ibid. p. 281, 282.

protection.

protection. The Engliſh king commanded Llewelyn to appear before him at Shrewſbury; and that prince obeying his order, the diſpute was amicably ſettled.[1]

In the abſence of the earl of Pembroke, at this time in Ireland, the prince of Wales laid waſte his territories, and took two of his caſtles; and then, with a ſavage ſpirit, cutting off the heads of the ſoldiers he had found in theſe fortreſſes, and placing garriſons in them out of his own army, he made good his retreat.[2] In order to chaſtiſe Llewelyn for this cruel tranſaction, Henry came with an army into the marches; but, without performing any military exploit, he ſoon returned into England; the earl of Cheſter having interceded in behalf of the Welſh prince, and having engaged for him that he ſhould, by a certain day, make full reſtitution for the injuries he had committed. But, Llewelyn ſeeing the danger had paſſed over, was not very attentive to fulfil the engagement.[3]

The earl of Pembroke, hearing of the ravages committed on his territories, landed with a ſtrong body of forces at the city of St. David; and having recovered the caſtles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, he retaliated on the Welſh garriſons the like cruel treatment which his own ſoldiers had lately received from

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 281, 282.

[2] Chr. Thos. Wykes, p. 41. Chronica Walteri Hemingford, p. 564. Matth. Weſtm. p. 86. Matth. Paris, p. 267.

[3] Chronica Walteri Hemingford, p. 564.

Llewelyn.[1] To preſerve his dominions in South Wales, which his enemies were deſtroying with terrible devaſtations, the Welſh prince ſent his eldeſt ſon Gryffydh with an army of nine thouſand men. Having advanced to Cydweli, intimations were given to the young prince, that the inhabitants intended to betray him to the enemy; upon which, in reſentment of their perfidy, he laid the town and all the churches in aſhes.[2] The earl of Pembroke then paſſed the Towi at Caermarthen, and an action immediately enſued. It was fought with great valour and with doubtful ſucceſs; but in the evening each party retired from the field of battle, the river forming a line between the two armies. In this ſituation, they lay ſeveral days oppoſite to each other; at length the Welſh prince, in want of proviſions, was obliged to break up his camp, and to return into North Wales.[3]

The earl of Pembroke proceeding to Cilgerran, began to erect a fortreſs; but receiving an order from Henry to come up directly to court, he left the work to be completed by his ſoldiers.[4] At the ſame time a ſummons was ſent to Llewelyn, that he ſhould appear before the king at Shrewſbury, attended by his wife, his ſon Gryffydh, and the chief of his nobility; the Engliſh prince expecting that by the force of his authority alone he ſhould be able to terminate the diſpute.[5] A truce however was only obtained; and each party, intending to renew

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 282. Matth. Paris ſays, that the earl marſhal, in the courſe of this campaign, ſlew and took priſoners nine thouſand men. P. 267.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 282. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 282. [4] Welſh Chron. p. 282.

[5] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 287.

hoſtilities,

hoſtilities, returned to their reſpective territories. The deſign of the earl of Pembroke, who had been joined by the forces of other Engliſh lords, of marching into Pembroke, was defeated by the rapid movements of Llewelyn; who diſpatched his ſon Gryffydh to take poſſeſſion of the paſs at Carnwyllion; whilſt he himſelf took poſt at Mabedryd. The openings into the country being thus obſtructed, the earl of Pembroke retired into England, and the prince of Wales into his own dominions.[1] The archbiſhop of York, on this occaſion, excommunicated Llewelyn; and his dominions were laid under an interdict, until he had made ſatisfaction to king Henry; which if not performed within ſix months, his ſubjects were then to be abſolved from their oaths of allegiance.[2]

A. D. 1225.

Few incidents worthy of notice occur, for ſome years, in the hiſtory of theſe times. A trivial circumſtance produced an event of ſome national importance. The ſoldiers belonging to the caſtle of Montgomery, aſſiſted by the natives of the country, attempted to open a road through an adjoining foreſt; a deep and extenſive cover of fifteen miles in length, which had long afforded to the Welſh a ſecure retreat; and who iſſuing from thence, frequently pillaged and murdered the paſſengers. While the workmen were thus employed in cutting down the woods, they were ſuddenly attacked by a body of the Welſh; who, with great ſlaughter, obliged them to fly into the caſtle; which they inveſted, and laid ſiege to in a regular manner. In this

A. D. 1228. 12th of Henry III.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 283. [2] Rymer, vol. I. p. 282.

extremity, the garriſon ſent into England for aſſiſtance; and Henry, attended by Hubert de Burgh, on whom the caſtle of Montgomery had been lately conferred, came to its relief with all poſſible diſpatch. On the approach of the Engliſh king the Welſh raiſed the ſiege.[1] Having received a reinforcement, Henry ventured to penetrate the receſſes of the foreſt. With infinite difficulty he opened a paſſage for his army, by ſetting fire to the woods; and at length arrived at a ſolitary place called Cridia, of the Carmelite *order*, an abbey belonging to the white friars. Having been informed that this religious houſe had been uſed by the Welſh as a place of retreat, he laid it in aſhes; and its ſituation being judged impregnable, Hubert de Burgh, with the king's conſent, laid the foundation of a caſtle.[2]

In the middle of a deep foreſt, in an enemy's country, and ſurrounded by their flying parties, the ſituation of the Engliſh monarch was exceedingly perilous. Three months did Henry employ his whole army, and expoſe it to various dangers, in attempting to build an inſignificant fortreſs. In the courſe of which time, the Welſh, watching every movement, intercepted his convoys, and frequently cut in pieces his foraging parties. William de Bruce, whoſe ferocious manners we have often recited, having been ſent into the country in ſearch of proviſions, was taken by Llewelyn and thrown into priſon. Proviſions at length grew exceedingly ſcarce. To heighten his diſtreſs, Henry,

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 295. [2] Matth. Paris, p. 295.

too,

too, had much cauſe to fear that treaſon had pervaded his camp; as ſeveral of the Engliſh lords in the intereſt of Llewelyn, had ſent that prince intelligence of each occurrence, and had aſſiſted him, to the utmoſt of their power, in obſtructing and defeating the enterpriſe. In a ſituation ſo critical, the pride and reſolution of Henry gave way to a ſenſe of danger. He found it expedient to give over his deſign, and to conclude a peace with Llewelyn; on the condition, of levelling with the ground the caſtle he had lately finiſhed; in the building of which he had waſted ſo much time, and treaſure, as well as the blood of his ſubjects. The prince of Wales on his part, agreed to pay Henry three thouſand marks, towards defraying the charges of the war;[1] and alſo that the right owner of this territory ſhould hold it as a fief of the crown of England.[2] He alſo made his appearance in the Engliſh camp, to pay his reſpects to king Henry; but in no meaſure on the footing of a ſubordinate prince to do him homage.[3] In this manner ended the campaign, inglorious, it is true, to the Engliſh monarch, yet reflecting little luſtre on the military talents of Llewelyn; who ſurely might have obtained better terms from an enemy, ſurrounded with difficulties, and entangled like a lion in the toils.

To inure ſtill more the Welſh to ideas of vaſſalage, Henry ſent a ſafe conduct to his nephew to repair to his court; where David the ſecond ſon of Llewelyn received a penſion of forty A. D. 1229.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 295. [2] Matth. of Weſtminſter, p. 94. Holinſhead, p. 210.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 284.

pounds a year, until a better proviſion could be given him; having firſt done homage, and ſworn to hold his reverſionary dignity as a fief under the crown of England.[1] The little value of the bribe, compared with the object, is a proof, that at this period, ſcarcely an idea of diſhonour was annexed to vaſſalage.

Llewelyn had yet another blow to ſuſtain, which was an injury of all others the moſt poignant. William de Bruce, taken priſoner at the affair of Montgomery, on paying a ranſom * of three thouſand marks, had been releaſed from his captivity the following year. He ſoon after, by ſurpriſe, fell again into the ſame ſituation; and, as it is ſaid, having been diſcovered in carrying on an amour with the Welſh princeſs, the ſiſter of
A. D. 1230. Henry and the wife of Llewelyn, he ſuffered an ignominious death by the command of the injured huſband.[2] Whether the crime for which he ſuffered was real, or only imputed to him as a pretext for vengeance; his fate, however, was juſtly due to the tenor of a life, deeply tinged by perfidy, and marked by the bloody traces of a ſpirit the moſt cruel and ferocious.

To account, it is probable, for the late tranſaction, three of the Welſh clergy were ſent by Llewelyn, under a ſafe conduct into

[1] Rymer, p. 311.

* Welſh Chron. recites, that he offered the cantrev of Buellt, beſides a large ſum of money. Page 284.

[2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 97, ſays, with other Engliſh writers, that he was put to death without reaſon. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2431. Chron. Walteri Hemingford, p. 572. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 193. Pol. Virgil, p. 298. Matth. Paris, p. 307.

England. The prince of Wales, himſelf, received a ſummons to appear before the king at Shrewſbury;[1] who ſeemed to reſent the murder of the Engliſh lord, or the ſtroke of juſtice which had lately taken place. Inſtead of obeying this order, Llewelyn led an army into the marches; and, ſtill purſuing his revenge, laid waſte the territory lately belonging to Bruce;[2] and then, with the ſame fury continuing his progreſs, no place ſcarcely upon the Engliſh Borders was left free from his devaſtations.[3]

To check theſe ravages, Henry came with great celerity into the confines of Wales. On the king's approach, Llewelyn retired to the mountains. Finding his preſence no longer neceſſary, the Engliſh prince left Hubert de Burgh, with a detachment of his army, to preſerve the peace of the Borders.[4] A different body of the Welſh, hearing that the king had retired, made an incurſion into the land adjoining to the caſtle of Montgomery. On the return of this party, the Engliſh, having taken poſſeſſion of a poſt which cut off their retreat, ſuddenly attacked the Welſh; and putting to the ſword the greater part of their numbers, the remainder were brought into the caſtle as priſoners. The captives were inſtantly beheaded at the command of Hubert de Burgh the juſticiary; and the heads of theſe unfortunate men were ſent as a preſent to king Henry.[5] The Welſh already began to taſte

A. D. 1231. 15th of Hen. III.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 310. Holinſhead, p. 213.

[2] He was lord of Brecknock in South Wales, and of Pembre in Suſſex. See Edward Lhuyd's MSS. in collection of Sir John Seabright.

[3] Rymer, vol. I. p. 317. Matth. Paris, p. 310. [4] Matth. Paris, p. 310.

[5] Matth. Paris, p. 310. Polidore Virgil, p. 300.

the bitter fruits which they themſelves had produced, by a voluntary ſurrender of their rights; and, indeed, by tamely ſubmitting to be conſidered as the vaſſals of a foreign prince, they gave ſome colour of juſtice to the cruel ſpirit of their enemies.

It was not in the nature of the times to enter into ſubtle diſtinctions, or into a cool diſcuſſion of rights, which the timidity or weakneſs of the Welſh princes had often brought into controverſy; it was more ſuited to the feelings of men, warm, iraſcible, and vindictive, to determine their merits, or to puniſh their infringement, by the more prompt deciſion of arms.

Llewelyn, having heard of the outrage lately committed on his ſubjects, again laid waſte the Engliſh Borders. Beſides other acts of ferocity, which in this incurſion marked his progreſs, ſome ladies of diſtinction, venerable for their years, and virgins of a tender age, having taken ſanctuary in one of the churches which was ſet on fire, periſhed in the flames, the indiſcriminate victims of his fury.[1] In the general conſternation Hubert de Burgh fled into England. The prince of Wales, bearing down all oppoſition, took by aſſault the caſtle of Montgomery, the ſcene of the late tranſaction; and, making himſelf maſter of the different fortreſſes of Radnor, Brecknock,* and Rhaiadrgwy, he inveſted Caer Lleon. After ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs in attempting in vain to reduce the caſtle, that city was taken; and, with the church, reduced to aſhes. The ſame fate attended the caſtles of Neth† and Cydweli. And, with a barbarity diſgrace-

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 310. * *Aberhonddu.* † In Glamorganſhire.

ful

ful to Llewelyn, the ſoldiers who had defended theſe fortreſſes, all periſhed in the flames.[1]

This outrage, or act of retaliative juſtice, being reported to king Henry, he applied to the Pope for his ſpiritual aid; and that Pontiff, ever fond of weaving his own intereſts into the concerns of temporal princes, excommunicated Llewelyn, and all his adherents.[2] Henry, alſo, commanded his vaſſals in Ireland, to co-operate with his arms in the enterpriſe which he had formed againſt Wales; offering them at the ſame time the alluring reward of poſſeſſing ſuch eſtates as they might by their ſwords obtain from the Welſh.[3] He convened at Oxford, an aſſembly of his military tenants, and the principal clergy in his kingdom; and drawing from thence an army of conſiderable force, he marched to Hereford.[4] A. D. 1231.

The army of Llewelyn was, at this time, encamped in a meadow, at a little diſtance from the caſtle of Montgomery, lately recovered by the Engliſh; in a part of which field was a moraſs. Near to this place was an abbey called Cymer, of the *Ciſtercian order*. A friar of this houſe, was directed by the Welſh prince, to convey, if poſſible, falſe inteligence to the garriſon. The ſoldiers in the caſtle, ſeeing the friar paſſing with that deſign under the walls, entered into converſation with him, and ſeemed deſirous of being informed of Llewelyn's ſituation. He told them, that the prince of Wales lay encamped in a certain meadow

[1] Annales Margan, p. 18. Welſh Chron. p. 287. [2] Matth. Paris, p. 310.
[3] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 318. [4] Matth. Paris, p. 311.

at

at no great diſtance, attended only by a ſmall body of men, waiting for a reinforcement; and that he had broken down a bridge, which kept the communication open, for fear of a ſudden attack. They inquired then if a body of horſe could ſafely paſs the moraſs, the bridge being demoliſhed; he told them, that they might not only paſs with ſecurity, but might alſo defeat their enemies, or put them to flight, with an inconſiderable force. Being thus informed, a party of the garriſon ſallied out on horſe-back. Their approach being perceived, the Welſh, ſeemingly with great precipitation, retreated into a wood. This apparent flight animated the Engliſh to purſue them with eagerneſs; and deceived by their intelligence, the advanced party plunged deep into the moraſs; many of which were, in an inſtant, either ſuffocated or drowned. The Welſh, at this moment, perceiving their diſorder, ruſhed out of the wood, and with their ſpears eaſily put to death the remainder; who, encumbered with their horſes and armour, and entangled in the moraſs, were incapable of making any defence.[1] This diſaſter accelerated the approach of the Engliſh army; and as it paſſed by the abbey, king Henry, in reſentment of the friar's treachery, ſet fire to the *grange* or farm; and proceeding to do the ſame by the monaſtery itſelf, the abbot ſaved it from deſtruction, by paying as a ranſom three hundred marks. Having no other employment for his army, he
A. D. 1231. rebuilt with ſtone the caſtle of Matilda; which had in former wars been demoliſhed by the Welſh.[2] In this manner ended

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 311.

[2] Camden's Brit. Gibſon's edit. p. 585, built by Matilda wife to William de Bruce lord of Brecknock. Matth. Paris, p. 311.

a cam-

a campaign, which, conſidering the mighty engines employed, ſeemed to menace this ancient people with inevitable ruin.

IN the mean time, Llewelyn thought proper to conſent to a ſhort truce;[1] on terms of reciprocal advantage, and, in ſome meaſure, on the footing of independent ſtates.

SOME infractions of the peace having been made on the part of the Engliſh, Llewelyn ſent complaints to king Henry, that no ſatisfaction had been given him, though he himſelf had been willing to make reparation for any injury done by his ſubjects. Henry, in return, acquainted the Welſh prince, that his own avocations at preſent, did not allow him to attend to his complaints; but that he would in a ſeaſon of more leiſure come into the marches, and there render him full reſtitution for any injuries which he might have ſuſtained.[2] A conference having been agreed on by the two princes, Llewelyn, under a ſafe conduct, came to Shrewſbury.[3] At this meeting, the commiſſioners, appointed by either party, agreed to the following ſtipulations, which were immediately ratified by Henry. That a mutual reſtitution ſhould take place of ſuch eſtates which had been obtained in the courſe of the war: That the commiſſioners ſhould fix the value of the damage, and determine by whom the reparation was to be made: That if any new matter of complaint ſhould ariſe during the truce, the point in diſpute ſhould be finally decided by the commiſſioners; each prince engaging to abide by their award. In

A. D. 1233. 17th of Hen. III.

[1] Rymer, vol. I. p. 319. Brady's Hiſt. Eng. p. 553.

[2] Rymer, p. 320.

[3] Rymer, p. 325.

this

this treaty, Llewelyn was obliged to renew his homage, and to give ſecurity for preſerving the peace of the Engliſh realm.[1]

A. D. 1233. The violent conduct of Henry and his miniſters had at length driven many of the Engliſh barons into open revolt. Of the moſt conſiderable note were the lord Pembroke earl mareſchal, Gilbert Baſſet and his brothers, Richard Siward, and Walter de Clifford. Theſe lords, withdrawing from the danger which threatened them, retired into Wales; and entered into a firm league with Llewelyn; engaging each other, by the moſt ſolemn ties, not to form any treaty, or conclude a peace, but with the common conſent of the confederacy.[2] Alarmed at this revolt, rendered formidable by an union with the Welſh prince, Henry convened his military tenants to meet him at Glouceſter.[3]

In the mean time, the confederates laid deſolate the marches, conveying away the cattle and other proviſions.[4] They likewiſe received an acceſſion of ſtrength on being joined by Hubert de Burgh * the juſticiary of England; who, having been perſecuted to the utmoſt peril of his life, had eſcaped out of priſon, and fled into Wales.[5] Henry advanced into the enemies territories, as far as Hereford; but finding that country entirely laid waſte, and fearing leſt his army might periſh for want of neceſſary

1 Rymer, p. 327. 2 Matth. Paris, p. 326. Polidore Virgil, p. 301.
3 Ibid. p. 326. 4 Ibid. p. 328.

* Among other frivolous crimes objected againſt this miniſter, he was accuſed of purloining from the royal treaſury a gem, which had the virtue of rendering the wearer invulnerable, and of ſending this valuable curioſity to the prince of Wales. Matth. Paris, 259.

5 Matth. Paris, p. 328.

ſuſtenance,

ſuſtenance, he made good his retreat, and remained ſome days in the caſtle of Groſmont. The Engliſh army, which lay encamped in the open field, was attacked in the night by the earl mareſchal; who, finding no diſcipline in the camp, eaſily ſurpriſed it; taking, beſides other plunder, five hundred horſes, and obliging the confuſed and terrified ſoldiers to fly with precipitation within the walls of that caſtle. He had likewiſe the good fortune to take poſſeſſion of the money, proviſions, carriages, and other furniture belonging to the king's army. Pembroke, in this critical moment, did not purſue his ſucceſs. He gave an exalted proof of moderation and duty. Out of reſpect to his ſovereign, confined in the caſtle, he offered no further hoſtilities; but retired before break of day to a ſecure ſituation, enriched with the ſpoils of the Engliſh camp. Many of Henry's courtiers, having loſt their military equipments, left the army on this diſaſter, and returned into England. The king himſelf, amazed, aſhamed, and confounded at this ſudden and diſgraceful blow, having firſt reinforced with foreign ſoldiers all his caſtles upon the Engliſh confine, retreated to Glouceſter; in which city he paſſed the Chriſtmas holidays, in hopes that his preſence upon the Borders might be a means of keeping the malecontents in awe.[1] A. D. 1233. 17th of Hen. III.

The active ſpirit of the earl mareſchal, no longer reſtrained by Henry's preſence, formed the deſign of laying ſiege to Monmouth. Baldwyn de Guiſnes, a knight of great valour, and

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 328. Polidore Virgil, p. 301.

a native of Flanders, was then in the town; having been left by Henry with a ſtrong body of foreign troops* to protect the marches. Seeing the earl of Pembroke deeply engaged in reconnoitering the walls, attended only by one hundred knights, he ſallied out of the caſtle at the head of a conſiderable part of the garriſon. Pembroke had time to retire; but his high courage diſdained to avoid the danger. A terrible conflict enſued; and though the earl mareſchal exhibited extraordinary proofs of valour and proweſs, yet ſuch was the ſuperior number of the enemy, that he was very near being carried off priſoner; if at that inſtant, Baldwyn de Guiſnes had not himſelf received a wound; which being deemed mortal, the attention of his troops was diverted to the ſafety of their general, and gave an opportunity to the confederate army to come to the relief of the mareſchal.[1] Nothing deciſive taking place, the earl of Pembroke inveſted Caermarthen; but the town being gallantly defended, he lay three months before it, being incapable of making any impreſſion; and at length, a ſupply of proviſions, and a reinforcement, being thrown into the place by ſea, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.[2]

To divert the enemy's attention, during theſe operations, Llewelyn made an inroad into the country of Brecknock, deſtroying all the towns and fortreſſes belonging to that territory; he then inveſted the caſtle of that name, and lay before it a month; but, all his efforts proving fruitleſs, he raiſed the

* From Flanders and Poictou.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 329.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 289.

ſiege;

ſiege; and, ſetting fire to the town, purſued his route into the marches. In the courſe of which, conflagration and ruin ſtill marking his progreſs, he burned the town of Clun, demoliſhed Redde caſtle in Powys, and laid Oſweſtry in aſhes.[1] It ſeems, as if a treaty of peace had been in agitation during the late tranſactions; as Henry, in a letter to Llewelyn, complained that his commiſſioners, agreeably to appointment, had repaired to Colewent, but had not there met the deputies out of Wales. In anſwer to which, Llewelyn informed the Engliſh king, that his commiſſioners had been prevented from coming to that place, by the floods and by other impediments; declaring in the mean time that he himſelf would preſerve the peace of the Borders, and requiring that Henry on his part ſhould perform the ſame.[2] It is ſomewhat extraordinary, that a negotiation of ſo mild a nature ſhould be carried on amidſt the ſhock of arms, and under the irritation of deep and reiterated injuries. A. D. 1233.

To oppoſe a confederacy, riſing into importance by the daily acceſſion of the Engliſh nobility, John lord of Monmouth, diſtinguiſhed for his valour and military talents, was appointed warden of the marches. That he might open the campaign with credit to his arms, he entered the confines of Wales with a conſiderable body of foreigners; in hopes that by a ſudden and vigorous impreſſion he might ſurpriſe the earl mareſchal; or that, by taking him off, he might ſtrike at the root of the revolt. He ſo directed his operations, as to be enabled, as he A. D. 1234.

[1] Welſh Chron p. 288. [2] Rymer, vol. I. p. 328, 329.

thought, to aſſail his enemies during the ſilence and darkneſs of the night. The ſpies of the earl of Pembroke, having given him intelligence, that the royal army was on its march to ſurpriſe him, that general laid an ambuſcade to counteract the deſign; by poſting his troops under the cover of a wood, adjoining to a road which the enemy were obliged to paſs. In this ſituation he waited their approach. The Engliſh troops under Monmouth, marching, as they thought, in ſecurity, and little ſuſpecting a ſurpriſe, was beſet on a ſudden by a part of the earl's forces; who, ruſhing out of their cover, eaſily put their enemies to flight, confounded by the darkneſs of the night, and the loud ſhouts of their aſſailants. Numbers were ſlain on the field; and many flying into the wood, were cut in pieces by the troops which had been ſtationed there by the mareſchal to intercept the fugitives. John lord of Monmouth their general, with a few of his attendants, ſaved themſelves by a precipitate flight.[1] Purſuing his ſucceſs, the earl mareſchal made ſevere repriſals on the eſtates of the king's foreign counſellors which lay upon the Borders; and with keener animoſity, laid waſte the lordſhips which were the property of the lord of Monmouth; deſtroying ſeveral of his houſes and villages.[2]

Flushed with this ſucceſs, Llewelyn and the earl mareſchal, having united their forces a few months after, made another inroad into the Engliſh marches; and having rendered all that country a ſcene of devaſtation, they concluded their fiery career by laying part of the town of Shrewſbury in aſhes.[3]

[1] Polidore Virgil, p. 301. Matth. Paris, p. 332. [2] Ibid. [3] Matth. Paris, p. 332.

During

A. D. 1234. 18th of Henry III.

DURING the time that the confederates were maſters of the field, and had ſpread horror and conflagration through the Borders of England, Henry remained at Glouceſter, timid and inactive; as though he had been an indifferent ſpectator of the ſcene.[1] The prelates, on this occaſion, and the few Engliſh lords who ſtill preſerved their allegiance, urged Henry to accommodate the diſpute with the malecontent barons. Inſtead of liſtening to this ſalutary advice, that prince, equally vehement and weak, removed his court to Wincheſter; declaring that he would make no peace with the earl mareſchal, unleſs he came with an halter about his neck, and on his knees before the throne, ſhould acknowledge himſelf to be a traitor. Pembroke rejected the propoſal with diſdain.[2]

HENRY's miniſters, in deſpair of ſubduing that lord by any other means than by treachery, excited his vaſſals in Ireland to revolt; under the pretence that all his eſtates were forfeited to the crown. Informed of the machinations of his enemies, the earl of Pembroke paſſed over into that kingdom, attended only by fifteen knights. In this country, by the perfidy of one of his own vaſſals, he was taken priſoner in an action, after having maintained a long and unequal fight, and having given extraordinary proofs of his valour; his horſe being hamſtrung, and he himſelf diſmounted and wounded in the back. This gallant warrior languiſhed in confinement fourteen days, and at laſt died by the treachery of an Iriſh ſurgeon.[3]

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 332. [2] Ibid. [3] Matth. Paris, p. 333, 335, 340.

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A. D. 1234. The violence in the Engliſh adminiſtration had riſen to a criſis. The prelates of the realm, joined by the temporal lords, being aſſembled in parliament at Weſtminſter,* called loudly upon the king to redreſs their grievances, and to ſettle the diſtracted ſtate of the kingdom.[1] Neceſſity obliging him to liſten to the voice of his people, Henry diſmiſſed his foreign miniſters; and diſpatched the prelates of Cheſter, Rocheſter, and Canterbury, into Wales; to treat with Llewelyn, and the Engliſh barons in confederacy with him;[2] the king himſelf repairing to Glouceſter, to be ready to forward their negotiation. The prince of Wales was exceedingly averſe to enter into terms of accommodation. To induce that prince to comply with their wiſhes, the prelates ventured to mingle threats with their other perſuaſions; by informing him, that if he refuſed their offers of peace he would certainly draw upon his head the vengeance of the church. To this menace, Llewelyn replied, that he was more influenced by the piety of king Henry and by the alms which he gave, than by the terror of his arms though aided by the whole power of his clergy. He, at length, conſented, that a peace ſhould be ſettled upon the baſis of integrity and juſtice; and, as an eſſential article of the treaty, he provided, that all the Engliſh barons, who were confederate with him in the war, ſhould be taken into Henry's favour, and be re-eſtabliſhed in their honours and eſtates. Theſe conditions, however humiliating, were ratified by the Engliſh king; who

* Ad Colloquium ap Weſtmon.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 333. Brady's Hiſt. England, vol. I. p. 559.

[2] Brady's Hiſt. England, vol. I. p. 335.

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ſent letters to the malecontent lords to repair to him at Glouceſter; where they received the kiſs of peace from Henry as a pledge of his grace, and were likewiſe reinſtated in their rights and inheritances.[1] At the ſame time, it is probable, to adjuſt ſome particulars left unfiniſhed in this treaty, a ſafe conduct was ſent to the deputies of Llewelyn to come into England.[2] With the juſtice which is due to hiſtorical truth, we have frequently cenſured the character of Llewelyn; it is now with pleaſure that we contemplate a conduct which was juſt and manly, liberal and wiſe; and which, at the ſame time that it gave to his country unuſual importance, placed him in the rank of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of its princes. A. D. 1234.

THE pleaſure which the late event muſt have afforded Llewelyn, no doubt, dilated his heart, and ſoftened his feelings in favour of his eldeſt ſon Gryffydh; whom, at this time, after ſix years confinement, he releaſed out of priſon.[3] We are not acquainted with the nature of the offence, by which Gryffydh had again incurred his father's diſpleaſure. But there was a rigour interwoven into the deſtiny of this gallant prince, which diſcoloured the whole tenor of his life, and has marked him the child of adverſity.[4] A. D. 1234.

1 Welſh Chron. p. 292. Polidore Virgil, p. 302. Matth. Paris, p. 340.

2 Rymer's Fœdera, p. 332. 3 Welſh Chron. p. 292.

4 At this period (A. D. 1236.) died Madoc ap Gryffydh Maelor, lord of the Lower Powys, or Powys Vadoc; he was buried in the abbey of Llan Egweſtl, or the Vale of Crucis, near Llangollen in Denbighſhire, which he himſelf had erected; and left a ſon named Gryffydh to ſucceed to his territories. Welſh Chron. p. 293.

Llewelyn having ſent complaints to the Engliſh king, that the earl of Pembroke had ſeiſed a caſtle belonging to Morgan of Caer Lleon, and had taken his property and waſted his territories; that prince expreſſed his diſapprobation of the injury which had been done to the Welſh chieftain, and appointed impartial perſons to arbitrate in the diſpute. He had already cited the earl mareſchal to appear before his commiſſioners; and he alſo ſummoned the Welſh prince to attend, either in perſon or by his deputies.[1] In conſequence of which, a truce for one year longer took place at Tewkſbury, on the following conditions; that full reſtitution ſhould be made to Morgan of Caer Lleon for the injuries which he had received ſince the commencement of the late peace; that the ſubjects of both kingdoms ſhould retain all their rights and eſtates of which they were then in poſſeſſion; that on ſufficient proof of any injury having been ſuſtained, reſtitution ſhould be made to either party, the damage not being prior to the truce; that neither of the princes ſhould receive into his protection the ſubjects belonging to the other; and that no new caſtle ſhould be erected, or any old one repaired in the marches.[2] In conſequence of this, a ſafe conduct was ſent by the king to Llewelyn's commiſſioners to repair to Shrewſbury, and there to ſwear to the conditions of the truce; and alſo to name arbitrators, who were to act on the part of the Welſh prince with the Engliſh commiſſioners; with whom reſted the final deciſion.[3]

A. D. 1236. 20th of Henry III.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, p. 353.

[2] Brady's Hiſt. Eng. p. 564. Rymer's Fœdera, p. 368.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, p. 369.

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This year died Joan the wife of prince Llewelyn; and, agreeably to her own desire, was buried upon the sea-shore at Llanvaes in Anglesey. To do honour to her brother the king of England, or as a tender memorial of regard, Llewelyn erected over the grave of this princess a monastery of bare-footed friars; a testimony of respect to her memory, which renders at least doubtful the criminal part of her conduct; and may, in some degree, take away the stain which history has cast upon her fame.[1] A. D. 1237.

The tranquillity of the times afforded leisure to Llewelyn, having with so much dignity settled his foreign concerns, to pay some attention to the interior government of his own kingdom, by fixing before his death the order of succession. He convened, for this purpose, all the chieftains in Wales to meet him at Strata-Florida;* where they renewed their oaths of allegiance, and likewise did homage to David, his son by the princess of England, in preference to his eldest brother Gryffydh.[2] So alive was Henry to the dependency of Wales, that he even regarded with a jealous eye the late homages, which had been paid to the young prince his nephew; and in consequence he sent him a summons to repair, under a safe conduct, to Worcester. About the same time, the peace was continued for a year longer on principles of reciprocal justice.[3] A. D. 1237.

Llewelyn's glory, which has appeared with so bright a lustre, resembles the last effort of the vital spirit; which acquiring

[1] Welsh Chr. p. 293. See note in Hist. of Gwedir Fam. p. 23. * *Yftrad Eflur.*

[2] Welsh Chron. p. 297. British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

[3] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 372, 373.

force in the moment of its extinction, and exerting a tranſient vigour, is exhauſted on a ſudden, and ſinks into diſſolution. Worn out with cares and inceſſant action, Llewelyn was now grown old, infirm, and paralytic.[1] In this melancholy cloſe, haſtened no doubt by his late violent exertions, he ſeems to have loſt the native vigour of his mind; by giving up, in a moment of weakneſs, the great object for which, during a long reign, he had contended with ſo much valour and ſucceſs. The deſire of repoſe, with the eager wiſh of eſtabliſhing his favourite ſon David in the ſucceſſion, by thus inſuring the protection of the Engliſh king, were perhaps the motives which influenced his conduct. Whatever his motives were, he gave notice to Henry, that being in years, and deſirous of peace, he was willing to put himſelf under his protection, and to hold his dominions in future as a fief of the Engliſh crown; offering at the ſame time, that whenever the neceſſities of England ſhould call for aſſiſtance, he would be ready to furniſh troops, and to give other aids, agreeably to the duties of a vaſſal.[2]

A. D. 1237. 21ſt of Henry III.

The biſhops of Cheſter and Hereford were employed, on the part of Henry, in the negotiation of this important concern.[3] So little of public virtue remained in the country, that many of the Welſh nobility were deſirous of an union with England, although the independency of their nation ſunk in the ſcale. Some nobler ſpirits rejected the idea with diſdain; not inclined

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 369.
[2] Welſh Chron. p. 297.
[3] Brady's Hiſt. Eng. p. 567. Matth. Paris, p. 369.

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to gratify their ſovereign's inclination, or to indulge his infirmities, at the expence of the freedom of their country.[1]

The archdeacon of St. Aſaph, on the ſame concern, was employed to negotiate the intereſts of the prince of Wales. When he arrived at the Engliſh court, it appeared, that he was not poſſeſſed of inſtructions or power ſufficient to bring to a concluſion ſo important a buſineſs. Upon this occaſion, Henry diſpatched letters to the lords of the marches, highly complaining of the homages which Llewelyn had cauſed his ſon David to receive; and commanding their attendance in Oxford, the truce with Wales being nearly expired. The king likewiſe ſent a letter to the Welſh prince, expreſſive of reſentment for his late conduct in regard to his ſon; and acquainting him, that if he was deſirous of a laſting peace, he ſhould ſend deputies to meet the council at Oxford; prohibiting him, moreover, under the penalty of forfeiture, from ſuffering his ſon to receive any more homage, until he had firſt performed that neceſſary duty to himſelf, as his ſovereign. So highly alarmed was Henry upon this point, that he wrote to the young prince his nephew, not to preſume to receive any more homage until he himſelf had paid that duty. The negotiation for peace extended no farther than to a continuation of the truce for another year, which was afterwards ratified by Llewelyn.[2] A. D. 1238.

Taking advantage of his father's infirmities, or rendered tyrannical by his favour, David ſeiſed on a great part of the

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 298. Matth. Paris, p. 369. Matth. Weſtm. p. 110.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 379, 380.

territories belonging to Gryffydh his brother; leaving him only in poſſeſſion of the cantrev of Lleyn in the county of Caernarvon. This act of rapacity raiſed diſſenſions in the country; as Gryffydh poſſeſſed many qualities, which, among a people like the Welſh, were held in high eſtimation; being brave in war, tall and comely in his perſon, and, as the eldeſt ſon of Llewelyn, was heir apparent to the crown.[1]

To allay the ferment which was produced by this diviſion of intereſts, the biſhop of Bangor propoſed a conference between the two princes. In conſequence of this mediation, Gryffydh began his journey, with the deſign of giving his brother the meeting; but though he travelled in the company of that prelate, and under the ſanction of his character, he was arreſted on the road by David; who confined him in the caſtle of Cricieth, a fortreſs ſituated on the verge of the ſea in Caernarvonſhire.[2]

The treatment of this popular prince excited the greateſt commotion. The adherents of his perſon and family roſe up in arms; reſenting the many injuries which had been done by David to his brother, whom they conſidered as the rightful heir to the crown; and whoſe ſpirit, manners and intereſts were congenial with thoſe of his country. Another party of the Welſh eſpouſing the cauſe of David, a civil war ſpread through the country; and in which, native ferocity mingling in the conteſt

A. D. 1240. 24th of Henry III.

[1] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 298. Matth. Paris, p. 470.

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and heightening its fury, North Wales, for ſome time, was deluged with the blood of her own citizens.[1]

In this ſtate of affairs, the evening of his days being imbittered by domeſtic and public calamity, died Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, after a reign of fifty-ſix years. He left two children by Tangwyſtl his firſt wife, Gryffydh, and a daughter called Glwadys, married to Sir Ralph Mortimer;[2] by his ſecond wife Joan, the princeſs of England, he had David, who ſucceeded to his father's dominions.[3] The remains of this prince were interred, with much honour to his memory, in the Abbey of Conway.[4] A. D. 1240.

In taking a ſurvey of the late period, ſo full of the viciſſitudes of fortune, Llewelyn ap Jorwerth appears upon the ſtage a diſtinguiſhed character. Poſſeſſed of many qualities which are requiſite for a warrior, and to form the great prince; we may alſo diſcern him, through the glimmering of the times, diſplaying many of the ſofter traits of humanity; ſome of thoſe finer ſprings which conſtitute in private life, whatever is juſt, tender, and amiable. But in the characters of men, the moſt eminent for their talents and their virtues, we ſhall ſtill meet with ſhades of human infirmity. The defects of Llewelyn, ſtriking as they were, may be conſidered as the vices of the age in which he lived, more juſtly than his own. A few acts of ferocity, with too fre-

[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 118. Polidore Virgil, p. 305. Holinſhead, p. 226. Matth. Paris, p. 479. [2] Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 24, reſpecting Gryffydh.

[3] Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27, in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd of Caerwys, Flintſhire. [4] Welſh Chron. p. 298.

quent

quent a violation of treaties, and, at times, a want of firmneſs in his conduct, may in ſome degree injure his fame and throw a ſhade upon his virtues, but cannot deprive him of that ſolid glory, which is due to a patriot prince; and which he obtained from a grateful people, for aſſerting the rights of his injured country, through a long life employed in its defence. His talents and his virtues, with the fortunate direction of both, have given to this prince the illuſtrious title of Llewelyn the *Great*.

Several cauſes conſpired to promote the ſucceſſion of David to the throne of North Wales, in preference to Gryffydh his eldeſt brother. The partiality of Llewelyn to this favourite ſon, had ſecured the allegiance of the Welſh nobility; the Engliſh king, too, as the uncle of David, would naturally ſupport his cauſe, rather than that of his brother; a prince of a brave and active diſpoſition, and popular in the country; but what gave the deciſive turn in his favour was, that Gryffydh, the rival of his crown, was a priſoner at his mercy, cloſely confined in a ſolitary fortreſs.

A. D. 1240. Within a month after his acceſſion, David, attended by all the chieftains in Wales, waited on the king at Glouceſter; where having done homage, a peace was concluded on the following

lowing conditions: That David ſhould ſurrender his right to the independency of North Wales, as well as to ſuch territories which had been claimed by ſeveral of Henry's vaſſals, excepting thoſe of Montalto or Mould; and which he was at preſent to retain agreeably to what had been ſettled between him and the ſeneſchal of Cheſter. In order to adjuſt all matters in diſpute which in future might ariſe, arbitrators on both ſides were to be appointed; over whom the Pope's legate, as long as he reſided in England, was to preſide; and who was likewiſe to have the power of puniſhing by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, any infraction of the peace. Before David, or any of his vaſſals, could be liable to ſuch cenſures, they had a right to juſtify themſelves before the legate, in any ſecure place upon the Borders; and to which place they were bound to appear whenever they were cited, or to be deemed contumacious if they neglected the ſummons, unleſs they ſhewed a ſufficient reaſon for ſuch a neglect. If the legatine function ſhould ceaſe, then the ſame power of coercion by eccleſiaſtical cenſure, ſhould be veſted in the archbiſhops of Canterbury ſucceſſively. The peace was concluded upon theſe terms, and a general remiſſion alſo took place of offences, which either party at any time had committed.[1]

Soon after this treaty, David received a ſummons to appear before the king in London, attended by the Welſh commiſſioners; in order to proceed before the legate in the buſineſs of arbitration.[2] The Welſh prince, in no haſte to have the arbitration

[1] Rymer, p. 389, 390. Brady, vol. I. p. 575.

[2] Rymer, vol. I. p. 391.

proceed,

proceed, or to name the referees, ſlighted the ſummons. He ſoon after received another order from Henry, to appear himſelf at Shrewſbury, or to ſend his deputies.[1] To this ſummons A. D. 1241. he thought proper to pay obedience; and he ſent commiſſioners accordingly to that place, where new arbitrators were appointed, and a certain time fixed, when their deciſion was to take place.[2]

The ſubmiſſion of David was only to gain time. He had conceived the deſign of ſhaking off his dependence on the crown of England. For he had lately formed an alliance with the brothers of Gryffydh ap Madoc, lord of the Lower Powys; having ſeduced thoſe chieftains from their allegiance, as well as others of the Welſh tenants belonging to the Engliſh crown. The firſt act of his revolt, was to lay waſte the territories of Sir Ralph Mortimer, and others of Henry's feudatories; he alſo retained in his own hands the eſtates of Hugh Vaughan and his nephews, contrary to the award of a late arbitration; and he likewiſe ſeiſed a veſſel, on its voyage to Cheſter, loaded with wheat and other proviſions. Henry, upon theſe outrages, ſent to the prince of Wales a peremptory letter, enumerating the grievances above related, and enjoining him to perſuade the revolted chieftains to return to their duty; and alſo that he ſhould make reſtitution for all the injuries, which the king's ſubjects had received during the late infringement of the peace.[3]

Influenced by motives of pity and affection, the biſhop of Bangor intereſted himſelf in the ſafety of Gryffydh, whom his

[1] Brady, vol. I. p. 578, ſays Worceſter.

[2] Rymer, p. 392. Brady, vol. I. p. 579. [3] Rymer, p. 395.

brother David ſtill kept in confinement. He was alſo aſſiſted in his generous deſign, by Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, who had married Glwadys the ſiſter of the captive prince.[1] With much earneſt ſolicitation they requeſted that he might be releaſed out of priſon; but all in vain; David did not dare to let looſe among the people, a ſpirit like his brother's, popular and brave, and full of reſentment for former injuries. The biſhop of Bangor, on this refuſal, excommunicated David, and withdrew into England. Repairing to the Engliſh king, he laid before him, the barbarity and injuſtice of his nephew's conduct; and earneſtly implored that monarch to exert his authority, that this unfortunate prince might be reſtored to his liberty.[2] He likewiſe ſent his complaints to Rome, and had intereſt ſufficient with the Pope, to obtain a confirmation of the late ſentence, and alſo to lay the dominions of the prince of Wales under an interdict.[3]

A. D. 1241. 25th of Hen. III.

The party was at this time increaſed which had been formed in favour of Gryffydh, who was become ſtill more dear to the people; the injuries he had received, and his wretched ſituation, having rendered him an object of their pity. His wife Sina, a woman of ſpirit and addreſs, confederate with the biſhop of Bangor, and with many of the Welſh nobility, entered into a treaty with Henry, in hopes of intereſting that prince in the cauſe of her unfortunate huſband.[4] The negociation was ſup-

[1] Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27. [2] Matth. Paris, p. 506.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 300. Brady, vol. I. p. 578.
[4] Matth. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.

ported with ſuch powerful perſuaſions, that Henry, inclining to their intereſt, ſent an order to David to releaſe his brother out of captivity. This order was attended by the following admonition; that by purſuing ſuch a conduct, he would recover the honour of his character, and that it would be alſo the means of his receiving abſolution from the Pope.[1] This mandate the Welſh prince peremptorily refuſed to obey, alledging in his excuſe, that if Gryffydh was ſet at liberty, ſuch was his ſpirit, and the ſtrength of his party, that he would raiſe the greateſt commotions throughout Wales.[2] The king, reſenting his nephew's diſobedience, commanded his military tenants to meet him at Glouceſter, and from thence he proceeded with a large army to Shrewſbury.[3] He had, alſo, been previouſly encouraged to this undertaking, under aſſurances of aid, by Gryffydh ap Madoc, the lord of the Lower Powys. During the king's reſidence at Shrewſbury, which was fifteen days, many Welſh and Engliſh lords, his vaſſals, gave him the meeting; all of them friendly to Gryffydh, and who came, in concert with his wife, to ſupport the negociation.[4]

WITH a tenderneſs and energy of ſpirit, which marked a fine and juſt ſenſibility, that lady ſtipulated with the king for the en-

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 300.

[3] Matth. Paris, p. 506.

[4] Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, Walter Clifford, Roger de Mont Alto ſteward of Cheſter, Maelgon ap Maelgon, Meredydh ap Rotpert lord of Cydewen, Gryffydh ap Madoc lord of Bromfield, Howel and Meredydh the ſons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedh, and Gryffydh the ſon of Gwenwynwyn lord of the higher Powys. Welſh Chron. p. 301.

largement

largement of her huſband, on the following terms; that Gryffydh ſhould pay to the king ſix hundred marks, on condition that he cauſed Gryffydh and Owen his ſon to be delivered out of priſon; and that they ſhould ſtand to the judgment of the king's court, whether by law they ought to have been impriſoned. That Gryffydh and his heirs ſhould alſo ſtand to the judgment of the king's court, concerning that portion of the inheritance of Llewelyn his father, which of right appertained unto him: the ſaid Sina undertaking for Gryffydh and his heirs, that they ſhould pay yearly for that territory, the ſum of three hundred marks; whereof the one third part ſhould be paid in money, the ſecond in cattle, and the third in horſes, by the eſtimation of impartial men; and that the ſame ſhould be paid at Michaelmas and Eaſter, by even portions, into the hands of the ſheriff of the county of Salop. Sina farther undertook for Gryffydh and his heirs, that they ſhould obſerve the peace with David, and ſuffer him quietly to enjoy ſuch portions of his father's inheritance as to him ſhould be found to be due. She alſo undertook for her huſband and his heirs, that in caſe any Welſhman ſhould hereafter rebel againſt the king, they at their own charges, ſhould compel the offender to make ſatisfaction.[1] For the performance of theſe conditions, ſhe engaged to deliver up as pledges to the king, David and Roderic her ſons; but with this reſtriction, that if either Gryffydh or Owen, ſhould happen to die before his delivery out of priſon, it ſhould be lawful for Sina to have one of her ſons releaſed, the other remaining

[1] Brady, vol. I. p. 579. Matth. Paris, 550.

with the king as an hoſtage. She likewiſe ſwore upon the holy Evangeliſts, that Gryffydh and his heirs, ſhould punctually perform all theſe premiſes; and ſhe farther undertook, that Gryffydh on his delivery out of priſon, ſhould take the ſame oath. Sina, in the name of her huſband, ſubmitted herſelf, as to the obſervance of the premiſes, to the juriſdiction of the reverend fathers the biſhops of Hereford and Litchfield; to the end that thoſe biſhops, or either of them, at the king's requeſt, ſhould compel Gryffydh and his heirs to obſerve theſe conditions, on pain of excommunication on their perſons, and interdiction on their land; and laſtly, that her huſband ſhould deliver this inſtrument in writing to the king in the form aforeſaid. To this compact both parties ſet their ſeals; Gryffydh and Sina to that part which remained with the king, and the king to that part which remained with Sina. In ratification of this treaty, the lords before-mentioned, ſwore fealty to the king, and pledged themſelves for the punctual performance of its ſeveral articles.[1]

A DEEP cloud, at this period, hung over David, and menaced his ſafety. The king of England, advancing towards Cheſter, at the head of a large army, had entered the frontiers of his country;[2] many of the Welſh nobility were in confederacy

[1] Appendix, No. I. Matth. Paris, p. 551. Welſh Chron. p. 303. Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

[2] The approaches into Wales, this ſummer, had been rendered very eaſy by a long drought; which, having continued four months, had dried up the marſhes.

againſt

againſt him, in favour of his rival and the object of his cruelty; but the circumſtance above all others moſt likely to excite his terror, was the cenſure of the church; which hanging over his head, like a ſword ſuſpended in the air, left him only a precarious poſſeſſion of his throne.[1] David ſaw the ſtorm as it gathered round him; and his reſolution failing, he ſent an offer to Henry to releaſe his brother out of priſon; provided that he himſelf might be taken into favour, under all the ſecurity which hoſtages, and other ties could give for his future fidelity.[2] Henry agreed to grant his nephew pardon and peace upon the terms he himſelf had offered, but to which he added the following conditions: That David ſhould deliver up his brother Gryffydh and his ſon Owen to the king: That he ſhould ſtand to the judgment of the king's court, whether Gryffydh ought to be impriſoned; and alſo for the portion of his father's inheritance, which he claimed according to the cuſtom of Wales, and ſhould hold that land of the king in capite: That he ſhould deliver up to Roger de Mont Alto ſteward of Cheſter, his land in the lordſhip of Mould, with all its appurtenances: That he ſhould reſtore to the barons all ſuch land, lordſhips, and caſtles, which had been taken from them ſince the commencement of the wars, between king John and his father Llewelyn: That he ſhould defray all the charges of Henry in the laſt expedition: That he ſhould make ſatisfaction for all the injuries done by him, or his ſubjects, to the king or his people: That he ſhould reſtore unto him all the homages which king John had received, or ought to have received, eſpecially from the noblemen

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 506. [2] Ibid.

of

of Wales: That the lordſhips of Eleſmere and Englefield ſhould be conveyed to the king for ever: That he ſhould not receive any of the king's ſubjects within the dominions of Wales, who were outlawed or baniſhed: And laſtly, under the obligation of giving hoſtages, and the penalty of forfeiture, that he ſhould enter into the moſt ſolemn engagements, that he would never recede from Henry's ſervice, that he would obſerve all his commands, and would ſtand to the law in his courts.[1]

A. D. 1241. As a pledge of his ſincerity, that he really intended to preſerve the peace according to this treaty, the Welſh prince conſented that the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Ely, Hereford, and Coventry, ſhould be arbitrators between him and the king; and that he himſelf ſhould be liable to their eccleſiaſtical cenſures, if, on his part, any of the articles were violated.[2]

A FEW months after the peace was concluded, David repaired to the Engliſh court; and having performed homage to Henry, and given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his fidelity, even under the penalty of forfeiture if he ſhould again revolt, he returned with a ſafe conduct into Wales.[3] The Welſh nation, at this diſhonourable period, was reduced to the loweſt

[1] This treaty was ſigned on the part of David, by the biſhops of St. Aſaph and Bangor, at Alnet on the river Elwy near St. Aſaph. Welſh Chron. p. 306. Matth. Paris, p. 552. Brady, vol. I. p. 580. Rymer, p. 396, 397, 398.

[2] Welſh Chr. p. 306. Brady, p. 580. M. Paris, p. 552.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 307. Matth. Paris, p. 506.

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ebb of their fortunes; their independency gone, their prince the acknowledged vaſſal of England, and in appearance every ſpark of public virtue extinguiſhed.

Though the treaty had been ratified, David was not entirely diveſted of his fears. He ſent privately to Henry, deſiring, that being his nephew, he might continue to enjoy the principality of Wales in preference to Gryffydh, who was not related to the king. He likewiſe inſinuated, that by ſetting his brother at liberty, he let looſe a ſpirit that would raiſe diviſions in the country, and adminiſter cauſes for continual wars.[1] Coinciding but too well with the wiſhes and intereſted views of Henry, the reaſons which were offered by the Welſh prince decided the fate of his brother. Having received him from the hands of David, the king ſent the unfortunate Gryffydh, and the hoſtages lately given up, to London, in the cuſtody of Sir John de Lexington, with orders that that prince, and his eldeſt ſon Owen, ſhould be confined in the tower:[2] a conduct full of meanneſs and duplicity, and unworthy of a great monarch. The king likewiſe ordered a noble a day to be allowed him for his maintenance.[3] A. D. 1242.

Though deſerted by the world, and in the power of his enemies, one friendly boſom was ſtill alive to his intereſts. His faithful adherent the biſhop of Bangor came again to the Eng-

[1] Welſh Chr. p. 307. M. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.
[2] Matth. Paris, p. 506. Welſh Chron. p. 307.
[3] Matth. Paris, p. 545. Holinſhead, p. 228.

liſh

liſh court, to intercede with the king for the enlargement of Gryffydh; but, humanity and juſtice not mingling in Henry's councils, he rejected every ſolicitation which was made in his favour. Languiſhing two years in confinement, and deſpairing of any other relief, this miſerable prince, at length, attempted to make his eſcape; thinking any danger preferable to a ſituation ſo wretched, as that of being confined in a foreign priſon, during his life, the victim of ſtate policy. One night, having deceived his keepers, he got out of the window, and with a line which he had made by faſtening together pieces of the tapeſtry of his chamber, the ſheets belonging to his bed, and the napkins that covered his table, he attempted to let himſelf down from the tower, in which he was confined. But being very corpulent, after he had deſcended a little way, his weight broke the line, and he fell into the ditch with ſuch violence, that his head and neck were nearly driven into his body; in which ſituation he was found in the morning.[1] His ſon Owen, and Sina his wife, who had ſhared in his tedious captivity, were the witneſſes of this melancholy ſpectacle.[2] This diſaſter, inſtead of raiſing Henry's pity, was a reaſon with that prince for treating his ſon with greater rigour, by rendering his confinement more cloſe.[3] The reader will feel an emotion of ſorrow at the fate of this gallant prince; who, in a foreign country, and impelled by the firſt law of nature, fell a victim to the deſigns of an ambitious brother, to the perfidious conduct of Henry, and his intereſted policy.

A. D. 1244. 1ſt of March. 28th of Henry III.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 545. Stowe's Chron. p. 186.

[2] Matth. Paris, p. 545. [3] Ibid.

To

To ſtrengthen the maritime parts of Flintſhire, the Engliſh king repaired the fortifications of the caſtle of Diſerth. He likewiſe exerciſed the right he had lately acquired as the ſovereign over Wales, by giving to Gryffydh the ſon of Gwenwynwyn, his inheritance in Powys; and to the ſons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedh, their territories in Meirionydh.[1]

A NEW ſcene now opens to our view. The veil is drawn aſide which had of late concealed from the Welſh princes the deſigns of the Engliſh monarch. They had vainly thought, though reduced to a ſtate of vaſſalage, that they ſhould be able to retain the appearance of royalty, and ſome ſemblance of their ancient grandeur. They did not reflect, that having loſt the ſubſtance of power, its attendant ſhadow would ſoon diſappear. That the Welſh might no longer be deluded by even the ſemblance of freedom, Henry, already in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, gave to his eldeſt ſon Edward the title of prince of Wales.[2] The death of Gryffydh, the real heir to the crown, though it could not juſtify the conduct, might give it a colourable pretext. At this intelligence David revolted from his allegiance, alive at laſt to a ſenſe of ſhame for his own diſhonour, and for the ignominious ſituation of his country. A. D. 1244.

IN hopes of ſecuring his ſubjects from the various and increaſing oppreſſions of the Engliſh government, David ſolicited

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 308.

[2] Camden's Brit. Gibſon's edit. p. 695. Polidore Virgil, p. 311. Britiſh Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29, 30. Welſh Chron. p. 309.

the Pope's protection; offering to hold his dominions under him as a fief of the holy ſee,[1] and to pay likewiſe an annual tribute of five hundred marks;[2] concluding, that if he and his people muſt be the vaſſals of a foreign prince, it was his wiſeſt courſe to yield obedience to a power which was ſuperior to all the ſovereigns in Europe. The Pope, acceding to the propoſal, and having received a large ſum of money from the Welſh prince, veſted the abbots of Cymmer and Conway, with full powers to ſit as a court of inquiry; whether David was under the influence of terror or of force, at the time he conſented to do homage, and to be tied down to the late arbitrations. If an improper influence was found to have been the caſe, they were then to abſolve him from the oaths and the other engagements which he had taken. In the fulneſs of ſpiritual importance, the Welſh abbots ſummoned king Henry to appear before them at Caerwys;[3] and in the church* of that town, to anſwer the complaints which David might alledge againſt him. This indignity was highly reſented by the king, and all the barons of England.[4] But the negociation with Rome did not in the event produce any uſeful effect. Henry, acquainted with the venality of that court, and that he might not be baffled by a prince ſo inſignificant as David, made larger offers; which, agreeably to the verſatile and unprincipled conduct of Rome, turned the ſcale in favour of the Engliſh.[5]

A. D. 1245.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 552.

[2] Matth. Weſtmin. p. 139. Matth. Paris, p. 550, 573. Brady, p. 592.

[3] Matth. Paris, p. 573. Brady, p. 592. Welſh Chron p. 309, ſays at Creythyn.

* *Guſtefend.*

[4] Matth. Paris, p. 573. J. Roſſi, Antiq. Warwicenſis, p. 162.

[5] Welſh Chron. p. 309. Rymer, vol. I. p. 425, 430.

In the mean time, under the protection of the Pope, and encouraged by ſo potent an alliance, David had made an incurſion into the marches, and had ravaged the eſtates of the Engliſh lords. Henry was at this time in Scotland; but, during his abſence, he had appointed the earl of Hereford, the earl of Clare, Thomas de Monmouth, Roger de Mont Alto, and others of the lords marchers, to make head againſt the Welſh, and to check their depredations.[1] Incurſions continuing to be carried on with terrible devaſtations, the king, on his return into England, ſent Herbert Fitz Mathew, with three hundred horſe, to co-operate with the lords of the marches.[2] Before his arrival, the Welſh prince had routed the forces of the earl of Hereford, and Ralph de Mortimer; the former lord having in ſome meaſure been the cauſe of this inſurrection, by detaining from David a certain diſtrict of land, which had been the property of his wife,[3] and who was ſiſter to that nobleman. Theſe diſaſters alarmed king Henry, and created great indignation among the Engliſh. But his finances were ſo much exhauſted, and his credit ſo low, that the parliament refuſed him the means of carrying on the war;[4] thinking, it is probable, that the Welſh were neither much to be blamed, nor, if allowed to remain unmoleſted, were they much to be feared.

Unchecked by any national force, hoſtilities, which were carried on with various ſucceſs, continued to deſolate the Borders. A. D. 1245. 29th of Henry III.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 562. Polidore Virgil, p. 308, ſays, that in this enterpriſe David loſt the greater part of his army, and that he repaired to Scotland, to incite the Scots prince to turn his arms againſt Henry.

[2] Matth. Paris, p. 569. [3] Ibid. [4] Brady, vol. I. p. 592. M. Paris, p. 572.

In the courſe of which, a party of the Welſh had been drawn into an ambuſcade by the conſtable of Montgomery caſtle, and three hundred of them cut in pieces.[1] To revenge this loſs, David fell with great fury on the eſtates of the Engliſh lords. This inroad was oppoſed by Herbert Fitz Mathew, at the head of the militia belonging to the marches. But that general, breathing the ſpirit of revenge, and unacquainted with the country, ſoon led the Engliſh army into a difficult ſituation; in which they were ſuddenly attacked by the Welſh, who were poſted upon the heights adjacent, and from thence much annoyed their enemies by a ſhower of ſtones, arrows, and darts. In this rude encounter, Herbert Fitz Mathew was killed by a large ſtone rolled down from the mountains. The Engliſh, diſpirited by the loſs of their leader, retreated with precipitation out of the country. This ſucceſs animated the Welſh to purſue their devaſtations with increaſed vigour and fury. But they ſoon after ſuſtained the loſs of two hundred men in another ambuſcade near the caſtle of Montgomery. Incenſed at this diſaſter, and taking advantage of the general conſternation, the prince of Wales laid ſiege to the caſtle of Mold, which he took by ſtorm, and put all the garriſon to the ſword; the governor, Roger de Mont Alto, having eſcaped the danger, he not being in the fortreſs at the time it was taken. Theſe bloody events heightened the fierceneſs of the war, and it was henceforward carried on with a ſavage and unrelenting fury; neither of the parties ſparing the age, nor ſex, nor condition of their enemies.[2]

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 575. [2] Ibid. p. 576.

DAVID was now ſummoned to appear, with all the barons of Wales, in the king's court at Weſtminſter, to do homage, and to anſwer for the depredations which they had lately committed. About twenty of the Welſh nobility made their appearance. Inſtead of obeying the ſummons, the prince of Wales appears to have amuſed the Engliſh court by a treaty; which having miſcarried, the moſt formidable preparations were made by Henry for the entire conqueſt of the country.[1]

THE revolt now wore a moſt ſerious aſpect. The Engliſh parliament therefore, not only gave the neceſſary ſupplies, but thought proper that the king ſhould in perſon go into Wales; to give an early check to David's career, and to puniſh the rebellion of an inſolent vaſſal. It was on this occaſion, that an extraordinary aſſeſſment of forty ſhillings took place for every knights fee, called the ſcutage of Gannock.[2] Summonſes were ſent to all the barons and others who held of the king by knights ſervice and ſerjeantry to be ready to march into Wales, or to ſend thither their ſervices.[3] Orders were likewiſe ſent to Henry's juſticiary in Ireland, that a diverſion ſhould be made from thence on the iſland of Angleſey;[4] and for that purpoſe he was to provide the choiceſt of his ſoldiers; he was alſo to furniſh the neceſſary proviſions for the army which was to be employed in the Welſh expedition.[5] A. D. June 1245.

[1] Rymer, p. 427—431.

[2] Carte's Hiſt. England, vol. II. p. 82, from Rotul. Pip. 30 Hen. III. Oxon.

[3] Rymer, p. 433. Brady, vol. I. p. 591. Matth. Paris, p. 580.

[4] Welſh Chron. p. 310. [5] Rymer, p. 431.

It was about the middle of Auguſt that Henry entered the confines of Wales. By that time, the Iriſh had made a deſcent upon Angleſey, and had dreadfully ravaged that iſland;[1] but not being properly ſupported by the Engliſh king, who had been too ſlow in his movements, they were aſſailed by the inhabitants, when loaded with plunder, and were driven back to their ſhips.[2]

A. D. 1245.

The Engliſh army was too powerful for David to reſiſt in the open field; he therefore retired to the mountains of Snowdun, leaving Henry's march open and unmoleſted, until he had advanced to the arm of the ſea, which is oppoſite to Conway. Not daring to paſs that river, and enter into the mountainous receſſes of the country, the enemy unſeen and in flying parties hovering around him, Henry halted his troops; though determined that the expedition ſhould not be rendered entirely fruitleſs. On the point of a promontory which projects into the ſea, were the ruins of an ancient fortification; once a Roman ſtation, and which had been afterwards a fortreſs belonging to the Welſh, called Diganwy, and an occaſional reſidence of their earlier princes. Thinking this a proper ſituation, the king began to rebuild this caſtle; the garriſon of which might be able to intercept the enemies parties whenever they made incurſions into England.[3] But the Welſh did not remain unconcerned ſpectators of a tranſaction of ſo hoſtile a nature; and which, if ſuffered to be completed, would prove the deadly dart,[4] which would remain and feſter in the boſom of their country.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 599. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 310.

[3] Matth. Paris, p. 597. Henry de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, p. 2443. Welſh 311.

[4] Matth. Paris ſays, *Spina in oculo.*

During

DURING the ten weeks which Henry had employed in erecting this fortreſs, his army, which lay encamped in the open field, was expoſed to many inconveniencies. The weather growing exceedingly cold towards the cloſe of the ſummer, the ſoldiers ſuffered much by being thinly clad, and by having no other covering than tents made of linen; the troops, likewiſe, were, at times, reduced to great diſtreſs by a ſcarcity of proviſions,[1] receiving only a precarious ſupply from Cheſter and Ireland; they were alſo much harraſſed, and their numbers reduced, by the inceſſant attempts which the Welſh made in the night, to cut off their ſtraggling parties, and to ſtorm their camp.[2]

IN this perilous ſtate, a veſſel loaded with proviſions, arrived out of Ireland, and had been ſuffered to run aground on the ſhore adjoining to Snowdun, at the ebb of the tide, by the negligence of the mariners. The Welſh did not neglect this fortunate occurrence, but ran to take poſſeſſion of the prize, by this time laid dry on the ſtrand. In attempting which, they received a check from Sir Walter Biſſet; who, with great ſpirit and conduct, defended the veſſel, until a reinforcement of Welſh-

[1] The bread which was uſually ſold for one farthing now ſold for five-pence, a hen for eight-pence; and the Engliſh had in their camp only one caſk of wine, one ox, and one quarter of corn, worth twenty ſhillings.—Matth. Paris, p. 598.—But, perhaps, a reſervation was made for a due ſupply of proviſions for the caſtle of Gannock; which, it appears, was completely furniſhed with every neceſſary, on the king's departure.

[2] In one of theſe conflicts, the Engliſh having the advantage, they brought in triumph to their camp, the heads of nearly one hundred Welſhmen. See Matth. Paris, p. 598.

men,

men, who were Henry's vaſſals in the marches, had croſſed the river, and had come to his relief. Having driven off the aſſailants, the Engliſh party purſued them with great ſlaughter, ſix miles, up into the country; and, on their return, fluſhed with ſucceſs, pillaged of its books and ſilver cups, the abbey of Conway; a religious houſe of the Ciſtercian Order. They then ſet fire to all the offices. With a rage that bordered upon frenzy, the Welſh ran down from the mountains to preſerve that venerable pile, the object of their piety, and which had lately become the *mauſolæum* of their princes. Finding the Engliſh overloaded with ſpoils, they ſlew great numbers, and wounded others; many alſo were taken priſoners; and the remainder, to avoid the fury of the Welſh, plunged into the Conway, and periſhed in the water. Beſides thoſe who were drowned, ſeveral gentlemen of rank, and about one hundred common perſons, fell by the ſword. In this day's action, the ſame number were ſlain on the ſide of the Welſh. The ſoldiers who were taken alive, were at firſt only lodged in confinement; but the Welſh, being informed that their enemies had lately put to death ſome lords of their nation, ordered all the priſoners to be hanged; then, cutting off their heads, and, with a barbarous rage, tearing their dead bodies in pieces, they threw their mutilated limbs into the Conway water.[1] Some colour of juſtice, indeed, was given to this act of ferocity; many of the priſoners being Welſhmen, who, under the command of the lords of Powys, had joined the enemies of their country.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 597, 598, 599. This account is given by an Engliſh lord ſerving at that time in Henry's army.

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The veſſel before-mentioned, which was ſtill aground, was again violently aſſaulted, and as bravely defended, until midnight, by Sir Walter Biſſet; when, on the flowing of the tide, and the ſhip being afloat, the Welſh were obliged to retire. During the night, the party, commanded by Sir Walter, was releaſed from their poſt, and leaving the ſhip, eſcaped to the Engliſh camp. In the morning, it being then low water, the Welſh returned to the veſſel, to make further depredations on their prize; and finding her deſerted, carried away almoſt all the wine, and the remainder of the cargoe. Having ſo far ſecured this valuable prize, a part of which conſiſted of fifty-three tons of wine, they ſet fire to the ſhip, and made good their retreat. Seven tons only were ſaved by the Engliſh, who drew them out of a part of the veſſel which had not been conſumed by the fire.[1]

Having, at length, finiſhed the important fortreſs of Diganwy,[2] in the face of the Welſh, and againſt all the efforts they had uſed to prevent it; Henry left in that caſtle a numerous garriſon, well furniſhed with victuals and all military implements; and being unable to continue any longer in this ſituation, his proviſions being exhauſted, and the winter being near, he returned at the end of October, with the remainder of his army, into England.[3] A. D. 1245.

[1] During theſe tranſactions, David the prince of Wales, being ſick and oppreſſed with cares, frequently retired to his camp at *Tintaiol*, to refreſh himſelf, and recover from the fatigues of war. Matth. Paris, p. 599.

[2] Called Gannock by the Engliſh. [3] Matth. Paris, p. 599.

Many cauſes conſpired to render deplorable the ſituation of the Welſh. No party of theirs could move towards the Cheſhire frontier, but they were liable to be cut off by the garriſon of the new fortified caſtle of Diganwy. Angleſey, the granary of Wales, had been ſo entirely laid waſte by the Iriſh, that no advantage could be derived from thence; nor could they be ſupplied with proviſions from other parts, as orders had been given by the Engliſh king in the marches and in Ireland, that, on pain of death, no merchandize whatever, or victuals[1] ſhould be carried into Wales.[2] He had likewiſe ordered all the ſalt[3] works to be deſtroyed in the country.[4] What heightened ſtill more the public diſtreſs, the territories of the Welſh prince were reduced within the limits of Meirionydh, and the preſent county of Caernarvon, and to the barren parts of the adjoining country; and, it is probable, too, that beſides the uſual inhabitants, thoſe mountains were at this time crowded with people, who had fled out of the valleys for protection.[5] In ſuch a ſituation, the Welſh had no alternative but famine, or ſubmiſſion to Henry's authority.

In this ſeaſon of common calamity, the rage of contending parties was ſuſpended; and all the chieftains of Wales, retain-

[1] By this prohibition of the Engliſh king, ſuch was the ſcarcity of proviſions, that a famine had nearly taken place in Cheſter, and in the adjacent country. Matth. Paris.

[2] Rymer, vol. I. p. 440. Matth. Paris, p. 599.

Puteos Salinarum de *Witz*. Matth. Paris. [4] Matth. Paris, p. 599.

[5] Ibid. p. 600.

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ing no longer their animoſities, and uniting in a generous confederacy, gave to their ſovereign the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of perpetual allegiance.[1] But their offers of aid, or their vows of fidelity, had no power of affording relief to David; the miſeries of his country, and the proſpect which was opening before him, had broken his ſpirit; and, a few months after, ſinking under the weight of ſorrow, lamented by his ſubjects, and riſing in their eſteem, he died[2] at Aber, a palace in which he uſually reſided, upon the ſea coaſt in Caernarvonſhire. This prince left no iſſue, and was buried in the abbey of Conway.[3] A. D. 1246. 30th of Henry III.

We have now ſeen the Welſh nation ſubject to the moſt diſtant extremes of fortune. Their annals, in rapid ſucceſſion, are marked with ſtriking viciſſitudes. Influenced by ſudden, and often by hidden ſprings, we have ſeen them, by uniting their ſtrength, and exerting its force, riſing up to the height of proſperity; and then, from cauſes which were equally capricious, falling, in a moment, into diſunion and vaſſalage.

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 268. [2] Matth. Paris, p. 608, 610.
[3] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 268.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF OWEN AND LLEWELYN THE SONS OF GRYFFYDH AP LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH, TO THE DEATH OF LLEWELYN AP GRYFFYDH.

ON the death of the late prince, the Welſh nobility elected Owen and Llewelyn joint ſovereigns of North Wales. Theſe young princes were the ſons of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, who ſome years before had been killed by attempting to eſcape out of the tower of London.[1] A. D. 1246.

OWEN had ſhared in the captivity of his father, but was afterwards taken into Henry's favour, and appears to have been highly careſſed in the Engliſh court. Receiving intelligence of the late events, he ſuddenly withdrew out of England, and fortunately effected his eſcape into Wales.[2] The young prince

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 314. [2] Matth. Paris, p. 608.

Llewelyn, before his acceſſion to the throne, had reſided at Maeſmynan near Caerwys in Flintſhire; and poſſeſſed, as the patrimony which he had received from his father, the cantrevs of Engleſield, Dyffryn-Clwyd, Rhos, and Rhyvonioc; all of which he had held, during the late reign, in oppoſition to his uncle David, and the Engliſh monarch.[1]

Oppressed by the hated laws of England, the Welſh, at this period, had neither opportunity nor ſpirit, to carry on commerce, nor to cultivate their land, and in conſequence were periſhing by famine: they were likewiſe deprived of the uſual paſturage for their cattle: and, to recite the words of an old writer, expreſſive of their bondage, "the harp of the churchmen is "changed into ſorrow and lamentations: the glory of their "proud and ancient nobility is faded away."[2]

In this ſtate of their country, the Welſh princes thought it prudent, upon their acceſſion, to conclude a peace with the Engliſh king, on the following ſevere conditions; of yielding up for ever the cantrevs of Rhos, Rhyvonioc, Dyffryn-Clwyd, and Engleſield, being all the country from the frontier of Cheſhire to the water of Conway.[3] They were likewiſe obliged

[1] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 28.

[2] The biſhop of St. David, is ſaid, at this time, to have died of grief, and the biſhop of Llandaff to have been ſtricken blind: the biſhops of Bangor and St. Aſaph, likewiſe, on their biſhopricks being entirely ruined, were under the neceſſity of ſupplicating alms, as a means of ſubſiſtence. Vide Matth. Paris, p. 642.

[3] *Cynwy* or *Chief Water*.

to

to ſerve in Wales, or in the marches, with one thouſand foot and twenty-four horſe, armed and well appointed at their own expence, whenever they were called upon; but with five hundred infantry only, when the ſervice ſhould require that duty to be performed in any other place: The homage and ſervices of all the barons in Wales were to remain with the kings of England for ever: If there ſhould be any infringement of the peace on the part of the Welſh princes, an entire forfeiture of their territories was to be the conſequence. For theſe conceſſions, after the two princes had performed their homage, Henry granted them a full pardon, and the enjoyment of the reſidue of North Wales, to be held under the crown of England for ever.[1] A. D. 1247. 31ſt of Henry III.

THE country from Cheſter to the river Conway, which had been given by Henry as an appennage to his ſon prince Edward, was, at this time, let out to farm to Alan de Zouch, an Engliſh baron, for eleven hundred marks.[2] He ſuperſeded John de Grey, who was to have held it for the leſſer ſum of five hundred.[3] The Welſh, likewiſe, early taſted another bitter fruit of their ſubjection; a talliage having been laid upon all that territory which had been lately ceded in Wales, to defray the expence of Henry's intended expedition into the Holy Land.[4] A. D. 1251. 35th of Henry III.

1 Rymer, p. 443. About this time, the abbots of Strata-Florida and Conway procured from the Engliſh king the body of the late Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, which they ſafely conveyed to the abbey of Conway, where the remains of that prince were honourably interred. Welſh Chr. p. 319.

2 Brady, vol. I. p. 605. 3 Matth. Paris, p. 705.

4 Carte's Hiſt. Eng. Inter. Communia. Trin. Term. 36 Hen. III.

FOR

For ſome years the Welſh nation, diſpirited and inactive, had loſt with their freedom every trace of their national character; until the demon of diſcord, reviving their ſpirit and genius, rouſed it once again into action.

A. D. 1254. Owen, the eldeſt of the reigning Welſh princes, not enduring a partner in the throne, drew in David his younger brother, to engage with him in hoſtilities againſt Llewelyn. The two brothers, in purſuance of their ambitious deſigns, took the field with a conſiderable force; and fighting with Llewelyn, their army was routed, after a long and bloody engagement, and they themſelves taken priſoners, and ſecured in confinement; leaving to that prince the ſole poſſeſſion of what remained of this mutilated kingdom.[z]

The eyes of the Welſh nobility were at length opened; a ſeries of injuries had awakened them into a ſenſe of their loſt condition. Actuated by one common ſpirit, the chieftains of Wales reſorted to Llewelyn; and complained of the grievances which they had long endured from prince Edward, and from the lords of the marches; that their eſtates had been taken from them by force, without any colour of juſtice; and that they were alſo treated with ſeverity, whenever they committed the ſmalleſt offence; but that they themſelves could obtain no redreſs, for any injury which was done them by the Engliſh.[a] In the moſt ſolemn manner, and with an afflicted though manly

[z] Welſh Chron. p. 319. Annales Burton, p. 386. [a] Welſh Chron. p. 320.

ſpirit,

ſpirit, they declared; that they would rather die in the field in defence of their natural rights, than be ſubject any longer to ſo cruel and oppreſſive an enemy. Neceſſity, virtue, and deſpair, influenced Llewelyn to ſecond their ardour. They all determined to reſcue their country from its vile dependence upon England, or bravely to periſh amidſt the ruins of its freedom.[1] A. D. 1255.

When men meet to deliberate, and form a reſolution to revolt, a deciſive conduct ſhould then take place of feeble and temporiſing meaſures. The conduct of Llewelyn, on this important occaſion, was equally rapid and deciſive. He recovered Meironydh, and the inland country of North Wales which had been lately ceded to Henry; and alſo ſuch territories in Caerdigan, as were in the poſſeſſion of prince Edward; and the diſtrict alſo of Gwrthrynion, the property of Sir Roger Mortimer.[2]

The ſummer following he made an incurſion into Powys, and ſubdued a great part of the territory which belonged to Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn; to revenge the baſeneſs of his conduct in taking part with the Engliſh king.[3] With a ſpirit, which marked a liberal and penetrating mind, the prince of Wales divided among the chiefs, his aſſociates in the war, the eſtates he had conquered.[4] It was certainly a right conduct in Llewelyn, having put his life and his crown to the hazard, to ſecure the attachment of intereſted chieftains, by ſuch an act of princely munificence. A. D. 1256. 40th of Hen. III.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 806.
[2] Welſh Chron. p. 320.
[3] Matth. Paris, p. 806.
[4] Welſh Chron. p. 320.

Alarmed at a revolt, directed by a common ſpirit of union, Henry ſent a large army by ſea to Caermarthen, to the aſſiſtance of his vaſſals in South Wales; which, having laid ſiege to the caſtle of Dinevawr, was defeated by the forces of Llewelyn, with the loſs of two thouſand men. After this victory, the Welſh army laid waſte the country of Pembroke, deſtroying in its march the caſtles of Abercorran, Llanſtephan, Maenclochoc, and
A. D. 1256. Arberth; and then returned, with the ſpoils which had been taken from the enemy, into North Wales.[1]

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that Edward, a prince of the age of ſeventeen, full of fire and ambition, would ſee without emotion the progreſs of Llewelyn, and the many valuable territories, which that prince, his rival in glory, had lately torn from him. His father being unwilling, or what is more probable, unable to aſſiſt him with money, the young prince applied to his uncle the earl of Cornwall; who lent him four thouſand marks to carry on the war. But the heavy rains which fell during the winter,
A. D. 1256. raiſed the rivers ſo much, as to overflow the marſhes; whence the progreſs which he made againſt the enemy was very inconſiderable, and bore no proportion to his ſpirit, or his thirſt after fame.[2]

The Welſh, expoſed to the rapacity of a Farmer General, and their country often ſold to the beſt bidder, experienced another ſevere cauſe of complaint. Sir Geoffry de Langley[3] had been ap-

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 320, 321. [2] Matth. Paris, p. 805.

[3] Brady, p. 721, 810. It is probable that he ſucceeded Alan de Zouch, who had brought into England much treaſure in carts out of Wales.

pointed

pointed to ſuperintend that diſtrict which lies between Cheſter and the water of Conway, and to collect, in behalf of prince Edward, his revenue; the payment of which had been lately impoſed upon the inhabitants of that country.[1] The rigour with which he exacted this talliage, had excited among the Welſh the higheſt diſguſt. Againſt every principle of true policy and juſtice, Edward alſo attempted to introduce, on a ſudden, the Engliſh laws into this part of Wales;[2] and in order to give them proper force and effect, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh courts of juſtice in every hundred, and in every county.[3] The deſign ſpread a general alarm. Horror, and the keeneſt indignation were excited, when the Welſh ſaw an odious and foreign juriſdiction riſing into a ſyſtem on the ruins of their native laws; objects which they loved with a tender affection, and revered with a pious enthuſiaſm; as the types of their ancient glory, and as almoſt the only veſtige which remained of the Britiſh empire. Private injury and partial oppreſſion had hitherto met with partial reſentment. But there is a degree of oppreſſion, which will urge into reſiſtance even men who are cowards by nature, and who are loſt to every ſentiment of virtue. What efforts then might not be expected from the Welſh; a people, brave and iraſcible, and who were bred upon their mountains the indigenous children of freedom?

Such was their ſenſe of injuries and irritated ſpirit, that the Welſh joined Llewelyn in ſuch numbers, that he ſoon raiſed a A. D. 1256. 40th of Henry III.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 805. Brady, p. 620. [2] Brady, p. 605.
[3] Carte's Hiſt. England, vol. II. p. 110, from Chron. Dunſtaple, p. 321.

very formidable force, equipped in all points, and armed agreeably to the cuſtom of the country. For the greater eaſe of procuring proviſions, he divided it into two bodies, each of which conſiſted of thirty thouſand men; attended likewiſe by a ſquadron of five hundred horſe, elegantly appointed and entirely covered with armour. With this formidable force, the Welſh prince laid waſte the frontier, on each ſide of the river Dee to the gates of Cheſter.[1] The prince of England, unable to reſiſt the violence of ſuch a multitude, and which by its own weight had borne down all oppoſition, retreated to his uncle the king of the Romans: by whoſe aſſiſtance, having augmented his forces, he returned into Wales; but was ſtill too weak to encounter, or even to give any check to the progreſs of the Welſh army; although Edward had been lately joined by Gryffydh ap Madoc, the lord of the Lower Powys.[2]

The natives of South Wales, animated with the ſame generous ſpirit, had joined in the common cauſe.[3] In ſupport of this union, Llewelyn made an inroad into that country, and making himſelf maſter of two caſtles, and of ſeveral diſtricts belonging to the enemy, he returned towards North Wales; but was intercepted in the courſe of his march by the prince of England. In attempting to oppoſe the progreſs of the prince of Wales, Edward received a conſiderable check in the Marches, and was obliged to retire before the Welſh army.[4] Purſuing his route,

A. D. 1257. 41ſt of Hen. III.

[1] Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 50. Matth. Paris, p. 805, 806, 810.

[2] This chieftain reſided in the caſtle of Dinas-Bran, near Llangollen in Denbighſhire. Welſh Chron. p. 321.

[3] Holinſhead, p. 255. [4] Matth. Paris, p. 810. Welſh Chron. p. 321, 328.

Llew-

Llewelyn then laid waſte the territories of Gryffydh ap Madoc, in reſentment of his late conduct.[1]

The vanity of Edward was wounded by the diſgrace which his fame as a ſoldier had lately ſuſtained; an affront which he never forgave; and if his ſpirit and ambition prompted him to the conqueſt of the country, he was equally ſpurred on by pride and reſentment againſt Llewelyn, his rival in arms and his competitor for glory. In the ſituation of the two princes, it was not likely that the diſpute would be of long continuance, it muſt ſoon ceaſe by the ruin or by the death of one of the competitors.

The king of the Romans, deſirous of mediating between the two hoſtile powers, ſent a letter to the prince of Wales; mildly requeſting, that he would deſiſt from making any farther depredations. But Llewelyn, taking advantage of the rainy ſeaſon, and knowing that the marſhes were inacceſſible,[2] inſtead of retiring from the field, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Diganwy; on the poſſeſſion of which he muſt know, that the fate of his country would in a great meaſure depend.[3] Alarmed for the ſafety of this important fortreſs, Henry, who had been hitherto an unconcerned ſpectator, reſolved to go into Wales; and in perſon to conduct a war, which had proved ſo unproſperous under the conduct of his ſon. He diſpatched orders to his vaſſals in Ireland, to make a deſcent upon the iſland of Angleſey; that by deſpoiling that country, he might dry up the ſource from whence the

A. D. 1257. 41ſt of Hen. III.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 806. [2] Ibid p. 810. [3] Welſh Chron. p. 321.

Welſh

Welſh had uſually received a great part of their ſuſtenance. He ſummoned all his military tenants in the north, and in the middle of England, to meet him on the eleventh of Auguſt at Cheſter; he likewiſe appointed thoſe of the weſt to aſſemble at Briſtol, with orders to invade South Wales, under the command of the earl of Glouceſter. He was in hopes, that by entering the country in ſeveral places, and in different diviſions, he might diſtract the attention of the enemy, and divide their force.[1]

On the advance of the Engliſh, Llewelyn raiſed the ſiege, and retired acroſs the river to Snowdun; having firſt taken the precaution to break down the bridges, to obſtruct the roads, to plow up the meadows, to render the fords impaſſable, and to remove the women, children, and cattle, with all the proviſions, out of the adjacent country.[2] Henry did not dare to penetrate that formidable barrier; though he was enabled to remain in his poſt until Michaelmas, by means of a fleet belonging to the Cinque Ports, which ſupplied his army with proviſions. His meaſures had been wiſely planned, and this campaign might have given the fatal blow to the independency of Wales, if Henry's orders had been obeyed with fidelity. The Engliſh army in South Wales, inſtead of making a diverſion in his favour, had remained inactive; not without ſuſpicion of treaſon falling on the earl of Glouceſter the general.[3] Llewelyn no ſooner heard of the intention of the Iriſh of making a deſcent upon Angleſey, than he diſpatched ſome veſſels to intercept them; by which

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 322. Matth. Paris, p. 817. Rymer, p. 636.
[2] Matth. Paris, p. 817. [3] Chron. Dunſtaple, p. 325, 326.

their

their fleet was defeated, and forced back into Ireland.[1] The winter coming on, and having ſuffered much by a furious attack which the Welſh had made from the mountains, Henry once again relinquiſhed the field to Llewelyn; and, inſtead of puniſhing a revolting vaſſal, he himſelf, with the broken remains of his army, was obliged to make a precipitate and inglorious retreat to Cheſter.[2] A. D. 1257.

Such was the deſpair, which the late diſgraceful campaign had impreſſed upon the mind of prince Edward, that he was fully determined to relinquiſh his territories in Wales; and alſo to renounce his new ſubjects the Welſh; as a people, who were neither to be ſubdued, nor, by any means in his power, reduced to ſubmiſſion.[3]

If diſgrace and diſcomfiture attended Henry's retreat into England, Llewelyn had likewiſe his ſhare of diſappointment. He had been flattered with the expectation of receiving ſupport out of Scotland; a party in that kingdom having engaged by treaty, that as ſoon as the Welſh were in the field, they would make a diverſion in their favour, by invading the northern borders of England.[4] This deſign being defeated, by a ſudden and deciſive meaſure of the Engliſh king,[5] the prince of Wales found himſelf left, unſupported by any confederate, to ſuſtain the unequal preſſure of the war.

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 815. Welſh Chron. p. 322.
[2] Polidore Virgil, p. 313. Matth. Paris, p. 819.
[3] Matth. Paris, p. 817.
[4] Brady, vol. I. p. 623.
[5] Ibid.

Sensible

Sensible of his danger, and reflecting on the miſerable ſtate of his dominions, as well as on the injury which had ariſen to his ſubjects, from their having been of late deprived of commerce, Llewelyn was induced, as the father of his people, to put an end to their calamities by a peace with England; which ſhould be grounded upon reaſonable conceſſions. With the conſent of his chieftains, he made propoſals, that if a peace was concluded, and if the Welſh were reſtored to their ancient laws, to give a ſum of money to king Henry, and to acknowledge his ſovereignty; but utterly rejected the idea of allegiance, as a duty which he owed to prince Edward. The Engliſh king did not accede to the propoſal.[1] It was not likely that the young prince, affairs having taken a more favourable turn, would be inclined to relinquiſh ſuch valuable territories, and the royal dignity with which he had been lately inveſted. The peculiar reluctance which the Welſh expreſſed to the ſovereignty of Edward, amidſt other motives of conqueſt, may account for the cruel and vindictive ſpirit, with which, in the ſubſequent periods of his life, he purſued this unfortunate nation.

A. D. 1257.

On this refuſal, hoſtilities continued through the winter.

Having ſummoned to his aid all the chieftains in South Wales, who were his military vaſſals, Llewelyn came into the marches and took poſſeſſion of Powys. He baniſhed out of that country Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, one of its chieftains; and received the ſubmiſſion of the other, Gryffydh ap Madoc the

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 819. Brady, p. 622.

lord of Dinas-Bran; who perceiving the fortunes of England ſinking in the ſcale, thought it prudent to return to the duty which he had long deſerted, and to court the protection of his natural ſovereign.[1] Llewelyn then fell with great fury upon the eſtates of the earl of Glouceſter, gained ſeveral caſtles belonging to that nobleman; and overthrew, with conſiderable loſs, a party of Engliſh who ventured to oppoſe him.[2]

TO cruſh this revolt, now raiſed to a formidable head, Henry once again came in perſon againſt Llewelyn; but as if diſgrace and misfortune attended his banners, having only penetrated a little beyond Cheſter, he was obliged to retire with loſs into England; obtaining no other fruits in this inglorious expedition, than the ſatisfaction of deſtroying the corn as he marched through the country.[3]

EARLY in the ſpring a confederacy had been formed by all the nobility in Wales; who, having ſworn fealty[4] to Llewelyn, renewed their engagements, under the moſt ſolemn ties, to vindicate at every peril their injured liberties and laws. By this union, princes may be taught the danger, of tearing up by the roots thoſe habits which are grown venerable by time, and which by long uſage are become dear to a people.[5] A. D. 1257.

THE late events had given a fortunate turn to affairs. The preſent proſperity of the Welſh, the ſpoils they had taken from

1 Welſh Chron. p. 322. Matth. Paris, p. 818. 2 Ibid.
3 Matth. Paris, p. 819, 820. 4 Brit. Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.
5 Matth. Paris, p. 818. Welſh Chron. p. 323.

the enemy, the general confederacy which had been lately renewed, and the return of Gryffydh ap Madoc to his allegiance, had diffuſed through every boſom the hopes of better days. To raiſe theſe hopes into pious confidence, Llewelyn addreſſed his followers in this conſolatory and animating language. "Thus far," ſaid he, "the Lord God of hoſts hath helped "us; for it muſt appear to all that the advantages we have ob-"tained are not to be aſcribed to our own ſtrength, but to the "favour of God, who can as eaſily ſave by *few* as by *many*. "How ſhould we a poor, weak, and unwarlike people com-"pared with the Engliſh, dare to contend with ſo mighty a "power, if God did not patroniſe our cauſe? His eye hath "ſeen our affliction, not only thoſe injuries we have ſuffered "from Geoffry de Langley, but thoſe alſo which we have received "from other cruel inſtruments of Henry and of Edward. From "this moment our *all* is at ſtake. If we fall into the hands "of the enemy, we are to expect no mercy. Let us then ſtand "firm by each other. It is our union alone which can render "us invincible. You ſee in what manner the king of Eng-"land treats his own ſubjects, how he ſeiſes their eſtates, "impoveriſhes their families, and alienates their minds. Will "he then ſpare *us*, after all the provocations we have given him, "and the farther acts of hoſtility and revenge which we "meditate againſt him? No, it is evidently his intention to "blot out our name from under the face of heaven. Is it not "better then at once to die, and go to God, than to live for a "time at the capricious will of another, and at laſt to ſuffer "ſome ignominious death aſſigned us by an inſulting enemy?"

Animated

Animated by this oration, the Welſh infeſted the Engliſh Borders with inceſſant inroads; in the courſe of their ravages, by fire, by the ſword, and by plunder, they rendered the frontier a ſcene of deſolation.[1]

In the courſe of theſe hoſtilities, the confederates made an inroad into Pembroke, and laid waſte that country; they likewiſe had the good fortune to meet with ſalt, a convenience they had much wanted ever ſince their brine works had been deſtroyed by king Henry.[2]

Though proſperity had of late attended the arms of Llewelyn, and a generous ſpirit had ariſen among the chieftains in Wales, yet ſuch was the miſerable ſtate of his country, that the Welſh prince was ſtill inclined to renew his propoſals for peace. The Engliſh king acceded to the terms which were offered by Llewelyn, and agreed to a truce for one year.[3] His own ſituation rendered a peace equally neceſſary to him. He, at this time, was deeply entangled in diſputes with his barons: the country, too, along the marches of England, had been ruined by the ravages of war: the whole confine was become a deſert, without buildings, cattle, or inhabitants.[4] A. D. 1258. 42d of Henry III.

It may raiſe our ſurpriſe, that a prince like Llewelyn, poſſeſſing vigour of mind and deciſion in conduct, at a time when England was weak and internally convulſed, did not take ad-

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 819. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 323. [3] Rymer, vol. I. p. 658.
[4] Matth. Paris, p. 822. Holinſhead, p. 257.

vantage of this fortunate juncture, and of the riſing ſpirit of his country, to fix upon a permanent baſis, by wiſe meaſures and deciſive operations, its newly recovered independence. The ſpirit of a people, however ardent at firſt, and riſing from the ſpur of oppreſſion, will inſenſibly die away, if not kept alive by a courſe of activity and enterpriſe; and he might have known, that in this perilous criſis, the decline of that generous ſpirit, like the extinction of the *Veſtal fire*, would be the omen of his country's ruin.

The ties of union thus looſened, and the hurry of action no longer engaging an eager or capricious ſpirit, Meredydh ap Rhys, an eminent chieftain in South Wales,* not regarding the oath he had lately taken, revolted from the Welſh confederacy, and eſpouſed the intereſts of the Engliſh king.[1]

In order to confirm or enlarge the late truce, or to conclude a peace upon a laſting baſis, prince Edward ſent Patrick de Canton, attended by the late revolted chieftain, into Wales; to confer on that buſineſs, with the Welſh commiſſioners, at Emlyn, in the preſent county of Caermarthen. David, the brother of the prince of Wales, who had been lately releaſed out of priſon, appeared at the head of the deputies in behalf of Llewelyn. The Engliſh commiſſioner, having underſtood that his own followers were ſuperior in number to the Welſh, could

* This chieftain was the ſon of Rhys ap Rhys, and was the grandſon of Rhys ap Gryffydh, the laſt prince of South Wales.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 323.

not

not refrain, on this opportunity, from indulging the innate deteſtation in which he held that nation. To gratify this ſpirit, he ſtationed his party in a convenient ſituation upon the road; and, ſuddenly aſſaulting Llewelyn's commiſſioners, put many of them to the ſword; the chiefs only eſcaping the perfidy of the Engliſh by a precipitate flight. Fired with reſentment, David, with the chieftains who attended him, having raiſed the power of the country, ſeverely revenged this perfidious conduct, by cutting in pieces Patrick and a great number of his followers.[1] This tranſaction ſtrongly marks in the Engliſh an inveteracy of ſpirit; and marks alſo the feeble hold which the claims of the Welſh had upon the juſtice of Henry; when we ſee that prince, inſtead of vindicating the honour of his crown, by puniſhing ſo flagrant a violation of national faith, affecting to ſhew reſentment againſt Llewelyn, for an act of retaliation ſo natural and juſt.

Such, however, was the deſire of the Welſh prince for peace, or ſuch the ſituation of his affairs, that he once again renewed his propoſals to Henry for a truce; and more effectually to conciliate his favour, he offered to give that king four thouſand marks, three hundred to his ſon Edward, and two hundred to the queen.[2] The late affair, with a ſenſe of former loſſes, had ſo exaſperated Henry, that he at firſt refuſed to enter into any terms of accommodation.[3] At length a truce was ſettled for

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 324. Matth. Paris, p. 838. [2] Matth. Paris, p. 841.
[3] Matth. Paris, p. 841.

a year,

A. D. 1259. 43d of Henry III. a year, and ratified by the commiſſioners of the two princes at the Ford of Montgomery.[1]

The ſpirit of patriotiſm which had ſo lately animated every boſom, and had afforded a ray of hope that the ſufferings of this injured people would at length find a period, appears, at this time, to be nearly extinguiſhed. The biſhop of Bangor, at the deſire of the Welſh nobility, was ſent by the prince of Wales to ſolicit peace from king Henry; and to offer that monarch ſixteen thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, provided that his ſubjects might enjoy their ancient cuſtoms and laws, and might have all their diſputes heard, and legally determined at Cheſter.[2] In this negociation, nothing farther was concluded,

A. D. 1260. than the continuation of the truce for one year, which was ratified by the commiſſioners of the two princes at Oxford.[3]

Sir Roger Mortimer, governor of the caſtle of Buellt, which he held under prince Edward, attended, in purſuance of a ſummons, his duty in the Engliſh parliament. Under the alledged reaſon, that contrary to his oath that nobleman had ſupported the Engliſh cauſe, Llewelyn ſurpriſed in the night his fortreſs, in breach of the truce then ſubſiſting; and continuing his route into South Wales, committed in that country great depredations.[4] Inſinuations on this account having been thrown out againſt the conduct of Sir Roger Mortimer, who was a near relation

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 324. Rymer, p. 684.
[2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 148. Welſh Chron. p. 325. Holinſhead, p. 261.
[3] Rymer, p. 708. [4] Welſh Chron. p. 325. Rymer, p. 705.

to

to Llewelyn; it was thought neceſſary that an inquiry ſhould be made into that affair. Accordingly he was called before the Engliſh council, where he was fully acquitted; though very much to the diſſatisfaction of prince Edward, who formally entered his proteſt againſt the deciſion of that aſſembly.[1]

To check this riſing ſpirit of revolt, and to chaſtiſe the Welſh for the late infraction of the peace, ſummonſes were ſent to the earls of Hereford and Glouceſter, to aſſemble with their followers on a certain day at Shrewſbury. The like notices were alſo ſent to all the tenants who held of the king in capite; in the ſeveral counties of York, Lancaſter, Rutland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland; of Lincoln, Leiceſter, Nottingham, Derby, and Warwick; to form a junction at Cheſter, and from thence to aſſiſt in carrying on the war. The thunders of the church were likewiſe pointed at the head of Llewelyn. That prince was excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict, in default of immediate reſtitution and reparation of damages.[2] This formidable army was commanded by Simon de Montford earl of Leiceſter. That general, finding the ſummer too far advanced to purſue his operations, or, what is more probable, influenced by a ſecret inclination to the enemy's cauſe, adviſed the court of England to grant a peace to Llewelyn; he likewiſe did not prevent the Welſh prince at the ſame time from committing depredations in South Wales.[3]

[1] Rymer, p. 706, 707, 708. [2] Rymer, p. 708.
[3] Rymer, vol. I. p. 709, 710, 711. Guthrie's Engliſh Hiſt. p. 789.

It is aſſerted, that Llewelyn diſperſed the riſing ſtorm, by diſavowing the fact which gave occaſion to the war, and by employing the biſhop of Bangor to ſolicit a renewal of the truce.[1] It is certain, however, that a truce was ſettled for one year longer between the two princes at the Ford of Montgomery. In this treaty, the conditions of peace concluded at Oxford were ratified: That each party ſhould keep poſſeſſion of their eſtates, vaſſals, and caſtles: That the fords ſhould not be ſtopped, nor any other communication, nor the woods be cut down; and that the caſtles of Diganwy and Diſerth, then in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions as occaſion might require.[2] It is worthy of remark, that two ſets of commiſſions were iſſued, to the ſame effect, and in the ſame words; except that in the one, the name of prince Edward was joined to that of his father; but in the other commiſſion his name was omitted. This was probably owing to an idea, that as the Welſh had conceived much jealouſy of, and diſlike to the young prince, the inſertion of his name, as a contracting party, might be ſome impediment to the treaty.[3]

A. D. 1261. 45th of Henry III.

A party of the Welſh, under the direction of their prince, and in violation of the late treaty, having ſuddenly taken and demoliſhed the caſtle of Melienyth in the county of Radnor, a fortreſs belonging to Sir Roger Mortimer; that nobleman came to its relief, attended by a great body of lords and knights; and, finding no enemy to oppoſe his deſign, he ſtationed himſelf

[1] Rymer, vol. I. p. 718. [2] Rymer, vol. I. p. 718.
[3] Carte's Hiſt. England. Guthrie's Hiſt. England.

within its ruins. In this ſituation, he was ſuddenly inveſted by Llewelyn. Finding his poſt untenable, Mortimer ſent to the Welſh prince for licence to evacuate the caſtle. It was a ſtrange requeſt for an open enemy, or a ſuſpected traitor to make. With a gallantry of ſpirit, which might have been derived from the pureſt ideas of chivalry, Llewelyn allowed him to depart out of the diſmantled fortreſs without any moleſtation. The prince of Wales then proceeded to Brecknock, at the requeſt of the inhabitants of that country; and having received their oaths of fidelity, he returned to Aber, ſituated under *Penmaen Mawr*, a palace between Conway and Bangor, in which he occaſionally reſided.[1] A. D. 1261.

The truce appears to have been continued between the two nations upon principles of equal juſtice, and, in ſome degree, upon the footing of independent ſtates.[2] Theſe treaties ſucceſſively renewed, did not reſult ſo much from any moderation in the politics of England, as from the neceſſities of Henry, and from the nature of his government, which was weak and ſtrongly convulſed. A. D. 1262.

At this time Henry was ſick in France The earl of Leiceſter, then attending the Engliſh king, and who had been deeply engaged in oppoſition to that prince, taking advantage of his indiſpoſition, paſſed over into England; to reanimate his party, and to take meaſures for renewing the troubles of the nation.[3]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 325, 326. Camden's Brit. Gibſon's edit. p. 585.
[2] Rymer, p. 739, 750. [3] Matth. Weſtm. p. 149.

Though the earl did not remain long in the country, he ſeems then to have formed the confederacy, which long after ſubſiſted between himſelf and the prince of Wales.[1] The immediate effects reſulting from this treaty were of conſiderable advantage to the intereſts of Wales; though of leſs importance than might have been expected, if Llewelyn had waited until time had fully ripened the enterpriſe.

A. D. 1263. 47th of Hen. III.

The Chriſtmas holidays were ſcarcely over, when the prince of Wales, with three hundred horſe, and thirty thouſand infantry, fell upon the marches of England; and having ravaged the country as far as Wigmore, gained poſſeſſion of two caſtles, the property of Sir Roger Mortimer.[2] Though Mortimer was not able to oppoſe the main body of the enemy, he was not wanting to himſelf on this occaſion; but calling to his aſſiſtance the lords of the marches, he attacked the detached parties of the Welſh, killing great numbers of them in various rencounters.[3] For theſe loſſes the prince of Wales took ample revenge, having had the good fortune to cut off a like number of the Engliſh.[4] It does not appear that Llewelyn, in this expedition, committed any ravages, but on thoſe eſtates which belonged to Sir Roger Mortimer, and to other lords who adhered to the king's cauſe. Having waſted their territories with fire and ſword, he marched his forces into the earldom of Cheſter, to make the like depredations in Edward's dominions.[5]

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 851. [2] Rymer, p. 754.
[3] Holinſhead, p. 263. [4] Ibid. [5] Matth. Paris, p. 851.

The

The war becoming now alarming, Henry, who was returned into his own kingdom, ſent an order to his ſon to come immediately into England; the young prince being at this time in France, amuſing himſelf in *jouſts* and *tournaments*, agreeably to the taſte of this military age.[1] Edward, placing no confidence in the Engliſh nobility, engaged in his ſervice one hundred foreign knights; who, deſerting the ſemblance of war, were deſirous of ſignaliſing themſelves in more perilous encounters.

On his arrival in England, Edward loſt no time in marching againſt Llewelyn. His preſence was highly neceſſary to check that prince's career. For beſides the dreadful devaſtations he had committed on the territories of Edward, through which he had marched, the prince of Wales had already taken the caſtle of Diſerth, and the important fortreſs of Diganwy.[2] Theſe poſts were immediately deſtroyed. The latter had been of the utmoſt value to the Engliſh, and highly dangerous to the ſafety of Wales. Situated on the coaſt, it was open to receive a continual ſupply of proviſion and ſoldiers; and, commanding one of the principal paſſes into Wales over the water of Conway, its garriſon was enabled to cut off the excurſionary parties of the Welſh; and, being likewiſe a place of great ſtrength, in point of ſituation and ſtructure, it afforded to the Engliſh a ſecure retreat upon any diſaſter. A. D. 1263.

On the approach of the Engliſh prince, Llewelyn paſſed the Conway, and ſheltered himſelf amidſt the mountains of Snowdun.

[1] Rymer, p. 755. [2] J. Roſſi. Ant. p. 162. M. Paris, p. 851. M. Weſt. p. 149.

There was no attacking the enemy in ſo difficult a poſt; and, fortunately for Edward, as his pride might have been wounded by the iſſue of the campaign, he was recalled by his father on an affair of importance.[1]

The caſtle of Mold, another place of ſtrength upon the frontier, and uſually in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, was taken and demoliſhed by Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, at this time returned to his allegiance to the prince of Wales.[2] Theſe three caſtles being taken, the Engliſh confine was rendered almoſt defenceleſs. The reduction of theſe fortreſſes, ſtrong by art and nature, lying upon the frontier, and ſituated near the ſea, was an event glorious to Llewelyn, and of the utmoſt importance to his country. And if this nation had not been ſinking into ruin with a force too powerful to be reſiſted, it might, by theſe important ſucceſſes, have continued ſome ages longer an illuſtrious monument to the world, of what men are capable of performing, whoſe native ſpirit is ſharpened by injuries, and who, amidſt the receſſes of their mountains, are contending for freedom.

A. D. 1263.

The diſcontented humours, which had been long forming among the Engliſh, were now come to a head; and under the guidance of Simon de Montford the earl of Leiceſter, had broken out into a dangerous rebellion. The two ſons of Montford were diſpatched by their father with a ſtrong body of forces, to cooperate with Llewelyn in his ravages on the Borders.[3] The con-

[1] Holinſhead, p. 264. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 162.
[2] Welſh Chron. p. 326.
[3] Carte's Hiſt. England, vol. I. p. 141.

federate

federate army, for a time, made a dreadful progreſs, though oppoſed by Mortimer and other Lords of the marches, and at length took the caſtle of Radnor, and burned it to the ground.[1] A. D. 1263. 47th of Hen. III. As ſoon as Edward was informed of theſe hoſtilities, he made a haſty march from London to the aſſiſtance of Mortimer, then inveſted by the enemy in the caſtle of Wigmore. That fortreſs was ſoon after taken by the Welſh, but not before Mortimer had made his eſcape; who fled for protection to prince Edward, then arrived at Hereford.[2] Purſuing his route, the Engliſh prince took the caſtles of Hay, Huntington, and Brecknock; the cuſtody of which he committed to Sir Roger Mortimer.[3] The operations on both ſides were ſuddenly interrupted by a truce; during which time a treaty was to be carried on between the king and the barons, in the preſence of the French ambaſſador.[4] In this treaty, a remiſſion of offences took place, in which Llewelyn was included as the confederate of Simon de Montford.[5] A. D. 1264.

THE chance of war at the battle of Lewes, had thrown the king of England and his ſon Edward, into the hands of the earl of Leiceſter.[6] A. D. 1264. 48th of Hen. III. To ſubdue the only enemies which were now able to reſiſt his arms, that general marched towards the Borders of Wales, and carried Henry with him as a pageant of ſtate; thinking that the preſence of his ſovereign would give a ſanction to his own proceedings, and contribute to the credit and ſupport of the confederacy. Sir Roger Mortimer, and the other lords

[1] Holinſhead, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193. [2] Ibid.
[3] Holinſhead, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193. Matth. Paris, p. 851.
[4] Rymer, p. 775, 780. [5] Ibid. p. 782, 783, 784. [6] Matth. Paris, p. 853.

en-

engaged in the royal cauſe, expecting to be attacked by Simon de Montford, had broken down the bridge at Worceſter; and having deſtroyed the ferry-boats on the Severn, they encamped on the oppoſite banks of the river.[1] Theſe precautions prevented the earl of Leiceſter from penetrating farther than Worceſter. The entrance into the country was ſoon opened by Llewelyn, his friend and his ally; who, by a ſudden inroad upon the Engliſh Borders, diverted the attention, and weakened the operations of the lords of the marches.[2]

The confederate army, under the command of the two leaders, having left prince Edward a priſoner in the city of Hereford, ravaged the eſtates of Sir Roger Mortimer; and, taking the caſtles
A. D. 1265. of Hay and Ludlow, proceeded to Montgomery.[3] An admonitory bull was iſſued by Ottobani the legate to the Welſh prince; requiring him to reſtore the caſtles which he had taken, and to withdraw from the confederacy. This mandate did not produce the deſired effect. The lords of the marches, therefore, yielding to a ſuperior force, and deſirous of obtaining the liberty of Edward, ſubmitted to the earl of Leiceſter. They agreed to ſurrender to him their eſtates and their caſtles, and to relinquiſh the
A. D. 1265. realm for one year.[4] Soon after this treaty, a general peace was concluded between Llewelyn and the earl of Leiceſter, at a conference which they held for that purpoſe at Hereford.[5]

[1] Chronica, T. Wykes, p. 68.
[2] Brady, p. 648. Annal. Waverleienſis, p. 220.
[3] Matth. Paris, p. 854. [4] Brady, p. 648. [5] Rymer, p. 814.

In

In the courſe of the late tranſactions, David the brother of the prince of Wales, deſerting the duty which he owed to his ſovereign, had fled into England, and had engaged in the intereſts of Henry. And taking an active part againſt the confederates, in conjunction with lord Audley, and with other barons in the Marches, he was defeated at Cheſter with conſiderable loſs.[1] Though levity of temper and a turbulent ſpirit, have hitherto directed the conduct of this prince, and diſgraced the tenor of his life, a ray of returning virtue will brighten its declining period.

Dissatisfied no doubt with the late peace, prince Edward, who ſince his captivity had reſided in the Engliſh court at Hereford, eſcaped out of the power of the earl of Leiceſter.[2] The young prince was inſtantly joined by the lords of the Marches; who recovering the poſſeſſion of their own fortreſſes, made themſelves maſters of all the country between Hereford and Cheſter.[3] By a ſudden and rapid movement of the enemy, Leiceſter found himſelf ſurrounded by different bodies of troops. In this ſituation, he had no other reſource, than to throw himſelf into the arms of Llewelyn. That prince, reſolving to make every advantage of the preſent conjuncture, demanded, as the only condition of affording him protection, a full reſtitution to the inheritance and the dignity of his anceſtors. Under the ſanction of the king's name, the ſovereignty of Wales was reſtored to Llewelyn, with the homage of all the Welſh barons; he received a grant alſo of the lordſhip of Whittington and the

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 326. [2] Chron. Thomas Wykes, p. 67.
[3] Matth. Paris, p. 855. Rymer, p. 810.

hundred

A. D. 1265. 49th of Henry III.

hundred of Eleſmere; with the caſtles of Matilda, Hawarden and Montgomery.[1] To ſtrengthen the union, and to render it more laſting, the earl of Leiceſter made an offer to the prince of Wales of his daughter Eleanor. This alliance coincided too well with his preſent and future views to be rejected by Llewelyn.[2]

There is often a turn in human affairs, ariſing from ſudden contingencies, which neither ſagacity can foreſee, nor power can prevent; and which, if taken up with ſpirit and wiſely conducted, leads on to proſperity, and marks in the agent a conſiderable degree of political wiſdom. Thus Llewelyn obtained in a fortunate moment, by his own ſpirit and judgment, acting on the nice and peculiar ſituation of Henry, the ſovereignty of Wales, and an extenſion of territory; objects which many of his anceſtors, the moſt able and brave, had negociated and fought for in vain.

In conſequence of this treaty, Llewelyn made an inroad into Glamorgan, the territory of the earl of Glouceſter; he likewiſe ſent a body of Welſh to form a junction with Leiceſter, to enable him to extend his quarters, or to force his way through the enemy.[3] Leiceſter reaped no advantage either from the diverſion made in his favour, or from the Welſh forces which had joined him. Having retired to Newport, he was there inveſted by Edward; and was ſo powerfully aſſaulted by that prince,

[1] Rymer, p. 814. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 219.
[2] Chronica de Mailros, p. 234. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 219.
[3] Thomas Wykes, p. 68, 69. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 219.

that his ruin muſt have been inevitable, had he not ſtolen away with his army in the dead of night; which, being very ſtormy, favoured the enterpriſe. He had the good fortune to eſcape from the enemy, and to arrive within the territories of Llewelyn. The manner of living to which the Welſh were accuſtomed, chiefly on fleſh and milk, and without much bread, not agreeing with his ſoldiers, his army daily conſumed away. To preſerve the remainder, Leiceſter was forced to relinquiſh the country; and traverſing through woods and mountainous roads, he at length with much difficulty made good his retreat, and regained his former ſituation at Hereford.[1]

THE victory obtained by prince Edward at the battle of Eveſham,[2] gave liberty to Henry his father, and reſtored the tranquillity of England. But the death of Montford, the enlivening ſpirit of the whole, was a fatal blow to the confederacy. After ſome ſlight reſiſtance, the malecontent barons laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to king Henry; their ſpirit being entirely ſubdued, or ſoftened down by the moderation of his conduct. The Engliſh monarch had now leiſure to look back on the part which had been acted by Llewelyn. He had ſeen with a jealous eye that prince, through the courſe of the war, ably fomenting the diſcontents, and powerfully aſſiſting the arms of the revolted lords; and it was now determined, before

A. D. 1265. 48th of Hen. III.

[1] Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 69.

[2] The Welſh, who had reinforced the army of the earl of Leiceſter, accuſtomed to a more deſultory kind of war, fled very early from the field of battle, and were purſued with great ſlaughter. Henry de Knyghton, p. 2453.

the army was diſbanded, that the prince of Wales ſhould feel the whole weight of Henry's reſentment.[1]

In purſuance of this deſign, the king of England came with an army to Shrewſbury. Llewelyn, without an ally to ſupport him, was not able to reſiſt ſo formidable an enemy; and rather than to hazard his crown, the luſtre of which he had lately reſtored, upon an iſſue ſo precarious and unequal, he thought it more prudent to appeaſe Henry's reſentment by an early ſubmiſſion.[2]

A. D. 1267. A treaty in conſequence took place, by the mediation of Ottobani the legate; which marked the mild tenor of Henry's temper, and was more favourable to Llewelyn's intereſts, than might have been expected from a ſovereign, warm with reſentment, and giving law to a rebellious vaſſal, and a ſuppliant enemy. The conditions of the treaty were the following: That all lands ſhould be reſtored on both ſides, and that the laws or cuſtoms of the marches ſhould ſtill be preſerved: That Henry ſhould grant unto Llewelyn and to his heirs, the principality of Wales; that they ſhould always be ſtiled the princes of Wales, and ſhould receive the homage and fealty of all the Welſh barons, who were to hold their eſtates of them in capite; except the homage of Meredydh ap Rhys of South Wales, which the king reſerved to himſelf and his heirs. The king likewiſe granted to Llewelyn the four inland cantrevs, to

[1] Brady, p. 663. Matth. Paris, p. 857. [2] Ibid.

hold them in as abſolute a manner as ever the king and his heirs had poſſeſſed them. For theſe privileges, Llewelyn, and his ſucceſſors, were to ſwear fealty; to do homage, and to perform the uſual ſervices, due to the king and his heirs, as they had been paid at any time to the crown of England; and he was alſo required to pay to the king twenty-five thouſand marks.[1] The peace was concluded at the caſtle of Montgomery, and ratified by the king in perſon; and it likewiſe received, at the hands of the legate, the ſanction of the Pope's authority.[2] It is with pleaſure that we ſurvey this gallant nation, ſo long the ſport of fortune and the victims of ambition, recover, in ſome degree, the importance of their ſtation; and, freed at length from the arms of a potent enemy, left to enjoy their freedom, for a ſeaſon, in the boſom of their native mountains. A. D. 1267.

The ſtate of affairs in England no longer requiring his preſence, prince Edward engaged in a croiſade to the Holy Land; hurried along by that fatal tide, which had for almoſt two centuries deluged the eaſt. On that elevated ſtage his ſplendid talents enabled him to perform a graceful and diſtinguiſhed part. And during the time that this prince was employed in Syria, in a romantic purſuit after glory, the Welſh nation enjoyed a ſeaſon of unuſual tranquillity; a deluſive A. D. 1268.

[1] Hen. de Knyghton de Even. Ang. p. 2436. Matth. Weſtm. p. 164. Rymer, p. 843, 844. Matth. Paris, p. 857, ſays £32,000. Welſh Chron. p. 327. [2] Ibid.

In this year [A. D. 1270] died Gryffydh the lord of Dinas-Bran, and was buried in the abbey which his father had erected in the Vale of Crucis near Llangollen. Welſh Chron. p. 327.

calm, which was no more than the preſage of impending calamities.

A. D. 1273. 56th year of his reign.

Having compoſed the inteſtine diviſions which had long convulſed his kingdom, and in the boſom of peace, died Henry the third, king of England. His eldeſt ſon Edward, at this time fighting in Paleſtine, ſucceeded to the throne.

A. D. 1273.

On the death of the late king, a ſummons was immediately diſpatched by the regency of England to Llewelyn prince of Wales, with orders for him to repair to the Ford of Montgomery; and there to take the oaths of fealty and allegiance to the abſent king. Llewelyn thought proper to pay no obedience to the ſummons.[1] And ſome time after, the Engliſh monarch himſelf, matured in the arts of policy, and renowned for

A. D. 1274.

exploits in arms, returned into his own dominions; where he early entered upon that career of glory, ſo beneficial to his own empire, but ſo fatal to Wales.[2]

Soon after the arrival of that prince in London, he was ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter. The king of Scotland, as the feudatory of Edward, did homage to the Engliſh monarch; and with the duke of Bretagne, graced the coronation with his preſence.[3] To perform the like duties of homage and fealty, the prince of Wales received a ſummons to appear immediately at Shrewſbury; but he refuſed to quit his dominions,

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 2, 3. [2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 171. [3] Ibid.

and

and to venture his ſafety in the territories of a monarch, ſo hoſtile to him, unleſs hoſtages were given for the ſecurity of his perſon. The pledges he demanded were Edmund the king's brother, the earl of Glouceſter, and the chief juſtice of England.[1] This refuſal was rendered ſtill more diſagreeable to Edward, as he was likely to be deprived of another fruit of vaſſalage; for Llewelyn ſeemed, at this time, determined to ſolemniſe his marriage with Eleanor de Montford, though he had not obtained the king's conſent.[2] The Pope, likewiſe, appeared ſo ſenſible of the juſtice of his plea, that he inhibited the archbiſhop of Canterbury from iſſuing any papal cenſure againſt Llewelyn.[3] When the nature of his ſituation is conſidered, the caution of the Welſh prince was juſtified upon the principle of ſelf-preſervation. In the boſoms of the two princes, jealouſy and hatred had long mingled with the love of glory and the deſire of dominion: David and Roderic the younger brothers of the prince of Wales, were entertained in the court of England: many Welſh chieftains, alſo, who had fled from the juſtice of their country, were under the protection of Edward; and, influenced by every motive of hope and deſpair, muſt have been anxious to promote the deſtruction of their ſovereign: Llewelyn, likewiſe, too well remembered the fate of his father Gryffydh, to place any confidence in the protection or honour of the Engliſh.[4] He ſurely, then, when intereſt and hatred conſpired his ruin, would have been guilty of folly and

[1] Rymer, p. 41. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 162.
[2] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462. Welſh Chron. p. 328.
[3] Rymer, vol. II. p. 35. Matth. Weſtm. p. 171. [4] Rymer, vol. II. p. 35.

raſhneſs

raſhneſs in the extreme; if he had hazarded a life, of ſuch importance to his country, on no better ſecurity than the courteous ideas of the age, or the fluctuating principles of political integrity.

The king of England was now in a delicate ſituation; he was unwilling to relinquiſh his claim of vaſſalage, and yet was not at preſent ſufficiently prepared to enforce it by arms. But his genius directed him to purſue a wiſe and a middle line of conduct. He repaired, late in the year, to Cheſter, and ſummoned Llewelyn to do homage at Shrewſbury; but the Welſh prince ſtill continued firm in his refuſal to appear without a ſafe conduct, and hoſtages for the due obſervance of it.[1] Early
A. D. 1275. in the next year, a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, and the prince of Wales was again ſummoned to make his appearance in that aſſembly, and to take the oaths of allegiance.[2] He refuſed alſo to pay obedience to this ſummons, on the grounds which he had heretofore alledged.[3]

Engaged in correcting the diſorders of the kingdom, and inſtituting ſalutary laws, Edward, for the preſent, affected to diſſemble his reſentment againſt Llewelyn; and repairing to Cheſter, he again ſummoned the Welſh prince to do homage,[4] who ſtill refuſed his compliance. He likewiſe rejected three other mandates of the like nature; one of which was dated in October in the ſame year, and the two others very early in

[1] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Rymer, vol. II. p. 57. [2] Ibid.
[3] Holinſhead, p. 278. [4] Rymer, vol. II. p. 57.

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the year following.[1] To juſtify theſe refuſals ſtill more, to the clergy and to the world, he ſent a memorial by the abbots of Conway and Strata-Florida, to be delivered into the hands of the archbiſhops of York and Canterbury, and of other biſhops who were then aſſembled in convocation.[2] There is a native ſimplicity which runs through the whole of this memorial,[3] reciting his grievances and juſtifying his conduct, which pleads more ably the cauſe of the Welſh prince, than could have been effected by the exerciſe of the fineſt talents.

THE tenor of Edward's conduct with reſpect to Llewelyn, did not delude the ſagacity of that prince. He ſaw, that a blow was meditating by the Engliſh king, which, though ſuſpended for a time, would be the more ſevere, and would fall with greater weight upon his country, from the coolneſs, the delay, and increaſing power of that firm and ſagacious monarch.

LLEWELYN, therefore, thought it prudent, at this time, to fulfil an engagement which he had formerly made; and to enter into an alliance with a family, which might yield him ſupport againſt the formidable power of his rival. In the courſe of the late war, he had been betrothed to Eleanor the daughter of Simon de Montford, and niece* to king Henry;

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. p. 68.

[2] Wynne's Hiſtory of Wales, p. 280. Welſh Chron. p. 329, 330.

[3] See Appendix, No. II.

* Her father Simon de Montford, eſpouſed Eleanor, dowager of William earl of Pembroke, and ſiſter to Henry the third. Matth. Paris, p. 314.

and

and who, at that time, it is probable, was too young to ſolémnize the marriage. On the death of her father, the young lady had retired into the monaſtery of Montargis in France. In this court her mother the counteſs of Leiceſter, and her brother the heir of the family, lived in great ſplendour.[1] The adherents of the houſe of Montford were ſtill powerful in England; and the fame of the Engliſh monarch, had made him the object of jealouſy with the French king. To unite the views of the two parties in ſupport of his intereſt, or ſtruck with the reputation of her charms, now riſing into full beauty, the prince of Wales demanded of the king of France the daughter of the late earl of Leiceſter. Philip with much facility granted his requeſt; and Llewelyn waited in impatient expectation of his bride.[2] But the pleaſing ideas, which the proſpect of his approaching nuptials afforded to Llewelyn, were on a ſudden imbittered by diſappointment, and loſt in the ruder avocations of war.

A. D. 1276. Early in this year, the young lady, who was couſin to the Engliſh king, attended by her brother Amaury, a clergyman, ſet ſail for the coaſt of Wales to ſolemnize her marriage with Llewelyn; but near the iſles of Scilly ſhe had the misfortune to be taken priſoner by four ſhips from the port of Briſtol, and was conveyed to the court of England. Inſtead of yielding up this lady into the hands of her lover, which the ideas of the age might have ſuggeſted, and which prudence too as well as

[1] Polidore Virgil, p. 321. Matth. Weſt. p. 171. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 104.
[2] Ibid.

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the laws of chivalry demanded, ſhe was detained in the Engliſh court in an honourable attendance on the queen.[1] Her brother, likewiſe, was kept in confinement many years in the caſtles of Corfe and Sherburn; nor did he at length obtain his liberty, until demanded by the Pope as his chaplain; and after he had taken an oath that he would relinquiſh the realm, and would never be concerned in any commotion in the kingdom.[2]

After ſo deciſive a conduct, as the detention of Eleanor de Montford, all lenient meaſures, and the arts of expediency were weak, deluſive and fruitleſs. Edward now determined to exert every effort, which his power and his talents afforded, to obtain, what had long been the object of his ambition or policy, the entire conqueſt of Wales. Before meaſures were taken to carry this deſign into execution, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with other prelates and lords of the realm, deſired Edward, that as the laſt expedient, he would afford to Llewelyn one other opportunity of acknowledging the ſovereignty of England, and of yielding to its orders unconditional obedience. With this deſign, the archdeacon of Canterbury was ſent into Wales, with an injunction to the Welſh prince, that he ſhould appear in the Engliſh court, and ſhould there perform the cuſtomary duties of a vaſſal.[3] But at this time Llewelyn was in arms, and had ravaged the Engliſh Borders; reſenting the late conduct of Edward, and alive to the feelings of an injured prince, deeply wounded by the captivity of his much loved Eleanor.[4]

[1] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 231, 232. [2] Rymer, vol. II. p. 144, 193, 197.
[3] Rymer, vol. II. p. 68. [4] Polidore Virgil, p. 321. Holinſhead, p. 278.

The archdeacon of Canterbury was ordered to make his report to the parliament enſuing, which was to be held on the thirteenth
A. D. 1276. of October. In the mean time the prince of Wales ſent letters to the king, ſignifying that he would come either to Montgomery or Oſweſtry to perform his homage; provided a ſafe conduct was allowed him, under the ſanction of the archbiſhop and archdeacon of Canterbury, the biſhop of Winton, and five other Engliſh lords.[1] He likewiſe demanded that the king ſhould confirm the articles of peace which had been concluded between Henry the third and himſelf; and that he ſhould deliver into his hands Eleanor de Montford, the lady to whom he was contracted, as well as her retinue; all of whom, he aſſerted, had been detained in cuſtody contrary to the faith of nations.[2] Theſe juſt and ſimple demands excited in the Engliſh parliament a general indignation. They granted a fifteenth of moveables to enable the king to reduce Llewelyn by force of arms; the prelates, likewiſe, gave him a voluntary ſubſidy; though their zeal in this inſtance did not riſe above their prudence; as they made a proviſion, that in future it ſhould not be drawn into precedent. In the preſence of the Engliſh monarch, ſitting in his court, with the lords of his council, the judges, and a great number of biſhops, earls, and barons, the whole proceſs was read on Novem-
A. D. 1276. ber the twelfth; and ſentence was pronounced upon Llewelyn for contumacy, for violation of the peace between him and the late king, and for the hoſtilities which he had lately committed in the marches. It was there determined to proceed againſt him as a contumacious vaſſal, and as a traitor to his ſovereign. It

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 68. [2] Ibid.

was

was likewiſe reſolved in the ſame aſſembly, that all the military tenants of the crown ſhould be ſummoned to appear at Worceſter, on the midſummer following, with horſes and arms, ſuitably equipped for an expedition into Wales; that in the mean time, the marches ſhould be well guarded, and the forts ſupplied with ammunition; that the king ſhould prohibit all his ſubjects in England, Ireland, and Guienne, from holding any correſpondence with Llewelyn, or his adherents; from giving them any aſſiſtance, or ſupplying them with any proviſions; and whoever violated this prohibition, was to be adjudged an adherent to the public enemies of the king and kingdom, and to ſuffer accordingly.[1]

The authority of the church of Rome was not ſilent on this ſolemn occaſion. In this inſtance the prince of Wales experienced the verſatility of her conduct. The archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent a letter to Llewelyn, and threatened him with the ſevereſt cenſures which the clergy were able to inflict; and a few months after, his perſon was excommunicated, and his dominions laid under an interdict.[2]

In the late negociation, the prince of Wales had offered to the Engliſh king a large ſum of money as a ranſom for Eleanor de Montford. Edward, on his part, refuſed to reſtore her, unleſs the Welſh prince would reinſtate the former proprietors in the

[1] Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2462. Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 185, from Pat. 4, Ed. I. m. 6. Rymer, vol. II. p. 72—75.

[2] Rymer, vol. II. p. 71, 79.

poſſeſſion of thoſe eſtates which he had lately taken from them, and would alſo repair the caſtles he had demoliſhed.[1] However ardent his deſire of obtaining poſſeſſion of the lady might be, the duty which he owed to his country prevailed, and Llewelyn rejected the propoſal with diſdain. Upon which, the two princes proceeded in their preparations for war.

A. D. 1276. 2d of Edw. I.

EARLY in the ſpring, Edward had ſent into the marches a detachment of three hundred horſe well appointed, to check the incurſions of the Welſh, and to guard the confine.[2] He likewiſe made Sir Roger Mortimer general of his forces in the counties of Salop and Hereford, and in the adjacent countries. He appointed the firſt day of July for his military tenants to aſſemble at Worceſter.[3]

THE experience of paſt ages had proved to the Engliſh kings, that a want of public virtue in its chieftains had been the vulnerable part of Wales. To ſeduce them from their duty at this criſis, was of too much importance to be neglected by Edward. With a view to encourage a defection among the Welſh lords, orders were given to the earl of Warwick, and to Payen de Chaworth, the one commander in Cheſhire, and the other in South Wales, to receive into favour ſuch of Llewelyn's adherents, as were willing to ſubmit to the authority, and become the vaſſals of the king of England.[4] The policy of Edward fatally prevailed.

[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 172. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 231.
[2] Ibid. p. 172. Ibid. p. 232. [3] Rymer, vol. II. p. 72.
[4] Rymer, p. 72, 81.

Rhys ap Meredydh the lord of Dinevawr, deſcended from the ancient princes of South Wales, ſet the example of diſloyalty; on the only condition of holding his territory immediately from the king, and not being ſubject to any other lord.[1] The defection of ſo eminent a chieftain as Rhys ap Meredydh, had a fatal influence in the country; all the lords in South Wales followed his example; and, as a voluntary fruit of their ſubmiſſion, the ſtrong fortreſs of Stratywy was given up to the Engliſh; who, for the better defence of the country, erected a caſtle at Aberyſtwyth.[2] A. D. 1277.

THE æra is now at no great diſtance which is to mark the cloſe of the ancient Britiſh empire. And conſidering the weak and diſunited ſtate of the Welſh, and their unequal reſources, the operations of Edward in conducting the war, planned in wiſdom and carried on with vigour, muſt in the nature of things enſure its ſucceſs.

SOON after Eaſter, Edward left London to regulate the meaſures of the enſuing campaign, in the full reſolution never to return until he had entirely ſubdued the Welſh nation. He directed a fleet from the Cinque Ports to cruize on the coaſt of Wales, with a view of intercepting the commerce of the enemy, and of reducing the iſland of Angleſey; that the Welſh, by ſuch means, might be deprived of their uſual reſources of procuring proviſions.[3] At the ſame time he ſent a body of troops into South

[1] Rymer, p. 81. [2] Welſh Chr. p. 334, 336. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 162.
[3] Brady, vol. II. p. 7.

Wales,

Wales, to reinforce the army under the command of Payen de Chaworth; in order to diſtract the enemies attention, and reduce that country to a perfect ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh government.[1] Each of theſe manœuvres produced the deſired effect. That the adminiſtration of juſtice might not be delayed, by the abſence of Edward, and the length of the war, he removed the court of exchequer, and the court of king's bench, to Shrewſbury.[2]

A. D. 1277. These meaſures being taken, the king of England, on the Midſummer following, advanced at the head of a large army into Cheſhire; intending to penetrate the enemies country, through that part of the frontier which borders upon the Dee. His forces were likewiſe increaſed by numbers of country people who joined him in the marches; and who, it is probable, were uſefully employed as pioneers to the army; in opening roads through a deep foreſt, which in general extended from the confines of Cheſhire to the mountains of Snowdun.[3] During this tedious operation, Edward encamped his forces upon Saltney Marſh, near Cheſter.[4] While he remained in this ſituation, he rebuilt the caſtle of Flint, and more ſtrongly fortified Rhuddlan caſtle; to ſecure the country which he had already ſubdued, and to afford his army a ſafe retreat, in caſe he ſhould meet with any diſaſter.[5] The roads at length being finiſhed, and no enemy appearing to moleſt them, the Engliſh advanced through the

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 324. [2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 172.
[3] Thomas Wyke, p. 105. Brady, vol. II. p. 7.
[4] Brady, vol. II. p. 7. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 888.
[5] Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2462. Thomas Wykes, p. 105.

level

level part of the country to Conway. The prince of Wales, unable to reſiſt a powerful enemy, preſſing on by ſlow, cautious, and deciſive operations, retired to the mountains of Snowdun.[1] The Engliſh monarch, not chooſing to enter the receſſes of that difficult country, calmly waited the reſult of his policy.

With a fatality which had uſually attended the princes of his family, Llewelyn had truſted the ſafety of Wales to the chance of war, and to the natural ſtrength of the country; which had ſo often baffled the armies of England, unable to ſubſiſt long in a region, broken by rocks and rivers, woods, and barren mountains. Not preparing for contingencies, nor obſerving the meaſures of the Engliſh king, nor the effects already produced, he had neglected to furniſh with neceſſary ſupplies of proviſion an important poſt, to which he and his people, in their deepeſt diſtreſs, might be forced to retire.[2] The experience of paſt ages might have taught him the wiſdom of a different conduct. Had he purſued ſuch meaſures which the nature of his ſituation required, he might have ſeen the Engliſh army waſting away; and, at the approach of winter, abandoning all its conqueſts, and leaving him once more in poſſeſſion of his country. The talents of Llewelyn, at this perilous criſis, ſunk under the genius of his rival. There might be ſtrong reaſons, however, of which the annals of the times are ſilent, to excuſe in the Welſh prince, a conduct ſo fatal to his intereſts.

[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 173. Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

[2] Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

The

The proſpect which opened to Llewelyn, upon the mountains of Snowdun, was dreary and deſolate. His enemies were maſters of the country below, and ſeemed determined, by their perſeverance, to ſtarve him into ſubmiſſion. The iſland of Angleſey, his uſual reſource for proviſions, was then poſſeſſed by the Engliſh.[1] No diverſion could be made in his favour in South Wales or in England, as the former country had lately ſubmitted to Edward's authority; and in the latter, the adherents of the houſe of Montford[2] were ſatisfied by having had their forfeited eſtates reſtored. The diſtreſs of Llewelyn was heightened ſtill more by the proſpect of an immediate famine.[3]

Thus ſurrounded by dangers, he had no better alternative than to implore the mercy of the Engliſh king. A magnanimous prince, like Llewelyn, the freedom of his country being loſt, would ſcarcely have wiſhed to ſurvive its ruin; if the ſufferings of his people, crowding around him, and periſhing by famine, had not claimed his pity, and inclined him to hazard his own intereſts and perſonal ſafety from a tender regard to theirs. It is poſſible, too, the Welſh prince might hope, that in the event of ſome future day, he might again riſe upon the wheel of fortune.

In this ſtate of his affairs, the prince of Wales ſent to propoſe an accommodation with the king of England. There was little generoſity or pity to be expected in the terms which would be offered by Edward. As a firſt and neceſſary condition of the

[1] Thomas Wyke, p. 105. [2] Guthrie's Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 887.
[3] Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

peace,

peace, it was required of Llewelyn, that he ſhould ſubmit to the mercy of the conqueror.[1] On this baſis, the peace was concluded on the following terms; and afterwards ratified, at Conway, in the abſence of the king, by the commiſſioners of the two princes.[2] It was agreed, that all priſoners who were confined by Llewelyn, for adhering to the Engliſh cauſe, ſhould be ſet at liberty. That the prince ſhould pay to the king fifty thouſand marks, as a compenſation for the injuries which had been committed, and for being received into favour. That four cantrevs ſhould be given up to the king, and remain with him and his heirs for ever.[3] That the adherents of the Engliſh king ſhould be reſtored to all the eſtates which they had poſſeſſed before the war. That the Welſh prince ſhould continue to hold the iſland of Angleſey, and ſhould pay for that privilege the annual ſum of one thouſand marks; but if he ſhould die without iſſue, the iſland was then to revert to the king and his heirs for ever.[4] That all the barons in Wales ſhould hold their territories immediately of the king, except the five barons in Snowdun, who ſhould acknowledge the prince as their lord during his life. That Llewelyn ſhould come into England every Chriſtmas to do homage to the king. That he ſhould repair to Rhuddlan as ſoon as he was abſolved from

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 95, 97. [2] Ibid.

[3] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Matth. Weſtm. p. 873. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 232.—Theſe were the cantrev of Rhos, in which ſtood the caſtle of Diganwy; the cantrev of Rhyvonioc, the chief place of which was Denbigh; the cantrev of Tegengl, where ſtood the caſtle of Rhuddlan; the cantrev of Dyffryn Clwyd, in which were erected the town and caſtle of Ruthyn. Welſh Chron. p. 334.

[4] Chron. T. Wykes, p. 106.

the cenſures of the church, to take the cuſtomary oath of fealty to the king; and likewiſe that he ſhould perform the ſame duty in London on the day appointed for that purpoſe. That he ſhould enjoy, during his life, the title of prince of Wales; and that after his death, the five barons of Snowdun ſhould hold their eſtates of the Engliſh king. That for the performance of theſe articles, the prince ſhould deliver as hoſtages ten of the moſt eminent chieftains in Wales. That Llewelyn ſhould ſend every year twenty chieftains out of North Wales, who, with himſelf, ſhould take their oaths for the due performance of theſe articles. If the prince ſhould infringe any of them, and on being admoniſhed, ſhould refuſe to redreſs the ſame, they were then obliged by their oaths to forſake his cauſe, and to take part with his enemies.[1] As a perſonal humiliation to Llewelyn, he was likewiſe obliged to reſtore to his brother Owen the eſtate he had forfeited; and to pay Roderic an annuity of one thouſand marks, and five hundred to David.[2] Owen by this treaty was alſo delivered from the confinement in which he had been long kept by Llewelyn. His brother Roderic had lately eſcaped out of priſon, and had fled into England. David, whom we have heretofore mentioned, was at this time in the ſervice of the Engliſh king, who had made him a knight, contrary to the cuſtom of the Welſh; and had given him likewiſe in marriage the daughter of the earl of Derby, a

[1] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 232. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 163, 164. Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 90, 91.

[2] Rymer, vol. II. p. 88—95.

handſome

handſome widow, and of the queen's bed-chamber,[1] whoſe huſband was lately dead. He had been appointed the ſeneſchal, and keeper of all the caſtles in Wales; and received alſo from the king the caſtles of Denbigh, and of Frodſham in Cheſhire, with land to the yearly value of one thouſand pounds.[2]

THE terms agreed upon at this treaty in favour of the prince of Wales were as follows: That if he ſhould lay claim to eſtates which were occupied by any other perſon than the king, out of the limits of the four ceded cantrevs, juſtice ſhould in that caſe be adminiſtered according to the laws and cuſtoms of thoſe parts where ſuch eſtates ſhould lie. That all injuries and faults committed on either ſide ſhould be entirely remitted, and ſhould receive a full pardon. That all tenants holding land in the four cantrevs, and in other places in the holding of the king, ſhould poſſeſs ſuch as freely as they formerly had done, and ſhould enjoy ſuch cuſtoms and liberties which appertained to them before the late wars. All controverſies ariſing between the prince of Wales and any other perſon ſhould be decided by the laws of the marches, if taking their riſe in thoſe parts; and any diſpute originating in Wales, ſhould be determined by the laws of that country. That the advantage ariſing out of wrecks, on his own territories, ſhould belong to the Welſh prince; and all other cuſtoms ſhould be confirmed to him which had been enjoyed by his anceſtors; and although the prince had thus ſubmitted entirely to the king's

[1] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2463, 2464.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 335. Rymer, p. 89. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 232.

mercy, it was agreed, that no injury ſhould be committed, nor any demand ever made contrary to the tenor of the peace.[1] The Engliſh king, it is true, relaxed in ſome degree from the ſeverity of the treaty, and remitted to Llewelyn the fifty thouſand marks, which he was to have paid as a compenſation for the ravages committed in the late war; he alſo remitted the yearly tribute of one thouſand marks which he had exacted from the Welſh prince, for the privilege of holding during his life the iſland of Angleſey.[2]

Having thus in the late fortunate campaign completed, as he might think, the entire conqueſt of Wales, Edward returned into England amidſt the applauſes of his ſubjects. His pride, no doubt, was gratified, and his triumph received additional luſtre, by the attendance which Llewelyn gave him to the Engliſh court; where the Welſh prince did homage and ſwore fealty to him on Chriſtmas day, in the preſence of many prelates and of all the nobility of England.[3] But an incident, of no moment in itſelf, reſulting from the late event, and acting with other cauſes, produced a change in affairs of the higheſt importance to Wales.

The barons of Snowdun, with other chieftains of the moſt conſiderable families in Wales, accompanying their prince to

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 346, 347, 348.

[2] Rymer, vol. II. p. 91, 92. But it appears from Holinſhead, p. 277, that Edward, during his reſidence at Rhuddlan, received from the prince of Wales two thouſand marks.

[3] Rymer, vol. II. p. 96. Matth. Weſtm. p. 173. Chron. T. Wyke, p. 106.

London, had brought with them large retinues, as was the cuſtom of their country, who were lodged in Iſlington, and in the adjacent villages. Many cauſes conſpired to make their ſituation diſagreeable. Theſe places did not afford a ſufficiency of milk for ſuch numerous trains: and they reliſhed neither the wine nor the beer of London. Though entertained with plenty, they were not pleaſed with their new manner of living, which ſuited neither their taſte, nor perhaps their conſtitutions. They were ſtill more diſpleaſed with the crowd of people who attended them whenever they came out of their quarters; eying them with the utmoſt contempt as ſavages, and laughing at their foreign garb and unuſual appearance.[1] To be made the ſubject of deriſion, and to be pointed at by the finger of ſcorn, in their various journies through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, could not be pleaſing to a people, proud and iraſcible; and who, though vanquiſhed, were ſtill alive to injury and inſult, to a ſenſe of their own valour, and to the fond idea of their native independence. Reſenting this treatment, and feeling their diſhonoured ſituation, they privately entered into a reſolution to revolt on the firſt opportunity; determined to die in their own country as freemen, rather than to come any more as vaſſals into England, to be the ſport of a haughty and contemptuous nation.

It was now manifeſt that Edward intended, on the death of Llewelyn, to unite to the Engliſh crown the country which

[1] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 191. from MS. No. 39, inter MSS. Thomas Moſtyn, baronetti, p. 315.

he

he had lately ſubdued. A popular deluſion ſtood in the way of his views. An idea had been fondly kept up in the imaginations of the Welſh, that the celebrated Arthur was ſtill alive, that he was one day to return, and reſtore to the remnant of the ancient Britons the empire of their fathers. To ſet aſide this idle fancy, cheriſhed by the vulgar, and which might have been fatal at this juncture, Edward and Eleanor his queen, early in the year, undertook a journey to Glaſtonbury, where the remains of that venerated hero lay interred.[1] Under colour of doing honour to this Britiſh king, and affording his bones a more magnificent interment, Edward ordered the body of Arthur to be taken out of its coffin, and with the remains of Gweniver his queen, to be expoſed to public view. They were then repoſited near the high altar; with an inſcription on the coffin, ſignifying, that theſe were the remains of Arthur; and that they had been viewed by the king and queen of England, in preſence of the earl of Savoy, the elect biſhop of Norwich, beſides ſeveral other noblemen and clergy.[2] It is eaſy to diſcern the policy of this prince even in the ſmaller traits of his character.

A. D. 1278.

During the king's reſidence at Glaſtonbury, a parliament was held in that place; at which meeting Llewelyn was ſummoned to appear; with the probable deſign, that he and his

[1] Malmſbury de Antiq. Glaſton. Eccleſiæ, p. 306. Gales Scriptores.

[2] Carte's Hiſt. England, vol. II. p. 187. from Regiſt. Glaſtonbury, penes Dom. Weymouth, p. 93. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 233. Stowe's Chron. p. 200. Guthrie's Hiſt. England, vol. I. p. 889.

retinue,

retinue, having ſeen the late ceremony exhibited, might not carry into their own country the leaſt hope of advantage, from ſo vain and whimſical a fancy. To this ſummons, however, the prince of Wales did not think proper to pay obedience.[1]

It is eaſy to conceive that Edward, alive to his intereſts and jealous of his power, would be eager to check the contumacy of a vaſſal in Llewelyn's ſituation. To enforce his obedience, the king, attended by Eleanor his queen, repaired to Worceſter; from whence he ſent an order to the Welſh prince to appear at his court, and to account for his late conduct. The rigor of this ſummons was ſoftened by an invitation to a royal feaſt which was to be held in that city; with an aſſurance, too, that he ſhould be treated with honour, and that the lovely Eleanor de Montford ſhould be the reward of his obedience.[2] There was a deciſion in this mandate, which love would not ſuffer him to evade, nor prudence to diſobey, and which ſoon brought Llewelyn to the Engliſh court; where a ſcene was exhibited, from which every eye muſt turn with diſdain, that is directed by a feeling and liberal ſpirit. The prelude to this ſcene was the performance of a rigorous ceremony. Being introduced into the preſence of Edward, the prince of Wales fell upon his knees at the feet of that monarch, and yielded himſelf up to his mercy; he was then commanded to riſe, and, in conſideration of his dutiful demeanour, the king was pleaſed to pardon his de-

[1] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 187. from Regiſt. Glaſt. penes Dom. Weymouth, p. 93.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 348.

linquency;

linquency; at the ſame time declaring, that if he again preſumed to rebel, he ſhould be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity.[1] Relying on the honour of a great monarch, and duped by his artifice, we ſee Llewelyn, a prince of a gallant ſpirit, and the brave deſcendant of a line of independent ſovereigns, become amenable to uſurped power.[2]

Having now ſucceeded in his views, and, as he thought, having rendered Llewelyn docile in the duties of vaſſalage, Edward gave him back the hoſtages which he had lately received; and alſo delivered up to him Eleanor de Montford, with the eſtate which had been the property of her father.[3] On this occaſion, Llewelyn engaged to appear twice in the year before the Engliſh parliament.[4] The marriage was celebrated on the
A. D. 1278. thirteenth of October, the expence of which was defrayed by Edward; and, as a farther mark of his favour, the ceremony was graced by the preſence of the king himſelf and his queen.[5] But on the very day that the marriage was to be ſolemniſed, and in conſequence, as Llewelyn and his bride were going to hear maſs, the Engliſh king required of that prince that he ſhould enter into a covenant, never to protect any perſon whatever contrary to his pleaſure. The rigid ſentiments of duty, put to ſo ſevere a trial, were too weak to ſubdue in the boſom

[1] Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 348.
[3] Rymer, vol. II. p. 125. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462.
[4] Henry de Knyghton, p. 2462.
[5] Holinſhead, p. 277. Thomas Wyke, p. 107. Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310.

of

of the Welſh prince the feelings of nature. Alive to love and its keen ſenſibilities, and in fear no doubt for his liberty or life, the firmneſs of the gallant Llewelyn ſunk under their influence. The enamoured prince, beſides conceding to other requiſitions, ſigned a covenant; which looſened every tie of confidence, and which might in future give up to the reſentment, or to the intereſted views of Edward, the moſt faithful adherent to his intereſts.[1] It is only from a motive of perſonal diſlike, for it could not have ariſen from any juſt principle of policy, that we are able to account for the inſult which was offered to Llewelyn; in detaining this lady ſo long in the Engliſh court, and impeding the views of honourable love. In theſe traits of Edward's character, we ſee no traces of heroiſm; no reſemblance of the courteous manners, which diſtinguiſhed the moſt cultivated period of the feudal ages.

As ſoon as the ceremony was finiſhed, Llewelyn, with his amiable wife, returned into Wales; to ſoothe the aſperity of adverſe fortune in the enjoyment of domeſtic felicity.

Few incidents occur at this period in the national concerns of Wales. The ſpirit of the people, preſſed down by the rigour of a foreign government, wanted its uſual activity. Regretting the freedom they had loſt, but too weak to recover it, they were ſilent and dejected. But the ſpirit of the Welſh, though depreſſed and rendered inactive for a time, urged by deſpair into manly

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 348.

efforts, will ſoon recover its native ſpring; and, armed with its wonted terrors, will exert itſelf again in the fields of war.

The calamities of a public nature, which ſurrounded Llewelyn, were rendered more bitter by domeſtic ſorrow; in the ſevere loſs which he ſuſtained by the death of his wife Eleanor de Montford;[1] who at this time died in child-bed. It ſeems as if this lady, through her influence with the hoſtile princes, and by ſoothing their angry ſpirits, had given a check to the ravages, and had ſuſpended the horrors of war.[2] Her death looſened the only tie of union ſubſiſting between the two nations.

A. D. 1280.

We have already noticed, that the deepeſt diſguſt had been excited in the breaſts of thoſe chieftains who had attended Llewelyn into England; and that in conſequence they had determined to throw off their allegiance. As ſoon as theſe chieftains returned, they diffuſed this ſpirit throughout Wales, and it became the common cauſe of the country. Other motives of a nearer and more eſſential concern, aſſiſted to fix more deeply that ſpirit. The Welſh, in the newly ſubdued country, had early began to taſte, in the conduct of their maſter, the bitter fruits of ſubmiſſion. It was the deſign of that prince, by one deciſive blow, to leave them not a trace of their ancient juriſprudence. When Edward heretofore poſſeſſed theſe countries by the grant of his father, he had thrown them into diſtricts like thoſe of the counties of England; had appointed ſheriffs with power to hold courts,

[1] Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310.

[2] Henry de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462. Baker's Chron. p. 95.

had

had inſtituted other officers, and had ſent Engliſh judges to adminiſter juſtice. On the recent ſubmiſſion of the Welſh, he revived theſe inſtitutions. It is ſtrange that a wiſe prince ſhould urge on ſo violent a conduct, before the lenient power of time had ſoftened their ſpirits. For to tear up old habits which are dear to a people, is often an enterpriſe of danger. And when laws are impoſed at the point of the ſword, they are always received with hatred, and muſt be maintained by force. The Welſh, as was natural, ſurveyed the deſign with indignation and horror. Attached to the cuſtoms of their fathers, they determined to receive neither laws nor manners, judges nor juries, nor any inſtitutions which were derived from the Engliſh.[1]

THE prince of Wales, in his own perſon, had cauſe to complain of injuries the moſt humiliating and poignant;[2] of which the following was an inſtance. There was a ſuit depending between him and Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, reſpecting an eſtate which he held of the king, and lying in the marches. He was highly diſpleaſed with an order he had received from the judges, to attend the hearing of that ſuit at Montgomery;* contrary to a cuſtom

[1] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 191, from MS. No. 39, inter MSS. Roger Moſtyn, baronetti, p. 315. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 346, &c. See Appendix, No. III.

* It appears that Llewelyn was ſummoned by king Edward to repair in perſon to different places, in order to receive judgment reſpecting the above-mentioned ſuit. Welſh Chron. p. 346. And it is highly probable, during this time, that the following remarkable circumſtance took place. Edward being at Auſt Ferry on the Severn, and knowing that the prince of Wales was on the oppoſite ſide, ſent him an invitation to come over the river, that they might confer together and ſettle ſome matters in

a cuſtom eſtabliſhed in Wales and in the marches, that all cauſes of this nature ſhould be tried on the very land which was the ſubject of diſpute. The tenor of the late treaty, likewiſe, juſtified Llewelyn's refuſal. Though the judges ſent down were men of honour and integrity, he could not be prevailed upon to repair to Montgomery; concluding that ſuch a meaſure would yield up an eſſential article of the peace, and would derogate from his dignity as a ſovereign prince.[1]

The idea that this demand might in future be drawn into precedent, awakened at laſt prince David to a ſenſe of his own ſituation, who might hope to ſucceed to the ſovereignty of Wales upon the death of his brother. He had himſelf already experienced many cauſes of complaint, of fear, and of jealouſy, reſpecting the property which he held under Edward.[2] He was ſued by William Venables, an Engliſhman, before the juſticiary of Cheſter, for the villages of Hope and Eſtyn; contrary to the cuſtom of Wales, and the ſpirit of the agreement under which he had held them of the Engliſh king. That officer likewiſe had cut down his woods of Lleweny, with thoſe about Hope, and had ſold the timber and carried it into Ireland. He was alſo threatened, when Reginald de Grey the other juſticiary came

diſpute. This being refuſed by Llewelyn, Edward threw himſelf into a boat, and croſſed over to the Welſh prince; who, ſtruck with the gallantry of the action, leaped into the water to receive him; telling the king, at the ſame time, that his humility had conquered his own pride, and that his wiſdom had triumphed over his own folly. See Tour through Great-Britain, vol. II. p. 305. London printed, 1753.

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 172. Leges Walliæ, p. 524. [2] See Appendix, No. IV.

into

into the country, that the caſtle of Hope ſhould be taken from him, and that his children ſhould be ſecured as pledges of his fidelity in future.[1] Many chieftains, the moſt eminent in the country, had likewiſe much reaſon to complain of injuries which they themſelves had received.[2] The rigorous exactions of the Engliſh officers in Wales, partial and oppreſſive, and repugnant to the manners of the people, heightened their ſufferings to an inſupportable degree.[3]

In this ſeaſon of national miſery, when their common fate depended ſolely upon a virtuous union, the Welſh chieftains beſought prince David, that he would be reconciled to his brother Llewelyn; calling on him by every incitement which might act upon a brave or an angry ſpirit, to deſert the cauſe of a mercileſs ravager, to retrieve the honour he had loſt, to return to the duty which he owed his country, and to ſhield her in the hour of her danger. The ſentiments of David were agreeable to the wiſhes of his countrymen, and his preſent views congenial with their own. Feeling for thoſe miſeries which in ſome meaſure, he himſelf had produced, and a ray of patriotiſm ſpringing up in his boſom, he conſented to be reconciled to his brother, and to engage in the common cauſe.[4] Senſible of the peril which awaited him, if ſucceſs did not juſtify the revolt; or too ſuſpicious of Llewelyn to confide in his firmneſs, he required from that prince an aſſurance that he would never again yield obedience to the Engliſh king, nor would ever relax in his enmity againſt A. D. 1281.

[1] Welſh Chr. p. 350, 351. [2] Welſh Chron. from p. 351 to 363.
[3] Matth. Paris, p. 805. Welſh Chron. p. 336. [4] Welſh Chron. p. 337.

him.

him.[1] This condition being agreed to by Llewelyn, prince David withdrew privately from the court of England, and arrived with ſafety in Wales.[2]

A. D. 1282. 8th of Edw. I.

The concert being made for a general inſurrection, David opened the campaign by a gallant exploit, which was performed late in the evening of Palm Sunday. In the night, which was dark and ſtormy, he took by ſurpriſe the caſtle of Hawarden; the governor of which, Roger de Clifford, and who was alſo the juſticiary of Wales, was taken in his bed; and, mortally wounded, was carried away priſoner in chains to Snowdun; ſeveral knights reſiding in the fortreſs, though unarmed, were put to the ſword in the fury of the ſtorm. After this action, the two brothers Llewelyn and David, having joined their forces, inveſted the caſtles of Flint and Rhuddlan; the only fortreſſes which were then in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.[3] Theſe exploits were regarded as the ſignals of revolt. The Welſh, riſing from every quarter, in a moment were in arms. The ſpirit of their fathers ſeemed to animate every boſom. Rhys ap Maelgwyn and Gryffydh ap Meredydh ſurpriſed the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth, and ravaged the preſent counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen. Many chieftains, likewiſe, obtained poſſeſſion of other fortreſſes in South Wales. Numerous parties of the Welſh, all on fire for revenge, poured on a ſudden upon the marches of England; and, like the inundations of their native rivers, in rapidity and violence, ſpread all around devaſtion and ruin.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 337. [2] Grafton's Chron. p. 165. Polidore Virgil, p. 323.

[3] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464, ſays, that they ſlew all the maſons, carpenters and other workmen employed in theſe fortreſſes.

At

At this time the king of England was at the Devizes, where he was keeping his Eaſter;[1] not ſuſpecting the event which had happened, nor fearing the efforts of an iraſcible people, whoſe feelings had been urged into a dangerous extreme. The revolt of the Welſh princes determined the conduct of the Engliſh monarch. Inſtead of waiting the ſlow iſſue which time, or luxury, or mildneſs might produce, he once more determined to make an entire conqueſt of Wales; and totally to extinguiſh that ſpirit of freedom, which, riſing at times into dangerous exertion, not all the efforts of his policy and power had as yet been able to ſubdue. All other concerns were now laid aſide; the credit of Edward, his talents, and the ſtrength of his kingdom, were rendered ſubſervient to this great deſign.

Previous to his military operations he diſpatched letters to the two archbiſhops, commanding them to iſſue ſpiritual cenſures againſt the Welſh prince, and all his adherents.[2] John Peckham archbiſhop of Canterbury, before he proceeded to extremities, unknown to the king, as it is ſaid, and apparently in the true ſpirit of benevolence, undertook a journey into Wales; to endeavour to recal Llewelyn, and the Welſh chieftains, to a ſenſe of their duty.[3]

In the mean time, Edward ſent a part of his forces to the relief of thoſe caſtles, to which the Welſh princes had laid ſiege; and he alſo iſſued out orders that his military tenants ſhould

[1] Thomas Wykes, p. 110. Holinſhead, p. 281. [2] Rymer, vol. II. p. 188.
[3] Polidore Virgil, p. 323. Holinſhead, p. 281. Welſh Chron. p. 338.

aſſemble

aſſemble at Worceſter, on the ſeventeenth of May.[1] He obtained from the nobility and prelates a promiſe of a fifteenth of their moveables, and afterwards a thirtieth.[2] The clergy, likewiſe, gave him a twentieth of their temporalities, to enable him to carry on this popular war.[3] As theſe aids could not be raiſed ſo ſoon as the ſervice might require, he borrowed money of all the trading towns in England, which was to anſwer his preſent neceſſities; and he deſired a like loan out of Ireland from the merchants, the prelates, and nobility of that kingdom.[4] Such was the eſteem in which Edward was held, that Gaſton de Bern[5] deſired to have the honour of ſerving in the Welſh expedition; and even the Scots, on this occaſion, offered their ſervices; little thinking that they themſelves would ſoon become the victims of that prince's ambition.[6] The barons of the exchequer, and the judges of the king's bench repaired to Shrewſbury, with orders to hold their courts in that town during the continuance of the war.[7] A nation like the Welſh, ſmall in extent, and ſcattered over a few barren mountains, riſe into importance as we view theſe mighty preparations.

A. D. 1282. 8th of Edw. I. As ſoon as he had concerted his meaſures, the king of England began his march, at the latter end of April, for the confines of Wales. Finding that the war was likely to become more difficult

1 Brady, vol. II. p. 6. Grafton's Chr. p. 165. Chr. T. Wykes, p. 110. Rymer, vol. II. p. 189. 2 Brady, p. 11, 96.

3 Carte's Hiſt. Eng. p. 192, from Chron. Dunſtaple.

4 Rymer, vol. II. p. 220. 5 Ibid. p. 206.

6 Guthrie, vol. I. p. 895. 7 Annales Waverleienſis, p. 235.

than he had at firſt conceived, he iſſued out ſummonſes from Worceſter, that all his military tenants ſhould meet him at Rhuddlan in the enſuing month of June; the prelates of England, and twenty-four abbots holding of the crown, were alſo included in theſe orders to ſend thither their ſervices.[1]

Edward, on his march to Cheſter, was joined by the country people who inhabited the Borders, and whom he employed as before, in opening roads through the enemies country.[2] After ſtaying a fortnight in Cheſter to refreſh his troops, he inveſted, about the middle of June, the caſtle of Hope. This fortreſs, which for ſome time had been in David's poſſeſſion, was yielded up to the king, almoſt as ſoon as he appeared before it.[3] On the approach of Edward, the Welſh princes raiſed the ſiege of Rhuddlan caſtle, and retreated ſlowly towards Snowdun; thinking it more prudent to ſeiſe every opportunity of cutting off his detached parties, than with unequal force to fight him in the open field.[4] The retreat of Llewelyn, for the preſent, was of little advantage to the enemy; like that of a lion, it was ſlow, ſullen, and full of danger. Seiſing a favourable opportunity, he put to flight a detachment of the Engliſh army; fourteen enſigns were taken in the action; the lords Audley and Clifford, the ſon of William de Valence, Richard de Argenton,[5] with many others were ſlain; and the king himſelf, defeated and in

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 188, 199. [2] Ibid. p. 207.
[3] Carte's Hiſt. England, vol. II. p. 193, from Annales Ceſtrenſis.
[4] Welſh Chron. p. 337. [5] Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110.

diſgrace, was obliged to retire for protection into Hope caſtle, the fortreſs he had lately taken.[1]

It was not until the latter end of autumn, that Edward was able to perform any action of moment. In the middle of July that prince reſided in the caſtle of Rhuddlan; and iſſued orders from thence to the ſheriffs of the neighbouring counties, to ſend him, in proportion to the extent of each, a number of hatchet men; who were to cut down the woods, and open paſſages for his army, before it could advance any farther with convenience or ſafety.[2] He alſo gave grants to ſeveral of the Engliſh barons, of land in the four cantrevs, the late ceded country; adding the incitement of intereſt to the national zeal in his ſervice.[3]

During theſe tranſactions, the archbiſhop of Canterbury had come, a ſecond time, into Wales; and had ſent a monitory letter to Llewelyn and to all his adherents; in which he reproved them for their late revolt, urged them to return to their allegiance, and deſired that they would point out their grievances; for all of which, if juſtly founded, he would endeavour to obtain them redreſs. At the ſame time he held out a menace, that in caſe of contumacy, they would draw upon themſelves the

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 372, from Thomas Walſingham. Camden's Brit. p. 688.
[2] Guthrie's Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 895.
[3] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 235. Welſh Chron. p. 364.

ſevereſt

ſevereſt cenſures of the church, beſides all the power of an irritated nation.[1]

In anſwer to this letter, Llewelyn, aſſiſted by his council, thought proper to ſend a memorial dated from Aber,* in the latter end of October.[2] In a ſtrain of eloquence, mild and perſuaſive, and which might do honour to a more poliſhed age, he recited the various evils which he himſelf and his country had ſuſtained from Edward's ambition, and the rapine of delegated power; and with a firmneſs, ſoftened by piety and meekneſs, he demanded that juſtice, from the rights of nature, and from the ſpirit of the treaties ſubſiſting, which the king of England had hitherto denied him.[3]

The like memorials were ſent by David the brother of the Welſh prince, by the men of Rhos, by Rhys Vychan of Strath-Towi, by Llewelyn and Howel the ſons of Rhys, by the ſons of Meredydh ap Owen, by the chieftains of Strath-Alyn,† by the men of Penlhyn, by Gronw ap Heilyn, and by the nobles of Englefield.[4] It was likewiſe declared by Llewelyn and his council, that if their grievances were redreſſed, if their native laws and rights were preſerved, and if their ſafety in future might depend upon the tenor of the late treaty, that they were willing to enter into a laſting peace with England.[5]

1 J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110. Welſh Chr. p. 338—342. See Appendix, No. V.

* *Garth Celyn.* 2 See Appendix, No. VI. 3 Welſh Chron. p. 540—350.

† *Yſtrad Alun.* 4 See Append. No. VII—XV. Welſh Chr. p. 350—364.

5 Welſh Chron. p. 343, taken from the Records of Canterbury.

There is a force in theſe recitals, thus arranged and authenticated, expreſſive of the wretched ſituation of the Welſh; all of them complaining of injuries, of the violation of treaties, and of the power of the *mighty* over the *weak*.

As ſoon as Llewelyn and the Welſh chieftains had delivered theſe memorials, in juſtification of their revolt, the archbiſhop returned to the king; and urged that prince to attend to their complaints, and to redreſs their wrongs; or at leaſt, he deſired, that the idea of theſe complaints being juſtly founded might in ſome meaſure extenuate their faults. The anſwer returned by the Engliſh prince was, that though there was no excuſe to be found for their conduct, yet he was ſtill deſirous of doing juſtice to their complaints. Availing himſelf of an anſwer, which carried with it the appearance of mildneſs, the archbiſhop requeſted the king that the complainants might have free acceſs to his preſence, to unfold their griefs, and to plead their own cauſe. The reply which Edward made was dark and evaſive, and unworthy of ſo great a prince; he ſaid, "that they might freely "come, and depart, if it ſhould appear, that in *juſtice* they "ought to return in ſafety."[1]

On the ſtrength of this anſwer, arbitrary as it was, and the deepeſt danger lurking within it, the archbiſhop repaired again to Snowdun, to renew the negotiation with the prince of Wales; in hopes of prevailing on him, by proper ſubmiſſion, to avail

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 363, 364.

himſelf

himſelf of what that prelate conceived to be, or might wiſh to repreſent as the gracious diſpoſition of the king.[1] Llewelyn and his council were not caught in the ſnare which was laid for their ſafety. They clearly ſaw into the deſigns of the Engliſh monarch. They ſaw, at this moment, all that was dear to men and to citizens at ſtake; their lives, their families, their country, its liberties and laws, with the cuſtoms of their fathers: and they ſaw, too, that this was the criſis for manly reſiſtance.

Impressed with ſuch ſentiments as theſe, it was not likely that any argument, deluſive or friendly, which was in the power of the archbiſhop to offer, could accompliſh his views, or could ſhake the firmneſs of Llewelyn and his council. After much conference on the ſubject, debated with a ſpirit and ſerioufneſs ſuited to its importance, he was deſired by the prince of Wales to return to his ſovereign, with this generous and manly declaration; "that, as the guardian of his people's "ſafety, his conſcience alone ſhould direct his ſubmiſſion; nor "would he conſent to any compliance which might derogate "from the dignity of his ſtation." We eaſily conceive that the pride of Edward was wounded, and his indignation excited by a reply, ſo little expected, though ſo worthy of a patriot prince. On its being reported to the Engliſh king, he declared; "that no other terms ſhould be in future offered to "the Welſh, than the entire and unconditional ſubmiſſion of "Llewelyn and his people."[2]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 364. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 364.

Sensible

Sensible that the prince of Wales would never recede from the reſolution he had formed, the archbiſhop of Canterbury interceded with the king, that on a ſubject of ſuch weighty concern, he might have a conference with thoſe noblemen, who at that time were preſent in the Engliſh army. Edward conſented that ſuch a conference ſhould be held; the reſult of which was, that three ſeparate propoſals ſhould be ſent to the Welſh princes, and to their council, as the only baſis on which any peace could be eſtabliſhed.[1]

During this negociation, the prince of Wales remained in his palace at Aber; and the Welſh army, it is moſt probable, was ſtationed on the heights above upon Penmaen Mawr.[2]

The firſt of theſe propoſals, which was ordered to be read in public, before the two princes and the chieftains aſſembled in council, ſignified; that no treaty whatever could take place reſpecting the iſland of Angleſey, the four cantrevs, and the eſtates which were already granted by the king to the Engliſh lords; that if the tenants of thoſe cantrevs ſhould think proper to ſubmit to their ſovereign, they ſhould, in that caſe, be treated in a manner becoming the *majeſty* of the king. In reſpect to Llewelyn, no terms whatever were offered to him; he was to yield himſelf up without any condition.[3]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 364.

[2] It was conſidered as the ſtrongeſt fortification which the Welſh poſſeſſed in the mountains of Snowdun, and capable of containing 20,000 men. See Camden's Britan. Gibſon's edit. p. 673.

[3] See Appendix, No. XVI. Welſh Chron. p. 364, 365.

The ſecond propoſal was to be preſented in ſecret to the prince of Wales, and was no doubt intended as a ſnare to his honour.[1] It was there propoſed, that he ſhould yield himſelf up to the mercy of Edward, and ſhould quietly relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of Snowdun; as a cordial, however, to be thrown into the bitter cup, the Engliſh nobility promiſed to prevail, if poſſible, with the king, that he ſhould provide for Llewelyn's daughter ſuitably to her ſtation; that he ſhould allow him one thouſand pounds a year, and a reſpectable county in England. If that prince ſhould marry again, and ſhould have heirs male, they promiſed to entreat the king, that this annuity, and the ſaid county, ſhould be ſettled on thoſe heirs for ever; and that the king ſhould alſo provide for the adherents of the Welſh prince, in a manner ſuitable to their eſtates and conditions.[2]

The third propoſal was intended to ſeduce or to intimidate David from his duty; and was ordered, that in the like manner, it ſhould be read to that prince in ſecret.[3] If he would conſent to take the *Croſs*, and to go into the Holy Land, he ſhould have a proviſion made for him agreeable to his quality; on the condition, however, that he ſhould *never* return from thence unleſs he ſhould be recalled by the king; and as a farther inducement, the negociators alſo promiſed to entreat their ſovereign, that he ſhould provide in a ſuitable manner for his daughter.[4]

The conceſſions expected from Llewelyn, the ſingular requiſition made to prince David, and the general ſubmiſſion de-

[1] Appendix, No. XVII. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 365. See Appendix, No. XVI.
[3] See Appendix, No. XVIII. [4] Welſh Chron. p. 366.

manded

manded from all, were enforced by the terror of eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and in caſe of diſobedience, a menace was thrown out, that the Welſh nation ſhould be entirely exterminated. Such were the conditions of peace propoſed by an intereſted nobility; and wanting as they did the ſanction of Edward, though immediately formed under his influence, they were mean, perfidious, and arbitrary; or, at leaſt, they carried with them a dark and ſuſpicious aſpect.

It was not in the nature of Llewelyn, when the deareſt concerns of his people were mingled with his own, to entertain an idea of intereſt excluſive of theirs, or to engage with the common enemy in any ſecret intercourſe, or partial negociation. The propoſals ſent by the archbiſhop, were openly diſcuſſed in the preſence of Llewelyn, of his brother David, and of the chieftains who compoſed his council. The reſult of which was, that three different memorials ſhould be returned to that prelate, which would declare their ſentiments of the terms which had been offered; and would convey to the Engliſh monarch their laſt, ſolemn, and deciſive determination.

In a ſtile of ſimplicity which might have carried conviction to the mind, the prince of Wales informed the archbiſhop;[1] that the terms he had brought, were neither honeſtly intended, nor could they be ſafely confided in; that though he himſelf, through weakneſs or intereſt, ſhould be inclined to liſten to the ſeparate advantage propoſed, his people and all the chieftains in

[1] See Appendix, No. XIX.

Wales,

Wales, aware of the miſchievous tendency, would refuſe their conſent; as not being bound to yield up their rights to any mean compliance in their prince: He deſired likewiſe, as the means of eſtabliſhing an honeſt and durable peace, that the archbiſhop would have reſpect to the memorials which were then ſent by himſelf and by his council: He ſaid too, that it would have been more honourable to the king, and more agreeable to reaſon, if he had been permitted to continue on the land of his fathers, rather than that his territories ſhould be wreſted from him, and ſhould be given to foreigners.[1]

With a force of reaſoning, reſulting from a manly and diſcerning ſpirit,[2] the Welſh chieftains who formed the prince's council, declared; that no peace could be made, unleſs the four cantrevs were included in the treaty; as they had always belonged to the princes of Wales from the earlieſt period of their hiſtory; and were alſo confirmed by the ſanction of the Pope, and by the treaty with Henry the third. The tenants of thoſe cantrevs likewiſe declared, that they did not dare to ſubmit to the king; as he had neither kept covenant, nor oath, grant, nor charter, with the prince, nor with his people. Llewelyn's council told the archbiſhop, that they themſelves, for theſe reaſons, were afraid to come into the preſence of the king; much leſs would they ſuffer their prince to hazard his perſonal ſafety: They rejected alſo the annuity of one thouſand pounds, as being offered by men, who were attempting to wreſt from Llewelyn his heredi-

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 368. [2] See Appendix, No. XIX.

tary dominions, and which they were desirous of enjoying themselves: They said, that it would neither be consistent with prudence nor his duty, for their sovereign to relinquish his native demesnes, and to accept of other territories in England; unacquainted as he was with its laws and customs, its language and manners: That he must likewise hold those estates, situated amidst his enemies, on a very precarious tenure: They added, likewise, that it was not probable, that the king, desirous of taking from him his barren inheritance in Wales, would long allow him to enjoy the cultivated land of England: They declared, that they would not suffer their prince to give up to the king the possession of Snowdun, appertaining to his sovereignty from the earliest times, and meanly to accept of what might be thought an equivalent in England: The people of Snowdun, also, declared; that though Llewelyn should relinquish his own rights, that they themselves would never do homage to foreigners, with whose habits of life they were entirely unacquainted; lest they should be as cruelly treated as the inhabitants of the four cantrevs had been; a recital of whose injuries had already been sent to that prelate.[1] The spirit of a free constitution, in restraining the will of the sovereign, is diffused through the whole of this interesting memorial.

There is something peculiarly touching in the memorial sent by prince David.[2] He said, that when he felt himself disposed to visit the Holy Land, his motives should be pure and voluntary;

[1] Welsh Chron. p. 368, 369. See Appendix, No. XX.

[2] Appendix, No. XXI.

influenced by a ſpirit of piety, and not enforced by the arbitrary will of another. Devotion that is forced, he ſaid, is diſpleaſing to God; and, if ever he ſhould undertake ſuch a journey, his poſterity ſhould be rather rewarded for their father's piety, than that they ſhould, on that account, have their inheritance taken from them. It was not the Welſh, he ſaid, who were the movers of the war; no luſt of avarice, no rage for conqueſt on their part began it; they had only defended their own country, their liberties and laws, againſt the avarice, the cruelty, and hatred of the Engliſh king and his people. For the truth of which, he ſolemnly appealed to God; calling on him to avenge their wrongs, and to vindicate their cauſe. He forbad the archbiſhop to fulminate his cenſures againſt any but thoſe who had been the cauſe of theſe enormities; and as the Welſh had ſuffered ſuch evils at the hands of the king's officers, he hoped that they ſhould receive at *his* hands remedy and comfort. "Very many do marvel," ſaid he, "that *you* do counſel us to leave our own land, and go "to other men's lands among our enemies to live; for as we "cannot have peace in our own country, what reaſon have we "to hope that we ſhall remain in quiet in that of our enemies? "Though it be hard to live in war and danger, it is ſtill more "hard," ſaid he, "to be utterly deſtroyed, and be brought to "nothing. The fear of death, the fear of impriſonment, the "fear of having our eſtates torn from us; no keeping of promiſe, "covenant, grant, or charter, in ſhort, a moſt tyrannical do-"minion, are among the many cauſes which urge us to war." To the remedy of theſe evils he deſired of the archbiſhop his pious and charitable aid. He concluded this moving addreſs, by

ſaying,

ſaying, " If any perſon in England offends the king, his eſtate " is not taken away; if one of our own people ſhould commit " a fault, let him be puniſhed agreeably to juſtice, but not en- " tirely to his ruin. As we truſt in *you*, we pray you, holy " father, to labour to this end. If they lay to our charge that " it is we who have broke the peace, it is evidently clear, from " facts, that it is they, and not we, that are in fault; they who " never kept promiſe, or covenant, or order, or made any ſatis- " faction for treſpaſſes, or remedy for our complaints."[1] It is with pity and admiration that we ſee a band of heroes and patriots, ſtationed upon their only mountain, calmly and with firmneſs aſſerting their rights, and making their laſt ſtruggle for freedom. The ſcene is ſolemn and intereſting; and, in many points of reſemblance, preſents the image of Leonidas in the Straits of Thermopylæ.

All conference was now at an end; the late negociation had clearly ſhewn that the ſentiments of the two powers were entirely incompatible. No longer purſuing, in the ſpirit of benevolence, the rights of this injured people, the archbiſhop of Canterbury pronounced them accurſed, and thundered againſt them the whole force of eccleſiaſtical judgments.[2]

During theſe tranſactions, the roads being opened, and his reinforcements arrived, Edward about the firſt of November left

[1] Theſe memorials were taken from the Records of John Peckham archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was Edward's ambaſſador on this occaſion. Welſh Chron. p. 371.

[2] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welſh Chron. p. 371.

Rhuddlan,

Rhuddlan,[1] and advanced to Conway; near which town he ſtationed his army in advantageous ſituations. His horſe were encamped on the plains which lay at the foot of the mountains of Snowdun; with a view of ſecuring the avenues of the country to the eaſt and to the ſouth; and the infantry were poſted on the ſides of the hills under cover of the woods.[2] The treaty being ended, and not able to bring the enemy to action, Edward ordered a ſtrong detachment of marines and other forces, in the veſſels of the Cinque Ports, to take poſſeſſion of Angleſey. The manœuvre was wiſely planned; the ſucceſs of which would not only deprive the Welſh of the advantage of that iſland, as a ſource of proviſions, but would alſo confine them in narrower limits; and by dividing their attention, would facilitate his entrance into the country. This ſervice was performed with all imaginable ſucceſs; the iſland was eaſily taken; the chief perſons in it having ſupported the intereſts of Edward, agreeably to the oaths which they had taken at the late peace.[3] With a view of obtaining poſſeſſion of the mountains upon the rear of the enemy, or of forming a junction with the other part of the army, in the very heart of their country; preparations were made to paſs the water of Menai, which runs between Angleſey and the coaſt of Caernarvon.

There is a point of land, nearly oppoſite to Bangor, called Moel-y-donn, where the water is much narrower than in other parts of the Straits. From this place, the Engliſh formed a bridge

[1] Chron. T. Wyke, p. 110. [2] Polidore Virgil, p. 323 Holinſhead, p. 281.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 371. P. Virgil, p. 324. J. Roſſ. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

of

of boats which were chained together, and over which a platform of boards was raiſed, wide enough for ſixty men to march in front.[1] To counteract this deſign, the Welſh threw up entrenchments, at ſome diſtance, on their ſide of the river; to check the enemies advance, and to ſecure the paſſes into their mountains.[2] Before the bridge was entirely finiſhed, a party of Engliſh, attended by the Gaſcon lords, who, with a body of Spaniſh troops, were then in the ſervice of Edward; deſpiſing the Welſh for the eaſy conqueſt of Angleſey, paſſed over the Menai at low water, with a conſiderable force; to reconnoitre their works, or to give a diſplay of their own valour. Richard ap Walwyn, who commanded in theſe poſts, knowing that the tide would ſoon flow, and cut off the enemies retreat to the bridge, remained quiet within his entrenchments; and neither oppoſed their paſſage, nor moleſted their advance up into the country.[3] As ſoon as the Menai had riſen ſo high, as to prevent any communication with the iſland, the Welſh in great multitudes ruſhed down from the mountains; aſſaulted the enemy with loud out-cries, and purſued them with great ſlaughter into the water; in which many were drowned, encumbered with the weight of their armour. Fifteen knights, thirty-two eſquires, and one thouſand common ſoldiers were ſlain, or periſhed in the Menai. Among others who fell in this day's diſaſter, were Lucas de Taney the leader of the foreign troops, William de Dodingeſeles, and Wil-

[1] Welſh Chr. p. 372. Holinſhead, p. 281. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 235. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464.

[2] Carte, vol. I. p. 193.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 372. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi.

liam

liam de la Zouch. The lord Latimer, who commanded the Engliſh in this detachment, had the good fortune to recover the bridge by the ſtoutneſs of his horſe.[1]

This diſaſter was a ſevere check to the views of Edward. His ſituation was now become critical, humiliating, and dangerous: Beſides the loſs he had ſuſtained, the winter was in advance: his two armies could have no communication by land; the deſign, likewiſe, of a diverſion was rendered impracticable. The Welſh, high in ſpirits, and maſters of the defiles, were ſtrongly entrenched on their mountains; the caſtle of Snowdun was filled with ſoldiers, and furniſhed with plenty of proviſions;[2] and they had ſeen, too, that even Edward and his foreign troops, with all their ſtratagems of war, were not invincible. This ſucceſs they regarded as a preſage of future proſperity. Their hopes began to revive, and their views to extend; which were heightened ſtill more by a prophecy of Merlin, long cheriſhed among the Welſh; that Llewelyn ſhould one day wield the ſceptre of Brutus, the ſuppoſed founder of their empire.[3] It is poſſible, too, that the Welſh prince, himſelf, might indulge the ſame hopes, from a like deluſive ſource, the prediction of a ſoothſayer. When he firſt began the revolt, he conſulted an aged woman, who was

[1] Holinſhead, p. 281, ſays that only two hundred foot ſoldiers periſhed. Guthrie's Hiſt. Eng. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi. Welſh Chron. p. 372. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2464. Matth. Weſtm. p. 176.

[2] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Grafton's Chron. p. 165.

[3] Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9. Matth. Weſtm. p. 176. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 235.

a reputed

a reputed propheteſs, reſpecting the iſſue of the war; who adviſed him to purſue the enterpriſe with ſpirit, and aſſured him alſo, that in the event he would ride through Cheapſide in London with a crown upon his head.[1]

In this ſtate of things, unable to advance, and too proud to relinquiſh the deſign, Edward retired to Rhuddlan.[2] From this
A. D. 1282. place, on the twenty-fourth of November, he iſſued out ſummonſes to the ſheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk, to the following effect. "Whereas Llewelyn, the ſon of Gryffydh, and other "Welſhmen his accomplices, our enemies and rebels, have ſo "often, in the times of us and our progenitors, diſturbed the "peace of England, and do ſtill continue in the ſame courſe; "and for that, by the advice of our great men, and the whole "community of the land, we propound finally to repreſs their "rebellion and inſtability, ſo as it ſhall not be in their power "to diſturb the peace of the nation when they pleaſe, although "that it ſeems to be a very great charge, and a moſt difficult "undertaking: We therefore command that you cauſe to come "before us on the twentieth of January, at Northampton, or "before our commiſſioners, all thoſe of your bailiwic that have "twenty pounds a year, and upwards, who are able and fit to "bear arms, and who are not preſent with us, in our expe-"dition againſt the Welſh; and four knights of each county, "for the community of the ſame counties, having full power "from them; and alſo of every city, borough, and market town, "two men for the commons of the ſame; to hear and do

[1] Holinſhead, p. 282. [2] Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

things,

" things, which, on our behalf, we ſhall cauſe to be ſhewn unto them." The like precept was ſent to the ſheriff of every county in England; with this difference only, that the people, ſo ordered by the writs of the counties of York, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Northumberland, and Lancaſter, were to aſſemble at York. The clergy and prelates of England were alſo required to perform their ſervices, in carrying on this neceſſary war.[1] The nature of theſe precepts, and the warlike appointments ſo extenſive, mark the eager ſpirit of Edward, as well as the idea which that prince entertained of the difficulty and importance of the enterpriſe. But an event happened ſoon after, ſudden and unforeſeen, which cloſed with glory the life of Llewelyn, and decided the fate of the Welſh nation.

The earl of Glouceſter, aſſiſted by Sir Edmund Mortimer, had been ſent with an army into South Wales, to reduce that country; and to check the depredations of Rhys ap Maelgwyn, and Gryffydh ap Meredydh, the two chiefs who had taken up arms in favour of Llewelyn, and had ravaged the preſent counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen. Theſe chieftains, a little time before, had been defeated by the earl of Glouceſter, near to Llandeilo-Vawr, with the loſs only on the enemies part, in perſons of note, of five knights, and of William de Valence, couſin to the Engliſh monarch.[2]

[1] Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

[2] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welſh Chron. p. 372. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 60.

The late ſucceſs of the Welſh, in the action of the Menai, had ſet on fire their enthuſiaſtic ſpirit; they conſidered it as a miracle which had been wrought in their favour. Confident, on the faith of the ancient prophecies, that in the perſon of Llewelyn, the empire of their fathers would be reſtored; they urged that prince to act with intrepidity, to ſeiſe this fortunate moment, and to aſſault the Engliſh in their turn, ſeparated and diſpirited by the loſs which they had lately ſuſtained.[1] Llewelyn thought this an enterpriſe of too much importance, to engage in it without farther reinforcements; which he was not without hopes of receiving, as he had entered into a large correſpondence with many of Edward's ſubjects in the marches, and in South Wales.[2] In hopes, by theſe means, of drawing together a great body of troops, to enable him to ſtrike ſo deciſive a blow; or by his preſence to re-animate his party, he determined to go into South Wales. Thinking the quarter of Snowdun ſafe for the winter, he left his brother David to guard the paſſes of thoſe mountains; and the prince of Wales himſelf, with a body of forces, marched to the aid of his adherents who favoured his cauſe in that country;[3] where, having overrun the territories of Caerdigan and Strath-Towi, he ravaged the eſtates of Rhys ap Meredydh.[4]

[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 176. P. Virgil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9.

[2] Guthrie's Hiſt. Eng. p. 897.

[3] Ibid. Annal. Waverleienſis, p. 235. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Matth. Weſtm. p. 176.

[4] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welſh Chron. 373.

The

The king, having intelligence of the ſudden movement of the Welſh prince, diſpatched orders to Oliver de Dineham, and other noblemen in the weſt, to paſs over the mouth of the Severn to Caermarthen, and to give their ſupport to his generals in that country.[1]

Llewelyn, having ſo far ſucceeded in his enterpriſe, proceeded with his forces to the cantrev of Buellt; where, by agreement, he was to hold a conference with ſome of the lords of that diſtrict.[2] As he had not any thing to fear from the ſouthern quarter, his only anxiety was to ſecure the principal paſs into the country, that no danger might ariſe from the north. With this deſign, having poſted the main part of his army on the ſummit of a mountain, near the river Wye; he ſtationed a body of troops at a bridge, called Pont Orewyn, which commanded the paſſage over that river.[3] Having thus ſecured himſelf, as he thought, from the ſudden attack of any enemy; the prince of Wales, unarmed, and attended by his eſquire alone, proceeded into the valley, where it had been agreed upon that the conference ſhould be held.[4] There is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that the deſign was betrayed by the very lords whom Llewelyn had appointed to meet.[5] In a moment after his departure, the bridge was attacked by John Gifford, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, at the head of a body of men who were natives of Buellt; the latter nobleman, or his father, being lord of

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 223. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 373.
[3] Holinſhead, p. 281. [4] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464.
[5] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 59. Welſh Chron. p. 373.

that country.[1] The poſt was maintained with ſuch ſpirit by the Welſh, that the Engliſh lords were not able to make any impreſſion, until Helias Walwyn, who was probably a native of the country, decided the conteſt; by pointing out to the enemy a paſſage through the river, though ſomewhat dangerous, which lay below, at a little diſtance from the bridge.[2] A detachment was ſent under the conduct of Walwyn, to ford the river; and with ſome difficulty they made good their paſſage. Aſſaulted in the front and rear, the Welſh relinquiſhed their poſt; and the remainder of the Engliſh army paſſed over the bridge.[3]

The prince of Wales, all this time, was waiting in a ſmall grove, the place which had been appointed for the meeting of thoſe chieftains, with whom he was to hold the conference. On the enemies firſt aſſault, his eſquire came to inform him that he heard a great outcry at the bridge. The Welſh prince enquired with eagerneſs if his ſoldiers were in poſſeſſion of that poſt; and being informed that they were, he calmly replied, "he then "would not ſtir from thence, though the whole power of "England was on the other ſide of the river." This confidence, not improperly placed, laſted only for a moment; the grove being in an inſtant ſurrounded by the enemies horſe.[4] Beſet on every ſide, and cut off from his army, Llewelyn endeavoured, as ſecretly as he could, to make good his retreat, and to join the troops which he had ſtationed on the mountain;

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 373. [2] Holinſhead, p. 281. Welſh Chron. p. 373.
[3] Ibid. [4] Welſh Chron. p. 374.

who, drawn up in battle array, were eagerly expecting the return of their prince. In making this attempt, he was diſcovered, and cloſely purſued by Adam de Francton, an Engliſh knight; who, perceiving him to be a Welſhman, and not knowing his quality, plunged his ſpear into the body of the prince of Wales, being unarmed and incapable of defence.[1] This being done, regardleſs of the perſon he had wounded, Adam de Francton inſtantly joined his own army, which was then aſcending the mountain to diſlodge the enemy from their poſt.[2] The Welſh, on this occaſion, were ſteady, and acted with great ſpirit; neither animated by the preſence of their prince, nor diſpirited by a knowledge of his fate. They poured upon their enemies, as they advanced up the mountain, a ſhower of arrows and darts; but the Engliſh, having placed bodies of archers in the intervals of their horſe, annoyed them in their turn, and at length obtained the ſummit.[3] The action continued doubtful for more than three hours, and was maintained on both ſides with great reſolution and valour,[4] until at length the Welſh were obliged to give way, were entirely defeated, and left two thouſand men,[5] a third of their number, dead on the field. This action happened on the tenth of December.[6] A. D. 1282. 8th of Edw. I.

[1] Henry de Knyghton, p. 2464. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 60. Welſh Chron. p. 374. Holinſhead, p. 281.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Welſh Chron. p. 374. Holinſhead, p. 281.

[4] Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

[5] Carte's Hiſt. England, vol. II. p. 194, from Chron. Dunſtaple.

[6] Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

All this time Llewelyn had lain upon the ground, faint and almoſt expiring. He had juſt life enough remaining to aſk for a prieſt; and a white friar, who chanced to be preſent, adminiſtered to the dying prince the laſt ſacred duties of his office.[1]

The hurry of the action having ceaſed, Adam de Francton, now at leiſure, returned into the valley to ſtrip the perſon he had wounded. On viewing the body, which was ſtill breathing, it was found, to the great joy of the Engliſh army, that the dying perſon was no other than the prince of Wales.[2] Upon

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

[2] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Guthrie's Hiſt. Eng. p. 897. Welſh Chron. p. 374.—The following is the account preſerved by tradition amongſt the inhabitants of Buellt reſpecting this event. Llewelyn had poſted his army on a hill near Mochryd, a village about three miles below Buellt, on the ſouth ſide of the Wye. On the north ſide of the river, two miles below Buellt, the prince had a houſe called Aberedwy, to which he came for the purpoſe of conferring with ſome chieftains of the country. During his ſtay there, he was alarmed with the approach of ſome Engliſh troops, who probably had intelligence of his ſituation. The prince, to extricate himſelf from the danger that threatened him, cauſed his horſe's ſhoes to be reverſed, to deceive his purſuers, as the ſnow was on the ground: but this circumſtance was made known to the enemy, through the treachery of the ſmith; and they followed ſo cloſely, that Llewelyn had but juſt time to paſs the draw-bridge at Buellt, which being drawn up ſecured his retreat. In the mean time, the Engliſh troops poſted at Aberedwy, had information of a ford a little lower down, called *Ceſn Cwm Bach*, which they croſſed, and by that means came between Llewelyn and his army ſtationed at Mochryd. The only means of ſafety that now offered was to ſecrete himſelf. But the enemy were ſo diligent in the purſuit, that the Welſh prince was ſoon diſcovered in a narrow dingle, in which he had concealed himſelf, three miles north of Buellt, and about five miles from his army; and which place, from this event, was called *Cwm Llewelyn*. After Llewelyn was killed, they cut off his head, and buried his body near the ſpot; and at ſome ſubſequent period a houſe was erected over his grave, which is called *Ceſn-y-Bedd*, or the top of the grave.

ſtripping

ſtripping Llewelyn, there were found in his trouſers his privy ſeal, and a paper that was filled with dark expreſſions, and a liſt of names which were written in a kind of cypher; a letter or two was diſcovered at the ſame time, all of which evidently proved he had engaged in a confederacy with ſeveral lords, who were Edward's ſubjects in the marches.[1] A tranſcript of theſe was ſent by Sir Edmund Mortimer to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was then in Pembrokeſhire; and who tranſmitted them immediately to the king, as a neceſſary precaution to guard againſt their deſigns. But that prince thought it not prudent to make any farther inquiries; being deſirous of not adding to a flame, which he thought muſt now die away of itſelf.[2] No ſooner had Llewelyn expired, than his head was cut off by Adam de Francton; and, as a gift of high value, was preſented to the king, who at this time reſided in the abbey of Conway.[3] The body of the prince of Wales lay unburied for ſome time; though his friends were very ſolicitous that it might be interred in conſecrated ground. The lady Matilda Longeſpee alſo, among others, intereſted herſelf for a decent interment. This indulgence, ſmall as it was, was not allowed; until the dead body of the Welſh prince had received abſolution from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, under the pretext that he had ſhewn ſigns of penitence, by having deſired the aſſiſtance of a prieſt in his laſt moments.[4]

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 224. [2] Ibid.

[3] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Welſh Chron. p. 374.

[4] Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

THUS

THUS died Llewelyn ap Gryffydh, after a reign of thirty-ſix years, leaving only one daughter.[1] The hiſtorians of the times are ſilent reſpecting the character, or the perſonal qualities of this prince. But the conduct of his life was the beſt illuſtration of his character. And if the valour of Llewelyn, his talents, and his patriotiſm, had been exerted upon a more ſplendid theatre, on the plains of Marathon, or in the Straits of Thermopylæ, his name would have been recorded in the claſſic page, and his memory revered, as an illuſtrious hero, and as a gallant aſſertor of the rights of nature. But no trophies have been raiſed to celebrate his fame. The vindictive ſpirit or policy of his conqueror, found an intereſt in burying amidſt the ruins of freedom, almoſt every trace, or monumental record, which might preſerve the memory of this prince, or perpetuate his glory. Gratitude, however, could pay no tribute ſo expreſſive, as the tears which his country poured upon the tomb of their fallen ſovereign. An elegy compoſed by a Bard who lived in his court, in wild and in plaintive notes, and with a ſeemingly prophetic ſpirit, finely expreſſes their ſorrow and deſpair. " The voice

[1] It appears, that the daughter of Llewelyn, and the daughter of his brother David, were confined in a nunnery in England; as an order was ſent by Edward, ſeven years after the death of their parents, to Thomas de Normanville, to enquire minutely into the ſtate and ſafe cuſtody of the ſaid princeſſes. Rymer, vol. II. p. 429. This daughter of Llewelyn, and of Eleanor de Montford, called Catherine Lackland, was ſent by Edward, attended by her nurſe, to be educated in England. She was afterwards married to Malcolm earl of Fife. Llewelyn is alſo ſaid to have had a ſon of the name of Madoc; but he muſt certainly have been illegitimate, as that prince had been only once married. Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310. It is moſt probable, that David's daughter remained in England, and died a nun.

" of

" of lamentation is heard in every place, as heretofore in
" Camlan.[1]—The copious tears ſtream down every cheek; ſo
" Cambria's defence, Cambria's munificent lord is fallen.—Oh
" Llewelyn, the loſs of *thee* is the loſs of all.—At the though
" of *thee* horror chills my blood, exhauſts my ſpirits, and con-
" ſumes my fleſh.—Behold how the courſe of nature is changed!
" How the trees of the foreſt furiouſly ruſh againſt each other!
" —See how the ocean deluges the earth! How the ſun deviates
" from his courſe! How the planets ſtart from their orbits!—
" Say, ye thoughtleſs mortals, do not theſe things portend the
" diſſolution of nature?—And let it be diſſolved.—Let kind
" heaven haſten the grand cataſtrophe.—Let a ſpeedy end be put
" to the incurable anguiſh of our ſpirits: ſince now there is no
" place to which we, miſerable men, may flee: no ſpot where we
" can ſecurely dwell: no friendly counſel: no ſafe retreat: no
" way by which we can eſcape our unhappy deſtiny."[2]

[1] The place where the great Arthur was ſlain.

[2] Gryffydh ap yr Ynad Côch wrote the poem from which this paſſage is extracted; and if it were poſſible for a tranſlation to transfuſe half the excellence of the original, it would ſhew that the Bard was equally inſpired with the true ſpirit of poetry, as affected by the fate of his beloved prince.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DAVID AP GRYFFYDH TO THE ENTIRE CONQUEST OF WALES, AND THE FINAL DEPARTURE OF EDWARD OUT OF THAT COUNTRY.

THE closing ſcene of the laſt book preſented an intereſting ſpectacle. We there ſaw a gallant and a patriot prince, after many efforts to preſerve the freedom of his country, falling in the conflict, and finding an honourable grave in its ruins.

As ſoon as the head of Llewelyn was brought by Adam de Francton to the Engliſh king, that prince ſent it to London; and that he might feaſt the eyes of his ſubjects with a novel and a ſavage ſpectacle, it was ornamented with a ſilver circle,[1] and placed upon the pillory[2] in Cheapſide; in ridicule of the prophecy of Merlin, that Llewelyn would one day wear the crown of Brutus. In contempt alſo of the late prediction of the ſoothſayer, that this prince would ride through Cheapſide crowned with a

A. D. 1282. 8th of Edw. I.

[1] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2464.

[2] Guthrie, vol. I. p. 897.

ſilver diadem,[1] his head was encircled with a wreath of ivy;[2] and, being fixed on the point of a ſpear, was carried through the ſtreets by a horſeman; it was then placed upon the higheſt turret in the Tower of London, where it continued for a long time.[3] To inſult the remains of a fallen enemy, and a ſovereign prince, by devices which were mean and vindictive, and more ſuited to the leader of a tribe of Arabs than a great monarch, denotes a mind in Edward inſenſible of true greatneſs, and a ſpirit little ſoftened by civilized manners.*

The late prince, as the central ſpring, had drawn into one point the ſtrength of the nation, had directed its movements, and had given them force and energy; but the ſpring being broken, all the parts became diſunited, without motion, ſpirit, or efficacy. There is a kind of palſy which for a moment ſeiſes upon the mind, when the hand of affliction ſtrikes deep, and the blow comes unexpected. Before the Welſh had time to emerge out of that ſtate of inſenſibility into which they had ſunk on the death of Llewelyn, the king of England ordered his forces to make a farther advance, and to ſurround them more cloſely. His own army inveſted Snowdun on the ſide of Conway;[4] his troops in Angleſey, not having hitherto dared to make good their paſſage over the Menai, had now leiſure to finiſh the bridge,

[1] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465. [2] Matt. Weſt. p. 176. [3] Holinſhead, p. 281.

* This ſtricture is not deſigned to be applied in general to the character of Edward; it is only intended to mark, and with merited juſtice, the animoſity and revengeful ſpirit, with which, to the laſt, he purſued the gallant but unfortunate Llewelyn.

[4] Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinſhead, p. 282.

and

and to penetrate the country on the ſide of Caernarvon;[1] a body of forces, alſo, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, completed the inveſtiture on the quarter towards South Wales.[2]

DAVID, all this time, in poſſeſſion of the caſtles and ſtrong holds of the country, not chuſing to riſque a general engagement, remained quiet within his poſts. Regarding himſelf as the ſovereign of North Wales, on the death of his brother, he ſummoned the Welſh chieftains, his ſubjects, to meet him at Denbigh;* where he intended to hold a conſultation, on the common intereſts of his country, at this dangerous criſis. He afterwards renewed hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh, and appeared fully determined to vindicate his rights.[3] There was a fortreſs, called the caſtle of Bere, very ſtrong by art and nature, and which was ſituated in Snowdun, in the midſt of a moraſs; was acceſſible only by a ſingle cauſeway, and not to be approached but through narrow and rugged defiles. This fortreſs David had provided with a ſtrong garriſon.[4] But ſo ſunk in deſpair were the Welſh, as if all hopes of retrieving their fortunes had died with Llewelyn, that even this caſtle was ſurrendered to the king, after it had been cloſely inveſted for ſome time.[5] No farther reſiſtance was made; every other fortreſs was immediately yielded A. D. 1283.

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 59. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

[2] Carte, vol. II. p. 194. from Chr. Dunſtaple, Ann. Ceſtrenſis.

* *Dinbech*, the preſent town of Denbigh.

[3] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465.

[4] This fortreſs was probably the caſtle which is ſituated near the Lake of Llan Beris, the ruins of which ſtill remain, and is called Caſtell Dolbadarn. Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

[5] Holinſhead, p. 282.

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up.[1] The Welſh, confounded and in diſmay, fled on every ſide, to ſhelter themſelves in caves, within the receſſes of rocks, and in the deep woods of their country.[2]

The paſſes being now left unguarded, Edward ſtationed his horſe at the foot of the hills; and leaving in each defile a body of troops to cut off the enemy as they attempted to eſcape, he himſelf, with the remainder of his army, penetrated the receſſes
A. D. 1283. of the mountains. In this ſervice he was much aſſiſted by the foreign troops in his army;[3] who, having been accuſtomed to ſerve in a mountainous country, advanced with greater facility, ſet fire to the houſes, and ſlew great numbers of the Welſh, diſcovered in the ſecret receſſes of the country, or flying to ſuch places for concealment.[4]

The people who inhabited the Snowdun mountains being now entirely ſubdued, Edward collected his ſcattered army, and ſpread over the more level parts of the country, of which he eaſily made himſelf maſter; and the miſerable natives, in deſpair and unreſiſting, were ſlaughtered without mercy. More than three thouſand periſhed in the carnage.[5] Prince David, unable to make any reſiſtance, was carried along the torrent which overwhelmed his country; and he was obliged to conceal himſelf and his family

[1] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Matth. Weſtm. p. 176. Carte, p. 194, from Chr. Dunſtaple, and Annales Ceſtrenſis, p. 282.

[2] Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinſhead, p. 282. [3] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464.

[4] Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinſhead, p. 282.

[5] Holinſhead, p. 282. Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

in woods and marſhes, and in other places of ſecurity.[1] He remained ſome months in this ſituation, almoſt famiſhed through the want of proviſions; during which time, urged by ſtrong neceſſity, he frequently iſſued out to make depredations.[2]

In this ſtate of conſternation, all union having been diſſolved by the conqueſt of their country, the Welſh no longer reſiſted the incitements which were offered to private advantage, or to perſonal ſafety. It was therefore an eaſy matter for Edward to corrupt ſome of David's retainers. Theſe are ſuppoſed to be Eineon ap Ivor, and Gronw ap David, with their ſons; who, in the night of the twenty-firſt of June, ſurpriſed the Welſh prince and his family in a moraſs, into which they had fled for ſecurity.[3] The unfortunate David and his wife, his two ſons and ſeven daughters,[4] were brought priſoners to Rhuddlan caſtle, where the king then reſided.[5] When that prince was taken, a relic was found upon him, called the *Croſſeneych*,[6] ſuppoſed to be a part of the real *Croſs*, highly venerated by the princes of Wales; and which was delivered to the king, with other relics,

[1] Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

[2] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238. Carte, from Annales Ceſtrenſis. Chron. Dunſtaple, p. 104.

[3] Rymer, vol. II. p. 247. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238. Thomas Wyke, p. 111.

[4] It is probable that all theſe children were illegitimate, excepting one daughter.

[5] Matth. Weſtm. p. 177. T. Wyke's Chron. p. 112, ſays only his wife and two ſons. Holinſhead, p. 282.

[6] This relic, St. Neots had brought into Wales from the Holy Land, and was voluntarily delivered up to the king by a ſecretary of the late prince of Wales. J. Roſſ. Ant. Warw. p. 208.

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by one of the above-mentioned chieftains.[1] David requeſted that he might be admitted into the king's preſence. This indulgence was denied him.[2] Inflexible in the deſign he meditated, Edward refuſed his repeated ſolicitations; unwilling that his own firmneſs ſhould be put to the teſt, which the recollection of former intercourſe might ſoften; or afraid leſt he might be melted into pity, and in conſequence his juſtice be diſarmed, by an interview with a captive prince, who had fallen in the nobleſt cauſe, in the defence of the rights of his country.

The Welſh prince was confined a cloſe priſoner in Rhuddlan caſtle, and ſoon after ſent in chains to Shrewſbury.[3] On the captivity of David, Rhys Vychan, an eminent chieftain in South Wales, ſurrendered himſelf and his followers to the earl of Hereford, who delivered them up to the king; by whoſe orders Rhys was ſent to London, and loaded with chains, was impriſoned in the Tower.[4] All the other Welſh chieftains, following his example, yielded up their caſtles, and ſubmitted to the Engliſh king.[5] One victim remained to feel the weight of Edward's ſevereſt vengeance.

As David had been made a baron of the realm, Edward determined to proceed againſt him as a ſubject of England. With

[1] Beſides the above relic, the crown of the celebrated king Arthur, with many precious jewels, were about this time preſented to Edward. See Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238. Rymer, vol. II. p. 247.

[2] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

[3] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

[4] Wyke, p. 111. Welſh Chron. p. 374.

[5] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465. J. Roſſi. p. 166.

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this view, he ſummoned eleven earls and one hundred barons, to open the proceſs at Shrewſbury on the thirtieth of September, and to ſit in judgment at his trial; the king himſelf preſiding in perſon.[1] By this court the prince of Wales was doomed to die as a traitor;[2] a ſenſe of intereſt, and the deſire of pleaſing their ſovereign, influenced the deciſion of the judges, and ſilenced the claims of juſtice and humanity. There was ſomething ſingular in the ſentence pronounced againſt him by John de Vaus[3] the chief juſtice of England. He was condemned to five different kinds of puniſhment. To be drawn at the tails of horſes through the ſtreets of Shrewſbury to the place of execution, becauſe he was a traitor to the king, who had made him a knight. To be hanged, for having murdered Fulk Trigald, and other knights in the caſtle of Hawarden. His heart and bowels to be burned, becauſe thoſe murders had been perpetrated on Palm Sunday. His head to be cut off. His body to be quartered, and to be hung up in four different parts of the kingdom;[4] becauſe he had conſpired the death of the king in ſeveral places of England.[5] This ſentence, cruel in the extreme, the rigour of which had refined into novelty, was executed in all its ſeverity. Such was the pleaſure which the death of David gave to the Engliſh, that the citizens of York and Wincheſter contended, with a ſavage eagerneſs, for the

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 247, 248. Matth. Weſtm. p. 177. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

[2] Wyke, p. 111. Matth. Weſtm. p. 177. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 166.

[3] Guth. Hiſt. England, p. 898. [4] See Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

[5] Carte, p. 195. from Chron. Dunſtaple.

right ſhoulder of this unfortunate prince. That honour was decided in favour of Wincheſter; and the remaining quarters were ſent, with the utmoſt diſpatch, to the cities of York and Briſtol, and to the town of Northampton.[1] To feaſt ſtill more the eyes of the people, his head was ſent to the tower of
A. D. 1283. London, and being fixed on a pole, was placed near to the head of his brother Llewelyn.[2] Every generous idea, and liberal ſentiment, ſeem to have been extinguiſhed in national hatred, and in the frenzy of joy which had ſeiſed on the Engliſh.

The death of David cloſed the only ſovereignty which remained of the ancient Britiſh empire; an empire, which through various changes of fortune, had oppoſed the arms of imperial Rome; and, for more than eight hundred years, had reſiſted the utmoſt efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes.

The fall of nations, diſtinguiſhed only by misfortunes, or only illuſtrious for conqueſts, may raiſe for a moment a ſigh of pity, or the tranſient effuſions of applauſe. But a people like the Welſh, ſatisfied with their mountains, who had been forced into a long and unequal conteſt, in defence of their native rights, with few other reſources than their valour and a fond attachment to their liberties, though falling in the ruins of their country, will have a claim on the eſteem, and excite

[1] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

[2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 177. T. Wyke, p. 111. J. Roſſi. p. 166. Annales Waverlcienſis, p. 238.

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the admiration of the world, as long as manly ſentiment and freedom ſhall remain.

But, in reflecting on the hiſtory of this nation, with a juſt and diſcriminating ſpirit, we have been frequently led to ſurvey its manners and national character, with the oppoſite emotions of pleaſure and diſguſt. We are not, however, to eſtimate that character, too nicely, by the ſtandard of civilized judgement. It is true, there were traits in the genius of that people, marking in their manners the deepeſt ferocity; it is true, that caprice and levity and the ſpirit of diſcord, too often decided in their councils, and governed their conduct; and it is alſo true, that ſtriking defects may be traced in their policy and laws, ruinous to themſelves, and diſgraceful to a leſs cultivated period. But the vices of an uncivilized people, are in ſome degree ſoftened, and even balanced by their virtues. A ſpirit unſubdued by danger and misfortunes, hoſpitable manners and eager friendſhips, a high reliſh for the arts of muſic and of poetry, with a principle of juſtice inherent in their laws, are qualities to be thrown into the oppoſite ſcale. And no doubt the influence of theſe, blending the lighter with the darker ſhades, ſoftened the aſperity of ruder features, and tempered into a milder maſs the colouring of the whole. But the ſpirit of freedom and an ardent love of their country, were the diſtinguiſhing traits in their character. Theſe were the animating ſprings of their genius, and enabled that people to ſuſtain, through a long ſucceſſion of ages, the moſt ſtriking reverſes of fortune; and it is

the colliſion of ſuch viciſſitudes, by calling into exertion public virtue and heroiſm, which gives dignity to the character of man, and conſtitutes the true glory of a nation.

EDWARD having at length obtained the point of his ambition, by the entire conqueſt of Wales, annexed that country to the crown of England. As the leading principle in the politics of Edward, we have ſeen him purſue this object, with that vehemency of ſpirit, and unremitting ardour, which ſo highly diſtinguiſhed his character. The features of the Engliſh monarch, we confeſs, have hitherto appeared harſh, ſevere, and diſguſting; but then, we have only ſeen them at the moment, when they were inflamed with anger, or roughened by oppoſition. The conteſt being ended, and the Welſh no longer reſiſting his power, the violence of his ſpirit began to ſubſide; and, except a few ſtarts into natural fierceneſs, we ſhall ſee him in future, with a milder influence, bringing into action the great talents which he really poſſeſſed.

To ſecure the obedience of the newly ſubdued country, and to fix its government upon the ſolid baſis of equal laws, and the participation of common rights, Edward at this time introduced

duced into Wales the whole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence.[1] He divided North Wales into counties; he appointed ſheriffs, coroners, and other officers in each;[2] the county courts to be held once a month, and thoſe of the ſheriffs twice in the year; he ſettled alſo the forms of writs, with the methods to be uſed in law proceedings, which were to be carried on and decided within the principality; it being expreſsly provided that the Welſh ſhould not be ſued for debts and treſpaſſes in any town of England.[3] With this deſign, Edward took up his reſidence at the caſtle of Rhuddlan, where he inſtituted a body of laws under the title of the Statute of Rhuddlan.[4] From hence he iſſued out a proclamation to all the inhabitants of Wales, that he would receive them under his protection; giving them aſſurances, at the ſame time, of enjoying their eſtates, their liberties, and properties; and that they ſhould alſo hold them under the ſame tenures as they had heretofore held them under their native princes.[5] This liberal offer was carried into immediate execution. The king of England, with much moderation A. D. 1284.

[1] Brady, vol. II. p. 11. Matth. Weſtm. p. 177.

[2] Baker's Chron. p. 101. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 166.

[3] Leges Walliæ, p. 531—536. Appendix.

[4] Ibid. p. 542. Welſh Chron. p. 376.

[5] See Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 33. This valuable memoir, beſides being the hiſtory of a private family, not only deduces with greater accuracy the pedigrees of ſeveral of their princes, but, likewiſe, illuſtrates the manners of the Welſh, as well as the miſerable ſituation of that people, during the dark period which ſucceeded the conqueſt. This work was written by Sir John Wynne of Gwedir, a native of Meirionydh, and deſcended from the Royal Houſe of North Wales. The world is indebted for its publication, and the ingenious notes annexed to the work, to the learned and judicious antiquary, the Hon. Daines Barrington.

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and wiſdom, reſerving to himſelf only the ſame rents, duties, and ſervices, which had always belonged to the princes of Wales. Inquiſitions were made into theſe rights by an order of the king; their particular nature was aſcertained, and determined by the verdicts of juries who were compoſed entirely of Welſhmen. The rents which had been heretofore paid by the inhabitants of Angleſey were much reduced in conſequence; as they had formerly yielded one thouſand marks annually to Llewelyn, but afterwards only paid four hundred and fifty pounds a year to the Engliſh princes.[1]

The country being thus ſubdued, as a check to any future incurſions of the Welſh, Edward erected the caſtle of Conway,[2] on the ſcite of the ancient monaſtery; the religious of which, a ſociety of white monks, he removed to an abbey which he founded at Maenan near Llanrwſt; and whom he afterwards tranſplanted to Vale Royal in Cheſhire, where he built an abbey of the Ciſtercian order.[3]

The archbiſhop of Canterbury alſo came at this time into Wales, with a view of conciliating the minds of the Welſh clergy; by redreſſing their grievances, and by repairing the churches which had been damaged in the diſorder of the late times.[4]

[1] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 196. [2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 177.
[3] Holinſhead, p. 282.
[4] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welſh Chron. p. 374.

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The Engliſh king had already built a ſtrong fortreſs at Conway; and as a farther check to inſurrections which might ariſe in the quarter of Snowdun, he erected the caſtle of Caernarvon; ſupplying each of thoſe fortreſſes with ſuitable garriſons.[1] With the ſame view of curbing the Welſh, and as a reward to the Engliſh nobility who had ſerved him in the war, he now gave the lordſhip of Denbigh, or he might confirm what he had formerly granted, to Henry Lacy earl of Lincoln; and the lordſhip of Ruthin to the lord Reginald de Grey; he gave eſtates, likewiſe, to many of the other Engliſh barons.[2] He erected Rhuddlan, Caernarvon, Aberyſtwyth, and other towns into corporations; granting them great privileges, to encourage trade, and to allure the Welſh from their mountains and wild habits, into a more ſociable manner of living. He would likewiſe have removed the See of St. Aſaph to Rhuddlan, if he could have obtained the Pope's conſent.[3]

The ſudden introduction of Engliſh cuſtoms into Wales, though ſoftened by lenient meaſures and directed by a liberal ſpirit, was not likely to ſuit the inclinations of a people, who were ſore with injuries, and highly incenſed at the late tranſactions. An event followed ſoon after, which had no tendency to ſoothe the ſpirits of the Welſh, or to conciliate their affections.

[1] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welſh Chron. p. 374.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 377. [3] Carte, vol. I. p. 196.

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Among other cauſes of that ardent ſpirit, with which this people had ſo long maintained their independence, the Engliſh king muſt have known that their Bards had been the principal ſprings of action. To ſilence that voice which might revive ancient ideas, and rekindle in the Welſh their love of freedom and native fire; Edward commanded that all the bards in Wales ſhould be hanged by martial law, under pretence that they had incited the people to ſedition. This edict, more cruel than the proſcriptions of the Roman triumvirate, continued in all its rigour to the end of the reign of Henry the fourth;[1] during which period, intereſt and hatred conſpiring its ruin, this ancient and celebrated *Order* was nearly exterminated.[2] In this tranſaction, however, no claim to originality is due to Edward. Philip of Macedon, when treating with the Athenian ſtate, demanded as a condition of peace, that all the orators, the promoters of the war, ſhould be delivered into his hands. An impartial recital of events, however it may ſully the fame of an illuſtrious character, is a juſtice which we owe to truth, and to the manes of an injured people.

IT may not be improper, at this period of their decline, to open to the reader a ſhort hiſtory of the Bards; a race of men, who poſſeſſed, for many ages, ſo great an influence over the

[1] Statutes at large, 4 Henry IV. Cap. 27. [2] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 62.

genius

genius of the Welſh nation; inſpiring them with hoſpitable manners, and with the ſentiments of freedom and of glory.

The bards derived their origin from remote antiquity, and were ever held in high eſtimation. Mankind have been early led to poetical compoſitions. Agreeable ſounds would ſtrike at firſt every ear, but poetry was neceſſary to give thoſe ſounds a laſting effect. Verſe was made uſe of to preſerve the memory of remarkable events and great actions. The religious ceremonies of nations, their manners, and rural labours, were alſo recorded in numbers. Hence it was that Greece could boaſt of a Homer, a Heſiod, and of many other poets, ſeveral ages before an hiſtorian had written in proſe. Among the Gauls alſo, and other Celtic nations, there were poems compoſed on various ſubjects from the earlieſt ages.[1]

It is difficult to fix the etymology of the name *beirdh*, unleſs derived from *bâr*, which ſignifies *fury*; and, no doubt, has ſome analogy to that poetic fury, or enthuſiaſm, with which the poets fancied themſelves, or might feign to be inſpired.[2] Diodorus Siculus is the firſt author among the ancients, who makes mention of the bards, as compoſers of verſes; which they ſung to the harp and other inſtruments of muſic; celebrating the praiſes of heroes, or chaſtiſing vicious characters with ſatirical invectives.[3] Ammianus Marcellinus ſays, it was the province of the bards

[1] Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. I. p. 384.

[2] Richard's Welſh Dictionary, from Feſtus. Baxter's Gloſſary, p. 34. Evan Evans Diſſertatio de Bardis.

[3] Ibid.

to ſing, in heroic verſe ſet to muſical notes of the harp, the atchievements of illuſtrious men. There is a paſſage of Poſſidonius, cited by Athenæus, which deſcribes the Celtic princes going to war, having bards in their train; who celebrated the praiſes of their chieftains in verſe, which they ſung to the people.[1]

GREAT reſpect was paid by all the northern nations to their bards; as they not only publiſhed their renown to the world, but configned their fame to poſterity. It is ſaid, that this *Order* of men were never guilty of flattery, and never laviſhed their praiſes on heroes, nor even on kings themſelves, unleſs deſerved by their gallant exploits.[2]

THOUGH the *Order* of the bards was common to the Celtic nations, no veſtige of them remains but among the Welſh, the Iriſh, and the deſcendants of the ancient Caledonians.

ON the invaſion of the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, and on the decline of the Britiſh empire, many poetical compoſitions were deſtroyed, with other ancient records; hence the writings of the bards, and thoſe of the early hiſtorians are exceedingly ſcarce. Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, and in the reign of prince Mervyn, is the firſt of the Britiſh hiſtorians, who mentions the bards. He ſays, that Talhaiarn was famous for poetry; that Aneurin, and Talieſin, Llywarch-hen and Chian, flouriſhed in the ſixth century. Of theſe bards, the works only

[1] Evan Evans Diſſertatio de Bardis. J. Lelandi Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 5.

[2] Mallet, vol. I. p. 384.

of three are extant; thoſe of Aneurin, of Taliesin, and Llywarch-hen.[1] The writings of the other bards being loſt, we can only bring Nennius as an evidence in their praiſe; who aſſerts, that the bards of his age were men of excellent genius.[2] The poems which are extant contain many things deſerving of notice, and throw a great light upon the hiſtorical events of that age. At the ſame time they are difficult to be underſtood, owing in part to the careleſſneſs of tranſcribers, and in part to the language itſelf, become obſolete from its very great antiquity. Aneurin, to whom his country gave the honourable diſtinction of *Mychdeirn-Beirdh*, or monarch of the bards, in a poem entitled Gododin, relates that he had been engaged in a battle againſt the Saxons. Taliesin, called likewiſe *Pen-Beirdh*, or the prince of the bards, reſided at the courts of Maelgwyn Gwynedh, and Urien Reged prince of Cumberland.[3] Llywarch-hen, or the aged, who was kinſman to the laſt mentioned prince, had been himſelf a ſovereign in a part of Cumbria, and had paſſed his youthful days in the court of king Arthur.[4] There are extant ſome manuſcript poems of his, wherein he recites that he was driven by the Saxons into Powys; that he had twenty-four ſons, all of whom were diſtinguiſhed by golden torqueſes, and that they all died in defence of their country. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, there were other bards who flouriſhed during this period; the moſt eminent of whom was Merddin Wyllt, who compoſed a poem called *Afallenau*, or the Orchard.[5]

[1] Evans Diſſertatio de Bardis. [2] J. Lelandi Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 4.
[3] Evan Evans Diſſertatio de Bardis.
[4] Muſical and Poetical Relics, by Jones, p. 6. [5] Evans Diſſertatio de Bardis.

From the ſixth to the tenth century it is difficult to meet with any of the writings of the bards, owing, it is probable, to the devaſtations of war, and to the civil diſſenſions among the Welſh.

Such was the reſpect in which the bards were held; that it was enacted by a law of Howel Dha, that whoever ſhould ſtrike any one of this *Order*, muſt compound for the offence, by paying to the party aggrieved one fourth more than was neceſſary to be paid to any other perſon of the ſame degree. The election of the bards was made every year, in an aſſembly of the chieftains and princes of the country; in which they were aſſigned precedence, and emolument ſuitable to their merit; but the bard moſt highly diſtinguiſhed for his talents was ſolemnly chaired, and had likewiſe a badge given him of a ſilver chair.[1] This congreſs of the bards was uſually held at the three royal reſidences of the princes of Wales; the ſovereign himſelf preſiding in that aſſembly.[2]

There were three different claſſes of this order in Wales. The firſt was called *Beirdhs*, and were the compoſers of verſes and odes in various meaſures; it was neceſſary that theſe ſhould poſſeſs a genius for poetry, and alſo that their genius ſhould be tinctured with a high degree of enthuſiaſm. They were likewiſe the recorders of the arms of the Welſh chieftains, and the repoſitories alſo of the genealogies of families. This claſs was ac-

[1] Evan Evans Diſſertatio de Bardis. [2] Jones's Muſical Remains, p. 14.

counted

counted the moſt honourable, and was high in the public eſtimation. The ſecond claſs, called *Minſtrels*, were performers upon inſtruments, chiefly the harp and the crwth.[1] The third were thoſe who ſung to muſical inſtruments in general, and were called *Datgeiniaid*.[2]

In the reign of Gryffydh ap Cynan, a law was enacted to aſcertain the privileges of the minſtrels and bards, and to reſtrain their licentious manners. This ſtatute preſcribed the emoluments each was to receive, as well as the perſons on whom ſuch emoluments were impoſed. It was likewiſe enacted, that neither the minſtrels nor the bards ſhould lead the lives of vagabonds, nor ſhould ſing verſes in houſes of public reſort; that they ſhould not be intoxicated with liquor, nor be quarrelſome perſons, nor be addicted to women; and that they ſhould neither be thieves themſelves, nor ſhould be the companions of ſuch; they were prohibited likewiſe from entering into any houſe, or making ſatirical ſongs on any perſon, without the licence of the parties concerned. If a minſtrel or a bard ſhould violate theſe reſtraints on their conduct, by a ſingular and unexampled ſeverity, every man was made an officer of juſtice; and was authoriſed not only to arreſt and to puniſh diſcretionally, but to ſeiſe upon whatever property the offender had about him. This ſtatute, the ſeverity of which in ſome degree points out its ne-

[1] The muſical inſtruments in uſe among the Welſh were the *telyn* or harp, the *crwth* or crowd, the *pibgorn* or pipe, the *tabwrdd* or tabret, and the *corn buelin*, cornet or bugle horn. See Jones's Muſical Remains, p. 41.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 192.

ceſſity,

ceſſity, has been frequently put in force by the reigning authority of the country, as appears by ſeveral commiſſions directing the better regulation of the *Order*.[1]

From this time, under the auſpicious protection of the Welſh princes, many excellent bards aroſe. Meilir, who was the bard of Gryffydh ap Cynan, was alſo employed in a military character, and was ſent by that prince to tranſact a negociation in England. Gwalchmai the ſon of Meilir, in a poem entitled *Gorhoffedd*, ſays with much exultation, that he had defended the marches of Wales againſt the Engliſh. Cynddelw *Brydydd-Mawr*, or Cynddelw the Great Bard, was a perſon eminent for his valour, and lived in the court of Madoc ap Meredydh the prince of Powys.

From this period, to the death of that great prince the laſt Llewelyn, ſeveral bards flouriſhed of diſtinguiſhed talents; the moſt eminent of whom was Llywarch-Prydydh-y-Moch, who has celebrated in many odes the victories of Llewelyn the Great; likewiſe Dafydh Penfras, Daniel ap Lloſgwrn Mew, and Llewelyn Fardd ap Cyward. Cotemporary with theſe flouriſhed Philip Brydydh, who was an eminent bard in Caerdigan.[2]

The

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 192.

[2] About the year 1176 Rhys ap Gryffydh, deſcended from the royal houſe of South Wales, made a great feaſt in the caſtle of Aberteivi during the Chriſtmas holidays; which feaſt he had cauſed to be proclaimed throughout Britain a long time before. Agreeably to this invitation, many ſtrangers reſorted to his caſtle, and were entertained by him with much honour and courteſy. Beſides deeds of arms, and other amuſements,

The talents of the Welſh bards were not ſolely employed in preſerving the deſcents of families, in the praiſe of heroes, or in recording their illuſtrious actions.[1] They ſometimes in plaintive numbers mourned over the tomb of the fallen warrior.

We offer to the reader, as a ſpecimen of this kind of poetry, the following tranſlation of an Elegy which was written by Llywarch-hen, a Britiſh bard of the ſixth century, on the death of Cynddylan prince of Powys.

Come forth and ſee, ye Cambrian dames,
Fair Pengwern's[2] royal roofs in flames!
The foe the fatal dart hath flung
(The foe that ſpeaks a barb'rous tongue,)
And pierc'd Cynddylan's princely head,
And ſtretch'd your champion with the dead.
His heart, which late, with martial fire,
Bade his lov'd country's foes expire
(Such fire as waſtes the foreſt hill)
Now like the winter's ice is chill.

O'er the pale corſe with boding cries
Sad Argoed's[3] cruel eagle flies;

ments, Rhys had cauſed all the bards in Wales to repair to the meeting; and placing them on chairs in the hall of the caſtle, he ordered them to exerciſe their ſeveral talents in oppoſition to each other, appointing great rewards to thoſe who excelled in their ſeveral profeſſions. In this conteſt, the bards of North Wales carried away the prize, and the muſicians of Rhys's own houſehold were adjudged to have excelled in the powers of harmony. See Welſh Chron. p. 237.

[1] J. Lelandi Comm. de Scriptoribus Britann. p. 5.

[2] Now Shrewſbury, then the chief reſidence of the princes of Powys.

[3] The ancient name of Powys.

He

He flies exulting o'er the plain,
And ſcents the blood of heroes ſlain.
Dire bird! this night my frighted ear
Thy loud, ill-omen'd voice ſhall hear:
I know thy cry, that ſcreams for food,
And thirſts to drink Cynddylan's blood.

No more the manſion of delight,
Cynddylan's hall is dark to-night;
Nor more the midnight hour prolongs
With fires, and lamps, and feſtive ſongs.
Its trembling bards afflicted ſhun
The hall, bereav'd of Cyndrwyn's ſon.[1]
Its joyous viſitants are fled;
Its hoſpitable fires are dead:
No longer, rang'd on either hand
Its dormitory, couches ſtand:
But all above, around, below,
Dread ſights, dire ſounds, and ſhrieks of woe.

Awhile I'll weep Cynddylan ſlain,
And pour the weak, deſponding ſtrain;
Awhile I'll ſoothe my troubled breaſt:
Then, in eternal ſilence reſt.[2]

[1] Cynddylan was the ſon of Cyndrwyn.

[2] This Elegy was tranſlated into Engliſh verſe by the Rev. John Walters, maſter of Ruthin ſchool, and late fellow of Jeſus College, Oxford, to whoſe elegant taſte, and judicious knowledge of the Welſh laws, the author has been much indebted. The like acknowledgement is due to the Rev. John Lloyd, rector of Caerwaes, from whoſe friendly attentions this work has received very conſiderable advantage. This gentleman, who poſſeſſes a critical judgement in the antiquities of his country, as well as an extenſive knowledge of its hiſtory, is lineally deſcended from the princes of the houſe of Powys.

Tyranny having erected her banner in Wales, by the cruel policy of Edward, in the maſſacre of the bards; that ancient ſeat of muſic and of poetry was deſerted by the muſes; and in conſequence was deprived of thoſe faſcinating arts, which ſoftened, at the ſame time, that they invigorated the genius of the people.

During the ſpirited, and for a while, the proſperous inſurrection of Owen Glendwrdwy, the muſes reviſited their native ſeats; encouraged by the munificence of that leader, and animated by the tranſitory ray which had dawned upon freedom. Among the number of thoſe bards who appeared at the court of Glendwrdwy, was Jolo Goch, who celebrated in a high ſtrain of eulogy, the magnificence and the victories of his patron. At the ſame time flouriſhed Dafydh ap Gwilim, a native of Caerdigan.

The Welſh, having made the laſt effort for their expiring freedom, ſunk into a ſtate of ſlavery, the moſt deep and ſevere. The bards were prohibited by law from making their annual progreſs, and from holding public aſſemblies; which privileges were called by the natives *clera* and *Cymhortha*. During this dark period, and the conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, the genius of poetry was nearly extinguiſhed, or was only employed in ſoothing the miſery of the times, by obſcure predictions of more proſperous days.[1]

[1] Evan Evans Diſſertatio de Bardis.

A BRIGHTER proſpect opening on this nation in the reign of Henry the ſeventh, a ſeries of bards from that time aroſe; who, being ſupported in the families of the Welſh chieftains, aſcertained and preſerved their genealogies; and, the cauſes of reciting warlike exploits having ceaſed, they celebrated the civil virtues of their patrons, their magnanimity, their hoſpitable ſpirit, their talents, and the graces of their perſons. They, likewiſe, amidſt other duties, had the mournful office of compoſing an elegy on the death of the chieftain in whoſe family they reſided; which was ſung to the ſurviving relations in honour of the dead; reciting the noble families from which the deceaſed had ſprung, and the great actions performed by himſelf or his anceſtors.

SINCE the reign of queen Elizabeth, there has not been any regular aſſembly of the bards.[1] The motives to emulation having ceaſed, and the ſpirit of ancient freedom being extinguiſhed, the poetic fire, for which this nation had been ſo renowned, gradually declined. But a ſpark of that ancient fire yet remains in the genius of the Welſh; which, in their ſeaſons of feſtivity, breaks out into a ſingular kind of poetry, called *Pennyll*;[2] and which, as a native art, may long ſurvive, though time,

[1] Evan Evans Diſſertatio de Bardis. Jones's Muſical Remains, p. 30.

[2] Even at this day ſome vein of the ancient minſtrelſy ſurvives amongſt our mountains. Numbers of perſons of both ſexes aſſemble and ſit round the harp, ſinging alternatively *Pennillion* or ſtanzas of ancient or modern compoſitions. The young people uſually begin the night with dancing, and when they are tired, aſſume this ſpecies of relaxation. They alternately ſing, dance, and drink, not by hours, but

time, or the influence of Engliſh manners, ſhould eraſe every other original trait.

THE union of Wales with the crown of England, not having proceeded from mutual inclination, was received by the

but by days and weeks; and meaſure time only by the continuance of their mirth and pleaſure. Often, like the modern Improviſatore of Italy, they ſing extempore verſes; and a perſon converſant in this art, readily produces a *pennill* oppoſite to the laſt that was ſung. Many have their memories ſtored with ſeveral hundreds, perhaps thouſands of *pennillion*, ſome of which they have always ready for anſwers to every ſubject that can be propoſed, or if their recollection ſhould ever fail them, they have invention to compoſe ſomething pertinent and proper for the occaſion. The ſubjects afford a great deal of mirth; ſome of theſe are jocular, others ſatirical, but moſt of them amorous; which, from the nature of the ſubject, are beſt preſerved. They continue ſinging without intermiſſion, never repeating the ſame ſtanza, (for that would forfeit the honour of being held firſt of the ſong) and, like nightingales, ſupport the conteſt through the night. The audience uſually call for the tune; ſometimes a few only ſing to it, and ſometimes the whole company. But when a party of capital fingers aſſemble, they rarely call for the tune, for it is indifferent to them what tune the harper plays. Pariſhes are often oppoſed againſt pariſhes, and even counties contend with counties. Theſe rural uſages are beſt preſerved in the mountainous counties of Meirionedh and Caernarvon.—Jones's Muſical Remains, p. 30. See alſo Mr. Pennant's Journey to Snowdun. The world is indebted to this Gentleman for many valuable publications reſpecting Wales. The countenance which they have already received from the public, on account of the agreeable deſcriptions given of that country, and their deep and extenſive reſearches into its antiquities, renders any eulogium, on our part, unneceſſary.

Welſh with the deepeſt reluctance. It was an union which they conſidered in no other light than as a ſyſtem of ſlavery. Foreign laws and cuſtoms had been forced upon them; which, though better than their own, and more ſuited to their advances into civilization, were ſtill the laws of a conquering nation, with which, on the footing of equality, they had ſo long contended. The rigour alſo exerciſed by Edward's officers in Wales, alienated them ſtill more from an Engliſh adminiſtration; and they yet retained a fond attachment to the memory of their native princes.

To all the propoſals made to them by Edward of ſettling their government, they gave him the ſame deciſive anſwer. They ſaid, that they were willing to be governed by a chieftain of their own country, or by the king in perſon; but firmly declared that they would yield no obedience to any perſon who was not a native of Wales, or who did not reſide there. The idea ſtruck the Engliſh monarch. He diſpatched orders to queen Eleanor to come inſtantly into Wales. At this time ſhe was big with child, and it was now the depth of winter. At this ſeaſon of the year, and in her delicate ſituation, that princeſs travelled privately on horſeback, through the roads of thoſe times, out of England to Caernarvon. A few days before the queen was delivered, the king ſent orders to the Welſh chieftains to meet him at Rhuddlan, and to take into their conſideration the public concerns. Edward delayed for ſome time to call them into council. At length, having heard that Eleanor was

delivered

delivered of a ſon[1] on the 25th of April, he commanded the attendance of the Welſh chieftains; and told them, that as they had frequently deſired he would appoint them a ſovereign, he would now indulge them in their requeſt, provided they promiſed to yield to the perſon he ſhould name a proper obedience. They aſſented to the terms he propoſed, in caſe that perſon ſhould be a native of Wales. The king, then, informed them, that their intended prince was born in their own country, that he could not ſpeak a word of Engliſh, and that his life was free from every ſtain. It is not eaſy to ſuppoſe, that the Welſh chieftains would have been the dupes of ſo ſhallow an artifice. They eagerly aſſented to acknowledge ſuch a perſon for their ſovereign. The king then informed them that their future prince was his infant ſon Edward, born in Caernarvon caſtle a few days before. It is natural to conceive, that the Welſh chieftains, though ſurpriſed at being thus caught in the ſnare, would conſole themſelves with the hopes, that the young prince, as a native of Wales, would uſually reſide in their country.[2] On the magnanimity which was ſhewn in this tranſaction the reader will make his own comments. But to ſtrike out advantage from the prejudices, or peculiar attachments of the Welſh; and to render ſuch ſubſervient to his own views, and direct them to their ultimate benefit, was a point of nice addreſs in the Engliſh king, and did credit to his talents.

[1] This intelligence was brought to the king by Sir Gryffydh Llwyd, who on that account was knighted by the Engliſh prince. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 258. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2465.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 377. Stowe's Chron. p. 202.

Having finiſhed the affairs of North Wales, Edward, to gratify a martial nobility, and to amuſe or flatter his new ſubjects by a ſpectacle unknown to the Welſh, gave orders that a tournament ſhould be held at Nevyn, a town in Caernarvonſhire, and ſituated on the Iriſh channel.[1] This jouſt was in imitation of that ſpecies of military entertainment ſuppoſed to be inſtituted by king Arthur; and which was called the *Round Table*, from the knights who reſorted to theſe martial exerciſes being ſeated at a table of that form.[2] A great number of knights, as well Engliſh as foreigners, came from different countries to ſhare in this ſplendid and military entertainment.[3] And here the Engliſh king had an opportunity of ſhewing his Welſh ſubjects that he was not inferior to Arthur their celebrated warrior, in feats of arms, and in knightly accompliſhments. This diverſion being ended, he made a progreſs through Caerdigan, where he remained a month to ſettle the affairs of South Wales; from thence he proceeded into the county of Glamorgan, on a viſit to the earl of Glouceſter, to whom that country belonged; and having been nobly entertained by that lord,[4] he arrived at Briſtol, in which city he remained during the Chriſtmas holy days.[5] On the ſecond of
A. D. 1284. January, he iſſued a writ from thence, of a conciliatory nature; by which the inhabitants of Rhuddlan, Conway, Caernarvon,

1 Matth. Weſtm. p. 178.

2 This cuſtom, it is ſaid, had alſo been in uſe among the Gauls and the ancient Britons. Camden's Brit. p. 664. Gibſon's edition.

3 Matth. Weſtm. p. 178. Camden's Brit. p. 664. Gibſon's edition.

4 Carte, vol. II. p. 197. 5 Chron. T. Wyke, p. 110. Holinſhead, p. 282.

and other towns, were declared to be free from paying talliages for ever.[1] King Edward then returned to London, after an abſence of nearly three years.[2] On his arrival in his capital, he rode in great ſolemnity through London to Weſtminſter, attended by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and his ſuffragan biſhops, dreſſed in their ſacred veſtments, beſides an infinite multitude who attended the proceſſion. The king, on this occaſion, carried a part of our Lord's Croſs which he had brought out of Wales, which was gilded, and ornamented with precious ſtones, and placed it upon the great altar in Weſtminſter abbey. A. D. 1285.

The joy which Edward would naturally feel on the proſperous iſſue of his affairs, had been highly imbittered by the death of Alphonſo[3] his eldeſt ſon, a youth of no more than twelve years of age, who died on the nineteenth of Auguſt in the preceding year; a prince much admired by the Engliſh for his beauty, valour, and ſpirit. By his death the young prince, Edward of Caernarvon, became heir apparent to the Engliſh crown.[4]

The idea of that prince being a native of Wales, and the expectation that he would be accuſtomed to ſpeak their language

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 284. [2] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

[3] A few months before his death, coming to Weſtminſter, he offered up at the ſhrine of Edward the Confeſſor, precious ſtones, and a piece of gold which had been the property of Llewelyn the late prince of Wales. See Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

[4] Chr. T. Wyke, p. 112. Polidore Virgil, p. 325.

and

and to reſide in their country, were the only ties which ſecured the fidelity of the Welſh nation to the Engliſh government. Theſe bands being looſened, and the only motives to union having ceaſed, every part of the newly ſubdued ſtate fell again into diſorder: a ſpirit of reſiſtance revived in the Welſh, not under the ſole guidance of any diſtinguiſhed perſon, nor upon any plan of concerted operation, but only as chance or caprice, private ambition, or national hatred directed.

At this time the king of England was in Guienne, and had left, during his abſence, the earl of Cornwall regent of the realm. In the late conqueſt of Wales, Rhys ap Meredydh had been active in the ſervice of Edward; and in conſequence of that ſervice had been made a knight, and flattered with the hopes of receiving from the hands of that prince ſtill farther honours. Inſtead of his expectations being realized, it ſeems as if he had been left in that cold neglect, which is frequently the juſt reward beſtowed upon wicked and intereſted men, when their ſervices are no longer neceſſary. He was cited to appear in the county courts, with other Welſh noblemen, by Robert de Tibetot, and Alan Plucknet, the one juſticiary of South Wales and governor of ſeveral caſtles adjoining to the territory of Rhys ap Meredydh, and the other the king's ſteward in Wales.[1] Incenſed at this ſummons, the Welſh chieftain refuſed his compliance. It was too mortifying to Rhys ſo eaſily to relinquiſh his rights, derived from a long train of princely an-

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 379. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Holinſhead, p. 283.

ceſtors;

ceſtors; or to ſee them mingle in the common ruin of ancient cuſtoms. Legal meaſures were taken to enforce his obedience. During the proceſs, frequent hoſtilities occurred between the retainers of the two parties, to the great annoyance of the country; at length the diſorder roſe to ſuch a height, as to make it neceſſary, by an order of the Engliſh king, for the earl of Cornwall to come in perſon into Wales with an army, and endeavour to check the inſurrection. At the ſame time Edward himſelf wrote to Rhys ap Meredydh, to deſire that he would ceaſe from hoſtilities; aſſuring him, that, on his return, the evils he complained of ſhould be redreſſed, and that all reaſonable juſtice ſhould be done him.[1] Rhys thought the king's abſence a fair opportunity of rouſing the ſpirit of the Welſh nation, as yet not reconciled to ſubjection, and of mounting the throne of his anceſtors.[2] In purſuance of this deſign, and that his followers might have no hopes of ſafety but in their own valour, he took the caſtles of Llandovery and Dinevawr, and likewiſe ſet fire to ſeveral towns.[3] A. D. 1287.

The earl of Cornwall, deſigning at the ſame time to attack the rebel chieftain in ſeveral quarters, ſummoned the military tenants of the crown to rendezvous at Glouceſter, Llanbadernvawr, and Monmouth, ready to march under his own command, or under the earl of Glouceſter, who was appointed general in this

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 379. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Holinſhead, p. 283. [2] Polidore Virgil, p. 326.

[3] Rymer, vol. II. p. 343, 344, 345. Guth. Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 905.

expedition.[1] This appointment however was ſuperſeded by Cornwall himſelf,[2] who, marching into Wales, obliged Rhys and his followers to retire into the faſtneſſes of the country; which gave that nobleman an opportunity of taking and demoliſhing the caſtles of the Welſh chieftain. One of theſe was the caſtle of Ruſlin. It was uſual in thoſe days, in the ſiege of a fortreſs, to undermine the walls by ſinking a mine, and to ſupport it with timber until the beſiegers were ready to begin the attack; they then ſet fire to the props, and the mine ſinking in conſequence, the walls fell to the ground, and the aſſault immediately took place. During this operation, in the ſiege of this fortreſs the lord Stafford, and William de Monchency, attended by many knights and eſquires, came to reconnoitre the works; but the miners, unſkilful in that ſervice, had ſupported the mine ſo weakly, that the walls ſuddenly falling in, they all periſhed under the ruins. Though the caſtle was taken, the expedition was rendered of little advantage, by the earl of Glouceſter having remained inactive; owing, it is probable, to his having been ſuperſeded in the command, or to ſome ſecret inclination he might feel to favour the enemy's cauſe.[3] The earl of Cornwall, unable to force Rhys ap Meredydh, and the ſeaſon of the year advancing into winter, was obliged to relinquiſh the enterpriſe, and to grant him a truce.[4]

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 343, 344, 345. Guth. Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 905.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Holinſhead, p. 284. Matth. Weſtm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 240.

[4] Ibid.

The regent had no ſooner arrived at Weſtminſter early in November, than the Welſh chieftain renewed hoſtilities, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Emlyn.[1] On this breach of the treaty the juſticiary ſet a price upon his head, and alſo proclaimed him a traitor: ſummonſes were likewiſe iſſued by the earl of Cornwall for the Engliſh nobility on the borders of Wales to take up arms againſt the rebels.[2] The Mortimers, and other lords of the marches, taking arms under Robert de Tibetot, gained poſſeſſion of a ſtrong fortreſs belonging to Rhys; and ſo effectually checked his deſigns, that having no ſecurity in his own territories, he took refuge in thoſe of the earl of Glouceſter, by whoſe means he afterwards eſcaped into Ireland.[3]

Having remained inactive three years, in this retreat, Rhys ap Meredydh came again into South Wales; and raiſing a new inſurrection, the juſticiary oppoſed him with the few forces which on a ſudden he was able to raiſe. Informed that his own troops were more in number than the Engliſh, the Welſh chieftain, with great confidence, marched to give them the meeting. The levies which he had brought into the field were compoſed of young and raw ſoldiers: accuſtomed to no diſcipline, they did not preſerve any order in their ranks, but with great fury attacked their enemies in front, flank, and rear, expecting on the firſt onſet to break their array. The Engliſh troops, forming into a cloſe body, preſented A. D. 1290.

[1] Rymer, vol. II. p. 354.

[2] T. Wyke, p. 115. Rymer, vol. II. p. 344, 345.

[3] Holinſhead, p. 284. Matth. Weſtm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverlienſis, p. 240.

a front on every ſide to the aſſailants. The action continued for ſome time warmly diſputed: the Welſh repeating their onſets with much bravery, and the Engliſh as bravely beating them back: at length, the aſſaults of the Welſh growing more weak, the Engliſh made an effort to break through the main body of the enemy, which they eaſily accompliſhed. The Welſh troops, confuſed and in diſmay, were beaten down on every ſide. Four thouſand of them were ſlain in this engagement.[1] Their leader Rhys ap Meredydh was taken priſoner; and a little time after, on the departure of the king into Scotland, he was executed at York, agreeably to the new mode of puniſhment; by being drawn at the tails of horſes, and afterwards hanged and quartered.[2] After his death, the caſtles and territories of the Welſh chieftain were given to Robert de Tibetot.[3]

The king of England, at this time, was engaged in a diſpute with the French monarch; and other means having proved ineffectual, he determined to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms. In this deſign, he was aſſiſted by his Engliſh ſubjects, who granted him very liberal ſupplies; and he now attempted to make an experiment of taxation on his new ſubjects the Welſh. He appointed Roger de Puleſton, a man of great eminence in the country, and who was high in his favour, to collect a fifteenth of their moveables.[4] As yet little inured to the habits of a foreign

[1] Holinſhead, p. 284. Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465.

[2] Polidore Virg. p. 326, 327. Matt. Weſt. p. 184, ſays he was executed at Berwick.

[3] Rymer, vol. II. p. 482.

[4] Welſh Chron. p. 380. Carte, vol. II. p. 236, from Walſingham, Chr. Dunſtaple. Pat. 22 E. I. m. 28.

govern-

government, the ſpirit of the Welſh was ſet on fire wherever this tax was attempted to be enforced; an aſſent to which they conſidered as forming a precedent in future for impoſitions of the like nature.

THREE inſurrections ſprung up in Wales, in different places, and nearly at the ſame time; though it does not appear that they were directed by any common principle of union.

THE natives of Weſt Wales[1] roſe up in arms, under the leading of Maelgwyn Vychan, and plundered the counties of Pembroke and Caerdigan. The people who inhabited Glamorgan and the ſouthern parts, alſo revolted under the conduct of a chieftain of the name of Morgan, deſcended from the ancient lords of that country; and being joined by the principal vaſſals of the earl of Glouceſter, they drove that nobleman out of his territories, and reſtored to the Welſh chieftain the inheritance of his anceſtors. Madoc, an illegitimate ſon of the late gallant Llewelyn,[2] and who had himſelf aſſumed the title of prince, was at the head of the inſurgents in North Wales.[3]

THE revolt opened with acts of hoſtility, which marked an inveteracy of ſpirit, and a firm reſolution in the Welſh, that the ſword alone ſhould ſecure their ſafety, and determine the diſpute. Seiſing on Roger de Puleſton, they cauſed him to be hanged, and afterwards cut off his head; the ſame fate attended all his aſſo-

1 Pembrokeſhire. 2 Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310.
3 Matth. Weſtm. p. 190, 191. Welſh Chron. p. 380. Holinſhead, p. 293.

ciates

ciates who were concerned in collecting this odious tribute. About the middle of July, Madoc proceeded to Caernarvon, at this time crowded with the Engliſh, who had aſſembled there on account of a great fair. Theſe unarmed people were all ſlaughtered: the town was plundered and ſet on fire, and the caſtle of Caernarvon taken:[1] the fortreſs in Snowdun, likewiſe, fell into the hands of Madoc, and who ſoon after gained poſſeſſion of Angleſey.[2]

A revolt ſo widely ſpread, and which had opened with ſuch daring inſults, determined Edward to ſuſpend his intended views on the continent; and to recall his forces, at that time ready to embark under the command of his brother the earl of Lancaſter, and of Henry Lacie lord of Denbigh and earl of Lincoln. The latter nobleman, with a view of preſerving the caſtle of Denbigh, advanced before the king into North Wales; and proceeding in his route under the walls of that fortreſs, on the eleventh of November, was ſuddenly encountered by the Welſh; who, encouraged by the ſituation of the Engliſh army, were deſirous of hazarding their fortunes upon the iſſue of a ſingle battle. The event was glorious to the Welſh; the Engliſh forces were defeated and forced to retire.[3]

The revolt in Pembroke, under the conduct of Maelgwyn Vychan, had not proved ſo ſucceſsful; as that chieftain, about

[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 190, 191. Welſh Chron. p. 380. Holinſhead, p. 293.

[2] Carte, vol. II. p. 237, from T. Walſingham. Pat. 22 E. I. m. 28.

[3] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2471. Polidore Virgil, p. 332. Welſh Chron. p. 380. Holinſhead, p. 293.

this

this time, was taken priſoner; and being conveyed to Hereford, he was in that city drawn at the tails of horſes to the place of execution, and hanged with two of his accomplices.[1]

The earl of Warwick had already obliged Morgan, the other chieftain who had revolted in South Wales, to ſubmit himſelf to the royal mercy, with ſeven hundred of his retainers.[2] That chief, and others of the Welſh nobility, who were vaſſals of the earl of Glouceſter, diſguſted with the pride of that nobleman, and his arbitrary conduct, had entered into a reſolution never to ſubmit to his authority; but offered to yield themſelves up to the king, provided they might hold their eſtates of the crown of England. Being indulged in this requeſt, Morgan and the other Welſh chieftains laid down their arms, did homage to Edward, and delivered hoſtages for their fidelity.[3] At this time the Engliſh king was in South Wales, attempting in perſon to quiet the diſorders of that country. He had been deceived into the expectation that the county of Caerdigan would have followed the example of the people of Glamorgan; but this ſubmiſſion at preſent not taking place, the Engliſh prince, in reſentment of the deception which had been offered him by the abbot of Strata-Florida, ſet fire to that abbey.[4]

Alarmed at a revolt which was now riſing into importance, and which menaced the ſafety of his new dominions, Edward came into North Wales to conduct the war in perſon. Having

[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 191, calls him Chanan.
[2] Guthrie's Hiſt. Eng. p. 919.
[3] Matth. Weſtm. p. 191. Carte, vol. I. p. 237.
[4] Guthrie, vol. I. p. 919.

pro-

proceeded in his march to the Conway, he croſſed that arm of the ſea with a part of his forces; and retiring into the caſtle, waited for the remainder of his army to follow. In his paſſage he loſt many waggons and other carriages loaded with victuals, which had been intercepted by the Welſh; who in great multitudes came down from the mountains, and inveſted the caſtle on the ſide of the land. A ſudden riſe in the Conway, preventing his troops from paſſing the river, and affording him any aſſiſtance, rendered Edward's ſituation exceedingly alarming; he was in great want of proviſions, was cut off from his army, and was ſurrounded on every ſide by water and the enemy. The diſtreſs of the garriſon was ſo great with reſpect to proviſions, that Edward, in common with the ſoldiers, was obliged to eat ſalted meat, and the coarſe bread which was found in the caſtle, and to uſe water likewiſe for his drink mixed with honey. A ſingle flaggon of wine only remained in the fortreſs, which being reſerved ſolely for the king's uſe, that prince could not be prevailed upon to taſte it; but cauſing it to be mingled with water, he ordered the liquor to be diſtributed among the garriſon; declaring, with a manly ſpirit, that he would ſhare every extremity with the meaneſt ſoldier.[1] In this perilous ſtate, when any moment might have been fatal, Edward's uſual good fortune attended him. The Conway ſuddenly ſubſiding, his forces were enabled to croſs the water and come to his relief. The Welſh, then, abandoned the ſiege and retired to the mountains of Snowdun. The Engliſh king, on the enemies retreat, paſſed the Chriſtmas holidays without moleſtation in the caſtle of Conway.[2]

[1] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2472. [2] Holinſhead, p. 293. Welſh Chron. p. 380.

The

The earl of Warwick, having received intelligence that a large body of the enemy was encamped in a valley, which was incloſed on each ſide by a wood, ſelected for this ſervice a ſquadron of horſe, with a detachment of croſs-bow-men and archers; and with this force, marching ſilently in the night, he ſuddenly ſurrounded the Welſh, little ſuſpecting an aſſault. With much coolneſs, however, the Welſh, fixing their ſpears in the ground, and preſenting a dangerous front, kept off the Engliſh horſe. Not able to make any impreſſion, the earl of Warwick placed a croſs-bow-man or an archer in every interval between two horſemen; who, thus, fighting at a diſtance, ſlew great numbers with their ſhot and arrows; then charging the remaining body with his horſe, the Welſh phalanx was broken, and was ſoon entirely routed with great ſlaughter.[1] After this action, Edward, finding no enemy to reſiſt him, croſſed over the Menai into Angleſey; where he erected a ſtrong fortreſs, which he called Beumariſh,[2] as a check to the natives of that iſland. Then having laid the country more open, by cutting roads through the woods,[3] and having ſeverely puniſhed thoſe perſons who had been concerned in the murder of Roger de Puleſton, he returned with his army into England.[4]

All this time, the gallant Madoc, giving way to the ſtorm, though ſtill unbroken in his ſpirit, had retired into a place of ſecurity. The young chieftain, no doubt, on his firſt ſucceſs,

[1] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Holinſhead, p. 294.
[2] Camden's Brit. p. 675. Gibſon's edit.
[3] Holinſhead, p. 294. Welſh Chron. p. 381. [4] Matth. Weſtm. p. 191.

had flattered himſelf with the hopes of reſtoring his country to its ancient freedom.[1] Incited by this fond idea, the Welſh in great numbers ſtill eagerly joined his ſtandard. On the king's departure, Madoc invaded the Engliſh borders. Having reduced Oſweſtry, and ravaged the adjacent country, he defeated the lord Strange near Knocking; then again defeating a body of Engliſh in another engagement, he proceeded towards Shrewſbury; but during his progreſs, his forces were routed by the lords of the marches, and he himſelf, after a long reſiſtance, was taken priſoner upon the hills of Cefn Digolh not far from Caurs caſtle.[2] Madoc was ſent up to London, and doomed by king Edward to perpetual impriſonment in the Tower.[3]

On this diſaſter, all the Welſh chieftains laid down their arms and ſubmitted to the Engliſh monarch; whoſe conduct on this occaſion was politic, and tempered in ſome degree with lenity. No victim was ſacrificed to the ſeverity of his juſtice: he gave to the heirs of the rebellious chieftains their forfeited eſtates; requiring only a compenſation for the damages which he had ſuſtained in the war, with an aſſurance likewiſe of implicit obedience for the future. Leſt the moderation of his conduct might again incite them to revolt, he aſſured them, A. D. 1295. that he would entirely exterminate their nation, if they again preſumed to reſiſt his authority.[4] The moſt eminent of the

[1] Holinſhead, p. 294.

[2] It is ſaid by others, that Madoc was delivered up to Edward by his own army.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 381. [4] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. p. 237.

Welſh

Welſh nobility were confined in different caſtles of England, where they remained ſome years, during the wars of Edward in Scotland;[1] that prince, no doubt, regarding their confinement as the only ſure pledge of their fidelity. The greater number of theſe chieftains were impriſoned in the Tower of London. To ſoothe their minds during this ſolitary confinement, baniſhed from their country and their friends, the Welſh chieftains ſolicited the favour that their manuſcripts might be ſent to them out of Wales. They were indulged in this reaſonable requeſt. And as it is natural to conclude, that they made a free uſe of this indulgence, in proceſs of time the Tower became the principal repoſitory of Welſh literature. This valuable collection is ſaid to have been committed to the flames by one Scolan,[2] a perſon who is only known to the world by having perpetrated ſo infamous an action; and who might have been inſtigated to it by the ſame motive, which impelled Heroſtratus to ſet on fire the temple of Diana.

THE inſurrections already recited, with the revolt of Sir Gryffydh Llwyd, and the rebellion of Owen Glendwrdwy,* were the laſt efforts which the Welſh made to recover the freedom they had loſt. Their wild ſpirit of independence, and their enthuſiaſm for liberty, from this period gradually declined. The blood of their beloved princes was nearly extinct; and their

[1] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2472. Holinſhead, p. 294. Welſh Chron. p. 382.

[2] Jones's Muſical and Poetical Relics of the Welſh Bards, p. 1. * Glyndyfrdwy.

native bravery was ſubdued, or rendered ineffectual, by their inteſtine diviſions, and by their repeated misfortunes. When fierce valour and unregulated freedom are oppoſed to diſcipline, to enlarged views, and to ſound policy, the conteſt is very unequal; it is not therefore ſurpriſing that the genius of England at length obtained the aſcendency. It was, indeed, an intereſting ſpectacle, and might juſtly have excited indignation and pity, to have ſeen an ancient and gallant nation, falling the victims of private ambition, or ſinking under the weight of a ſuperior power. But ſuch emotions, which were then due to that injured people, have loſt, at this period, their force and their poignancy. A new train of ideas ariſe, when we ſee that the change is beneficial to the vanquiſhed: when we ſee a wild and precarious liberty ſucceeded by a freedom, which is ſecured by equal and fixed laws: when we ſee manners hoſtile and barbarous, and a ſpirit of rapine and cruelty, ſoftened down into the arts of peace, and the milder habits of civilized life: when we ſee this Remnant of the ancient Britons, uniting in intereſts, and mingling in friendſhip with their conquerors, and enjoying with them the ſame Conſtitutional Liberties; the purity of which, we truſt, will continue uncorrupted, as long as the Britiſh Empire ſhall be numbered among the nations of the earth.

THE

THE UNION OF WALES WITH ENGLAND.

AFTER the conqueſt of Wales by Edward the firſt, the concerns of that country, conſidered in a national light, are entirely unintereſting; as the inhabitants of which, until the reign of Henry the ſeventh, were reduced to a ſtate of bondage the moſt deep and ſevere.[1]

ACTUATED by few other ſprings than their paſſions, reſtrained by no regular police, no longer animated by the preſence of their princes, nor their minds ſoftened by the influence of native arts, the manners of the Welſh nation, for a long period, degenerated into the deepeſt ferocity. Unemployed in the arts of peace, little civilized by ſocial intercourſe, and enjoying only a narrow and partial hoſpitality, their eager ſpirit, no longer directed againſt a potent and hereditary enemy, naturally ſunk into deadly feuds,[2] or was deeply engaged in the pleaſures of the chace.

THOUGH the policy of Edward the firſt had allowed the Welſh nation to enjoy their liberties, and to hold their eſtates under ancient tenures, they had much reaſon to complain of the exceſſive rigour which had been exerciſed over them by the

[1] See Statutes reſpecting Wales in the reigns of Henry the fourth, and Henry the fixth.

[2] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 78, 79, &c.

officers of juſtice, and of the rapacity of the Engliſh barons who had ſettled in Wales.[1]

The powers of the lords marchers were ſtill in their full force, and had been exerciſed with ſuch ſeverity upon the Welſh, as to render an act of parliament neceſſary in the reign of Henry the eighth. The ſtatute is to the following purpoſe; "Whereas "many robberies, murders, and other evil practices have been "daily committed in the county palatine of Cheſter, and Flint-"ſhire in Wales, and alſo in Angleſea, Caernarvon, Meirionydh, "Caerdigan, Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Glamorgan; becauſe "juſtice is not adminiſtered there in ſuch form as in other "places of this realm: for the remedy of this, it is enacted, "that the Lord Chancellor of England, or Keeper of the Great "Seal, ſhall nominate and appoint juſtices of peace, juſtices of "the quorum, and juſtices of the goal-delivery in the ſaid "counties, and that they ſhall have like power and authority "as thoſe in England." This ſtatute in ſome meaſure leſſened the evils complained of; as it was the means of keeping offenders in awe, they not being able, as before, to eſcape, and to flee from one lordſhip marcher to another; it alſo placed the adminiſtration of juſtice on a more ſtable foundation.

Another evil had likewiſe ariſen, which ſtrongly marked the oppreſſion of the times; to the remedy of which a ſucceeding ſtatute was judged neceſſary, and was to the following effect:

[1] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 30, 31, 34.

"Whereas

" Whereas in Wales and in the Marches, there are many " foreſts belonging either to the king or to the lords marchers, " wherein ſundry actions have been committed for a long " time, contrary to the law of God and man; inſomuch, that " if any perſon entered the ſaid foreſts without a *token* given " him by any of the foreſters, as a licence to paſs, or unleſs " he was a yearly *tributer* or *chenſer*, he was forced to pay a " grievous fine; and if he ſhould chance to be found twenty- " four feet out of the highway, he was then to forfeit all the " gold or money which was found on his perſon, and likewiſe a " joint of one of his hands, unleſs he was fined for the offence " at the diſcretion of the foreſter, or farmer of the ſame. And " whereas likewiſe, if any cattle ſtrayed into the ſaid foreſts, " it was the cuſtom of the foreſters to mark them for their " own, with the mark of the foreſt." By this ſtatute, it was enacted, that people ſhould be allowed to paſs through theſe foreſts as freely as in other places; and that ſtrayed cattle, within a year and a day, ſhould be reſtored to the right owners, they only paying a compenſation for the herbage.

These ſtatutes, reſtraining the powers of the lords marchers, were ſome years after ſucceeded by another act of Parliament, which rendered thoſe lords no longer the objects of terror, and entirely deſtroyed their juridical authority. It was to the following effect: " Whereas by the gifts of the kings of Eng- " land, many of the moſt ancient prerogatives and authorities " of juſtice appertaining to the imperial crown of this realm, " have been ſevered and taken from the ſame; it was then

" enacted,

" enacted, that no perſon ſhould have power and authority " to pardon or to remit treaſons, murders, man-ſlaughters, or " any felonies, or their acceſſaries in any part of England, " Wales, or in the marches of the ſame: That likewiſe no " perſon ſhould make juſtices of oyer, juſtices of aſſize, juſtices " of peace, or juſtices of goal-delivery; but they ſhould in " future be made only by the king's letters patent: And that " all original writs, judicial writs, and all manner of indict- " ments for treaſon, felony, and treſpaſs, and all manner of " proceſs ſhould be only made in the king's name; and that " all offences committed againſt the peace, ſhould be conſidered " as an offence committed againſt the king, and not againſt " the peace of any other perſon." Theſe exceſſive powers, which had been anciently veſted in thoſe perſons who enjoyed counties palatine, and *jura regalia* in lordſhip marchers, being thus taken away, a more regular and uniform courſe of juſtice was eſtabliſhed; and in conſequence, the diſorders continually occurring within thoſe precincts were in a great meaſure prevented.

Though theſe humane and ſalutary ſtatutes had relieved the Welſh from many of their ſufferings, the line of diſtinction was ſtill preſerved, and they yet remained as a ſeparate people; a diſtinction, contrary to all juſt ideas of government, and which could only ſerve to keep alive their national prejudices. But the Welſh themſelves, and it may be recorded to their honour, ſolicited Henry the eighth that he would extend his liberal deſigns, and would give them a ſtill more ſalutary effect.

The

The petition itſelf, which they ſent to that monarch, will beſt explain their extenſive views and manly ſpirit, as well as the nature and juſtice of their claims.

" May it pleaſe your Highneſs."

" We, on the part of your Highneſs's ſubjects, inhabiting " that portion of the iſland which our invaders firſt called Wales, " moſt humbly proſtrate at your Highneſs's feet, do crave to " be received and adopted into the ſame laws, and privileges, " which your other ſubjects enjoy: Neither ſhall it hinder us " (we hope) that we have lived ſo long under our own. For as " they were both enacted by authority of our ancient law-givers, " and obeyed for many ſucceſſions of ages, we truſt your High- " neſs will pardon us, if we thought it neither eaſy nor ſafe " ſo ſuddenly to relinquiſh them. We ſhall not preſume yet " to compare them with theſe now uſed, and leſs ſhall we " conteſt how good and equal in themſelves they are. Only if " the defence of them and our liberty againſt the Romans, " Saxons, and Danes, for ſo many hundred years, and laſtly " againſt the Normans, as long as they pretended no title but " the ſword, was thought juſt and honourable; we preſume it " will not be infamous now; and that all the marks of rebellion " and falſhood, which our revilers would faſten on us, will fall " on any, ſooner than thoſe who fought for ſo many years, and " with ſo different nations for our juſt defence: Which alſo is " ſo true, that our beſt hiſtories affirm the chriſtian religion to " have been preſerved only by us for many years that the Saxons " (being heathens) either attempted or poſſeſſed this country.

" May your Highneſs then graciouſly interpret our actions, while " we did but that duty which your Highneſs would have now " done by all your ſubjects on like occaſion; for when any " ſhould invade this country henceforth, we know your Highneſs " would have us to behave ourſelves no otherwiſe. Beſides, " had not the aſſailers found ſome reſiſtance, they might have " deſpiſed a country, that brought none forth able enough to " aſſert it; ſo that we crave pardon, Sir, if we ſay it was fit for " the honour of your dominions that ſome part of it ſhould " never be conquered. We then in the name of whatſoever in " your Highneſs's poſſeſſion hath in any age held out againſt all " invaders, do here voluntarily reſign, and humble ourſelves to " that ſovereignty, which we acknowledge ſo well inveſted in " your Highneſs. Nor is this the firſt time; we have always " attended on occaſion to unite ourſelves to the greater and " better parts of the iſland.

" But as the kings of this realm, weary of their attempts in " perſon againſt us, did formerly give not only our country to " thoſe who could conquer it, but permitted them *jura regalia*, " within their ſeveral precincts; ſo it was impoſſible to come to " an agreement, while ſo many that undertook this work, " uſurped martial and abſolute power and juriſdiction in all " they acquired, without eſtabliſhing any equal juſtice. And " that all offenders flying from one lordſhip marcher (for ſo " they were termed) to another, did both avoid the puniſhment " of the law, and eaſily commit thoſe robberies, which formerly " tainted the honour of our parts. So that until the rigorous

" laws,

" laws, not only of the ſeveral conquerors of England, but the
" attempters on our parts, were brought to an equal modera-
" tion, no union, how muchſoever affected by us, could enſue.

" Therefore, and not ſooner, we ſubmitted ourſelves to
" Edward the firſt, a prince, who made both many and equaller
" laws than any before him; therefore we defended his ſon Ed-
" ward the ſecond, when not only the Engliſh forſook him, but
" ourſelves might have recovered our former liberty, had we
" deſired it. Therefore we got victories for Edward the third,
" and ſtood firm during all the diſſenſions of this realm to his
" grandchild and ſucceſſor Richard the ſecond. Only if ſome
" amongſt us reſiſted Henry the fourth, your Highneſs may
" better ſuppoſe the reaſon than we tell it, though divers foreigners
" openly refuſing to treat with him as a ſovereign and lawful
" prince, have ſufficiently publiſhed it. We did not yet decline
" a due obedience to Henry the fifth, though in doubtful times,
" we cannot deny, but many refractory perſons have appeared.
" Howſoever, we never joined ourſelves with the Engliſh rebels,
" or took occaſion thereby to recover our liberty, though in
" Richard the ſecond's time, and during all the civil wars be-
" twixt Lancaſter and York, much occaſion was given. For
" adhering to the houſe of York, which we conceived the better
" title, we conſerved our devotion ſtill to the crown, until your
" Highneſs's father's time, who (bearing his name and blood
" from us) was the more chearfully aſſiſted by our predeceſſors
" in his title to the crown, which your Highneſs doth preſently
" enjoy. And thus, Sir, if we gave anciently proof of a

" generous courage in defending our laws and country, we have
" given no leſs proof of a loyal fidelity ſince we firſt rendered
" ourſelves. In ſo much, that we may truly affirm, that after
" our acceptance of the condition given us by Edward the firſt,
" we have omitted no occaſion of performing the duty of loving
" ſubjects. Neither is there any thing that comforts us more,
" than that all thoſe controverſies about ſucceſſion (which ſo
" long waſted this land) are determined in your Highneſs's
" perſon, in whom we acknowledge both Houſes to be happily
" united.

" To your Highneſs therefore we offer all obedience, deſiring
" only that we may be defended againſt the inſults of our malig-
" nant cenſurers: for we are not the offspring of the run-away
" Britons, (as they term us) but natives of a country, which,
" beſides defending itſelf, received all thoſe who came to us for
" ſuccours. Give us then (Sir) permiſſion to ſay, that they
" wrong us much, who pretend our country was not inhabited
" before them, or that it failed in a due piety, when it was
" ſo hoſpitable to all that fled thither for refuge: which alſo will
" be more credible, when it ſhall be remembered, that even our
" higheſt mountains furniſh good beef and mutton, not only to
" all the inhabitants, but ſupply England in great quantity.
" We humbly beſeech your Highneſs therefore, that this note
" may be taken from us. As for our language, though it ſeem
" harſh, it is that yet which was ſpoken anciently, not only in
" this iſland, but in France: ſome dialects whereof therefore re-
" main ſtill amongſt the *Bas-Bretons* there, and here in Corn-
" wall.

" wall. Neither will any man doubt it, when he ſhall find " thoſe words of the ancient Gauliſh language repeated by the " Latin authors, to ſignify the ſame thing amongſt us at this " day: Nor ſhall it be a diſparagement (we hope) that it is " ſpoken ſo much in the throat; ſince the Florentine and Spaniard " affect this kind of pronunciation, as believing words that " ſound ſo deep proceed from the heart. So that if we have " retained this language longer than the more northern inhabi- " tants of this iſland (whoſe ſpeech appears manifeſtly to be a " kind of Engliſh, and conſequently introduced by the Saxons) " we hope it will be no imputation to us; your Highneſs will " have but the more tongues to ſerve you: it ſhall not hinder " us to ſtudy Engliſh, when it were but to learn how we might " the better ſerve and obey your Highneſs: to whoſe laws we " moſt humbly deſire again to be adopted; and doubt not, " but if in all countries the mountains have afforded as eminent " wits and ſpirits as any other part, ours alſo, by your High " neſs's good favour and employment, may receive that eſteem."

The king of England, having conſidered the loyalty of his Welſh ſubjects, and the reaſonable nature of their claim, ordered a ſtatute to be enacted in parliament, which entirely united Wales with his Engliſh dominions; regarding, no doubt, ſuch an union as an object of ſound policy.

The ſtatute is to this effect.

" That as the dominion, principality and country of Wales " is a member and part of the temporal crown of this realm,

" whereof therefore the king is head and ruler; yet as it hath
" divers rights, uſages, laws and cuſtoms very different to the
" laws and cuſtoms of this realm, and becauſe the language of
" that country is different from that which is ſpoken here, and
" that many rude people hereupon have made diſtinction and
" diverſity betwixt his Highneſs's other ſubjects, and them, to
" the cauſing of much diſcord and ſedition; his Highneſs there-
" fore, out of his love and favour to his ſubjects in Wales, and
" for reducing them to his laws, doth by advice and conſent of
" his parliament ordain and enact, that Wales ſhall be united
" and incorporated henceforth to and with his realm of Eng-
" land; and that his ſubjects in Wales ſhall enjoy and inherit
" all ſingular freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges and laws which
" his Highneſs's ſubjects elſewhere enjoy and inherit. And
" therefore that inheritances ſhall deſcend after the manner of
" England, without diviſion or partition, and not after any
" tenure or form of Welſh laws or cuſtoms. And foraſmuch
" as there are divers lordſhips marchers within the ſaid country
" or dominion in Wales, being no parcel of any other ſhires
" where the laws and due correction is uſed and had, and that
" in them and the countries adjoining manifold murders,
" robberies, felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to
" all law and juſtice, becauſe the offenders, making their refuge
" from one lordſhip marcher to another, were continued without
" puniſhment and correction: Therefore it is enacted that the
" ſaid lordſhips marchers ſhall be united, annexed, and joined
" to divers ſhires ſpecified in the ſaid act." [1]

[1] This account of the abolition of lordſhips marchers, and of the petition of the Welſh to Henry the eighth, has been taken from lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his hiſtory of the reign of that monarch.

This ſtatute was put into immediate execution. The utility of which has been fully juſtified by the experience of nearly three centuries. During this time, the genius of the Welſh nation has taken a different turn, has compoſed itſelf to rational obedience, and has been directed to thoſe purſuits which tend to poliſh their manners, to enlarge their views, and to cultivate their minds; and, by conſequence, to promote the happineſs of individuals, as well as the beſt intereſts of the public.

THE

THE INTRODUCTION AND PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN AND IN CAMBRIA.

THE Saxons having deſtroyed, with barbarous rage, the ancient monuments of the Britiſh hiſtory, it is difficult to determine, at this time, whether Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed by the divine miſſion of the apoſtles and their firſt diſciples, or by the pious labours of ſucceeding miſſionaries.[1] This event, from the want of authentic records, forms a doubtful part of hiſtory; being nearly loſt in the darkneſs of thoſe times, and enveloped amidſt the legendary fables of the monks. It is however allowed,
A. D. 60. that chriſtianity was introduced about the middle of the firſt century; having been perhaps in ſome degree favoured by an edict of the emperor Claudius, which had been iſſued to exterminate the Druidical religion.[2] But though the *chriſtian faith*

[1] Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. [2] Whitaker's Hiſt. Mancheſter, vol. II. p. 187.

had

had been thus early planted in the iſland, it does not appear to have taken root, or to have ſpread, until the time of Lucius, who is ſaid to have reigned in Britain about the end of the ſecond century.[1] Soon after the converſion of this prince from paganiſm, he ſent ambaſſadors to Eleutherius, the biſhop of Rome, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of pious and learned men; by whoſe labours his own faith might be confirmed, and chriſtianity extended through the nation. By the induſtry and zeal of *thoſe* who in conſequence were ſent by that prelate, the Britons were in general converted; and the Britiſh church received at that period a conſiderable degree of ſtrength and of union, by being reduced into a regular eſtabliſhment.[2] This prince is ſaid to have converted the heathen temples into places of chriſtian worſhip; and to have divided the national church into three eccleſiaſtical provinces, each of which was a *metropolitan ſee*, and the reſidence of an archbiſhop. The firſt ſee was fixed at London, and contained within its province the ſouth of England. The ſecond was ſettled at Caer Lleon upon Uſke in Monmouthſhire, and held within its juriſdiction *Cambria*, or Wales. The third ſee was eſtabliſhed at York, which extended its eccleſiaſtical power over the northern parts of the iſland.[3] Beſides three archbiſhops, there were twenty-eight ſuffragan biſhops; the whole being equal to the number of Arch-

A. D. 180.

[1] Vertigan, in his Epiſtle to the Engliſh Nation, p. 2. Flor. Wighorne. Mar. Sabellicus. Godwin's Engliſh Biſhops.

[2] Archbiſhop Uſher, cap. viii. 4. Moſheim, vol. I. p. 121. Godwin's Engliſh Biſhops. Geoffry Monmouth.

[3] Rowland's Mona Antiq. p. 142.

flamens and Flamens, who had preſided over the Pagan hierarchy in Britain.[1] At the ſame time that chriſtianity acquired this degree of regularity, a ſchool for religious learning was eſtabliſhed at *Bangor-is-Coed* in Flintſhire, which afterwards became the great ſeminary of knowledge for the province of Cambria.[2]

To decide upon the credit which is due to this legend is a difficult point to the hiſtorian, many learned writers having held different opinions with reſpect to the real exiſtence of Lucius; on the authenticity of which is founded the fabric of the early Britiſh church. The evidence of Tertullian and Origen, who lived about the ſecond century, and of St. Chryſoſtome and other fathers of a later period, bear teſtimony to the early introduction of chriſtianity into the iſland, as well as to the ſalutary effects which it had produced upon the manners of the Britons.[3] The Britiſh biſhops alſo appear to have attained a degree of pre-eminency, in the public councils of the church, on account of the chriſtian *faith* having been earlier eſtabliſhed in Britain than in any of the weſtern parts of Europe.[4]

The flames of perſecution, which under ſeveral emperors had raged in various parts of the Roman empire, had not extended into Britain before the reign of Dioclеſian; and from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the church under Lucius to this

[1] Godwin's Engliſh biſhops, p. 157. Geoffry Monmouth. Speed's Chron. p. 79.
[2] Rowland's Mona, p. 142. [3] Speed's Chron. p. 76, 77.
[4] Rowland's Mona, p. 138.

period,

period, it enjoyed an univerſal tranquillity.[1] But the rapid progreſs of chriſtianity alarmed the heathen prieſts; who were afraid leſt their power, together with *Polytheiſm*, would ſink under that aſcendency which the new religion was acquiring over the minds of men. Influenced by theſe motives, they aſſailed the fears of Dioclesian with unjuſt accuſations againſt the chriſtians; impoſing on him fictitious oracles, and other inſidious arts, which influence the timid and ſuperſtitious.[2] After ſome reſiſtance, the zeal of this prince was inflamed by an intereſted prieſthood, and a cruel perſecution enſued; which was of ſo long continuance, that it had nearly proved fatal to the chriſtian cauſe.[3] The church of Britain ſhared in the general calamity; for, during its progreſs, the ſacred edifices were deſtroyed, the prieſts were maſſacred, and the people were either killed, or obliged to abjure their religion. The firſt perſon who ſealed with martyrdom his faith in the religion of Chriſt, was Alban, of the city Verulamium, who was beheaded upon the ſite of the preſent town of St. Alban's;[4] and at the ſame time, and near the ſame place, ſuffered Amphibalus, who had converted that *father* to chriſtianity.[5] The next martyrs of eminence were Aaron and Julius,[6] who were put to death at

A. D. 284.

A. D. 286.

[1] Godwin's Engliſh Biſhops, 157. Speed's Chron. p. 79.

[2] Moſheim's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 256. Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 157.

[3] Moſheim's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 258.

[4] In honour of this Saint, Offa king of the Mercians, built the monaſtry of St. Alban's.

[5] Speed's Chron. p. 79. from Bede. Godwin's Biſhops, p. 157. Carte, vol. I. p. 136.

[6] Matth. Paris.

Caer Lleon upon Uſke; and at Litchfield a thouſand chriſtians are ſaid to have fallen the victims of this cruel perſecution.[1]

So late as about this period the druidical religion remained in Scotland, and in the adjacent iſlands; but Cratylinth, a king of that country, out of zeal for chriſtianity, began his reign by the expulſion of the Druids; and having driven them out of the Iſle of Man,* which was the preſidency of the *Order*, and a part of his dominions, he erected there a ſtately church, to the honour of Chriſt, which he named *Soderenſe Fanum*, or our Saviour's Church.[2]

A. D. 286. to 296.

THOUGH the ſituation of the Britiſh church, during the late perſecution, was truly calamitous, her ſufferings were alleviated by the ſhortneſs of their duration; for Carauſius, and after him Allectus,[3] when they uſurped the ſovereignty of the iſland, had too much policy to irritate their ſubjects, by urging the fury of the Imperial edicts. And when Conſtantius preſided over Gaul and Britain in the quality of Cæſar, he had deſerted the religion of his anceſtors; and he preſerved in ſafety the provinces under his own government, amidſt the violence of thoſe ſtorms which deſolated the other parts of the chriſtian world.[4] Afterwards when that prince had ſucceeded to the

[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis Iten. lib. I. cap. V. Geoffry Monmouth. Bede. Carte, vol. I. p. 136.

* Or *Mon*.

[2] Rowland, p. 108. [3] Carte, vol I. p. 136, 146.

[4] Moſheim, vol. I. p. 256, 258, 259.

Purple

Purple as Emperor of the Weſt, he paſſed the ſmall remainder of his days in Britain; and beſides the zeal which was natural to a convert, he had an additional motive for ſhewing favour to the church, by having married in his youth, Helena, who was a chriſtian princeſs of the iſland.[1] But under the auſpices of Conſtantine the *Great*, whoſe elevated qualities had ſeated him without a rival on the Imperial throne, chriſtianity became the eſtabliſhed religion of the empire.[2] A luminous appearance of a croſs ſeen in the air at noon day by Conſtantine, as he was marching towards Rome to attack Maxentius, with the inſcription upon it of *Hoc ſigno Vinces*, is atteſted by an ancient writer[3] as the cauſe of this prince's converſion.[4] But whether this event was owing to ſuch an interpoſition of heaven, or to the ſame appearance being exhibited in a dream, or to motives of human policy, muſt be left at this day, amidſt a variety of opinions, doubtful and undecided.

A. D. 307.

A. D. 312.

The ſpirit of perſecution having ceaſed, and Paganiſm having ſunk under the influence of the mild or deciſive qualities of theſe emperors, though under the direction of a higher and ſuperior influence, the Britiſh church began to attain ſome degree of ſtability and eminence; the places of divine worſhip, which had been demoliſhed in the late troubles, were rebuilt; and new ones were erected to the honour of thoſe martyrs who had ſuffered in the chriſtian cauſe.[5]

[1] Carte, vol. I. p. 147. Speed's Chron. p. 156. Verſtegan, in his Epiſtle to the Engliſh Nation, p. 4.

[2] Moſheim, vol. I. p. 262, 266.

[3] Euſebius.

[4] Moſheim, vol. I. p. 263, 264, 266.

[5] Speed's Chron. p. 79.

Con-

Constantine the Great, having aſſumed the ſupreme direction of the Catholic or univerſal church, appointed all affairs of importance, and whatever related to the general intereſts of chriſtianity, to be decided in public *Councils*; which were to be compoſed of delegates from the different churches in the empire.[1] The firſt aſſembly of this kind was at Arles; to which ſynod the Britiſh biſhops in common with the other deputies were convened, to examine into and to decide upon the affair of the Donatiſts.[2] Theſe prelates are ſuppoſed to have been the archbiſhops of London, York and Caer Lleon.[3] The doctrine of Arius having made great progreſs in the church, and occaſioned great diſquietudes among the chriſtians, the *council* of *Nice* was aſſembled to determine upon that celebrated controverſy; in which the Britiſh deputies aſſiſted, and gave judgment againſt the Arian opinions.[4] A few years after they were ſummoned to the ſecond *council* of *Arles*, to give their ſuffrages to reinſtate Arius and his followers in the privileges and communion of the church.[5] Soon after this event died Conſtantine the Great. His ſon Conſtantius ſucceeded to a great part of the empire, and to his predilection for the Arian opinions.[6] During the reign of this prince a *council* was held at Ariminum in

A. D. 314.

A. D. 325.

A. D. 335.

A. D. 337.

A. D. 359.

[1] Moſheim, vol. I. p. 282. [2] Carte, vol. I. p. 282.

[3] Rapin, Vol. I. p. 29.

[4] Moſheim, vol. I. p. 336. Speed, p. 79. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29.

[5] A *council* was held at *Tyre*, in the ſame year, for the above purpoſe of reſtoring *Arius*. Moſheim. Speed, p. 80.

[6] Moſheim, vol. I. p. 340.

favour

favour of that *ſect*; where we find that the Britiſh biſhops[1] had the firmneſs to give their ſuffrages againſt the Imperial authority.[2]

From the decline of the Roman power to the final eſtabliſhment of the Saxons on the iſland, the Britiſh church exhibited a ſcene of deſolation. The uſurpation of Maximus and other ſimilar events; the precarious authority of the Roman edicts, their troops having been gradually withdrawn out of the iſland; the devaſtation occaſioned by the Picts and Scots, with the fierce conteſts between the Britons and the Saxons, had conſpired to render the ſtate of chriſtianity deplorable.[3] In the courſe of this period the Britiſh churches were demoliſhed; immenſe numbers of chriſtians were put to death by the Saxons, who ſtill adhered to the Pagan theology; the body of the people were ſunk into a ſtate of ignorance for want of proper culture; a remiſſneſs of diſcipline prevailed, and a general profligacy was introduced among the clergy.[4]

During this ſeaſon of confuſion the opinions of Pelagius had taken root, and had made conſiderable advances in the Britiſh church. This perſon was a native of the iſland, and

[1] The Britiſh prelates, with thoſe of France, travelled at their own expence, having refuſed the offer made to them by the emperor of paying the charges of their journey.

[2] Speed's Chron. p. 79. Du Pin, vol. I. p. 263.

[3] Bede's Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. 14. p. 52.

[4] Moſheim's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 362. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29. Carte, vol. I. p. 184.

had been educated in the monaſtery of Bangor about the middle of the fourth century.[1] The Britiſh clergy being alarmed at the growth of his doctrines, and unable, perhaps, for want of learning, to withſtand their force or ſubtilty, implored the aſſiſtance of the Gallican church; who deputed St. Germain the biſhop of Auxerre, with Lupus the biſhop of Troyes, to come over into Britain, and to prevent, if poſſible, their farther pro-
A. D. 429. greſs.[2] A ſolemn conference being held at Verulamium, between the eſtabliſhed clergy and the Pelagians; the learned biſhops, are ſaid, to have defended the cauſe of their miſſion with ſuch ability, as to convert many of thoſe ſectaries from the ſuppoſed error of their opinions.[3]

Though the ſeeds of chriſtianity had been ſowed in Ireland by Palladius and a fellow miſſionary, they afterwards arrived at maturity under the long and pious labors of St. Patrick;
A. D. 433. who having converted the Iriſh to the chriſtian faith, preſided over their church for more than half a century.[4]

The opinions of Pelagius ſtill prevailing after the return of the miſſionaries, a *council* of Gallican biſhops deputed St. Ger-
A. D. 447. main to come over a ſecond time into Britain; who, deſpairing of conquering the evil by mildneſs or conviction, made uſe of a more compulſory argument; and put in force the edict of Valentinian, which had ordained the penalty of baniſhment to

[1] Rapin, vol. I. p. 29. Rowland, p. 183.
[2] Geoff. Monmouth. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29. [3] Ibid. [4] Rapin, vol. I. p. 43.

hereticks

hereticks who could not be reclaimed.[1] The zeal of the Britiſh clergy in this early period of chriſtianity, indicates, in ſome degree, a deficiency in liberal and enlarged ſentiments.

Such was the ſtate of the Britiſh church when St. Germain came upon his ſecond miſſion. Regarding ignorance as the ſource of hereſy and of the general depravity of manners, he inſtituted ſeminaries of learning; particularly for the uſe of thoſe perſons who were intended for *holy orders*.[2] But the reformation of Cambria appears to have been the object of his peculiar attention, where he principally reſided during his abode in Britain; the inhabitants of that mountainous region being not yet entirely emerged out of a ſtate of idolatry.[3]

To remedy theſe evils, and to render permanent this work of converſion; with an extenſion of liberal policy equal to his zeal, St. Germain inſtituted many ſchools and colleges for the inſtruction of youth, and for a regular ſupply of learned men in the miniſtry of the church. In theſe ſeminaries were educated many illuſtrious perſons, who afterwards ſuſtained the cauſe of chriſtianity in the moſt difficult and perilous ſeaſons.[4]

The two moſt eminent of theſe ſchools were eſtabliſhed at Henllan and Mochros, places ſituated on the banks of the Wye, in South Wales, under the immediate direction of Dubricius; who became afterwards ſo very famous for his learning and

[1] Rapin, vol. I. p. 29.
[2] Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Carte, vol. I. p. 185.
[3] Carte, vol. I. p. 185.
[4] Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

piety, that he uſually had under his tuition a thouſand ſcholars, who reſorted to him from every part of the iſland.[1] Another perſon of eminence, called Iltutus,[2] was ordained preſbyter by St. Germain; and he likewiſe was placed at the head of ſeveral ſchools which were in great repute, and filled with the ſons of the Britiſh nobility. Among the number of his diſciples was the famous Gildas[3] the hiſtorian, and Daniel, afterwards biſhop of Bangor.[4] Paulinus,[5] another diſciple of St. Germain, ſettled a ſchool at Whiteland* in Caermarthenſhire; under whom ſtudied for ten years the celebrated St. David.[6] Another ſchool was likewiſe eſtabliſhed at Llancarvan near Cowbridge.[7] Theſe ſeminaries, with the improvement of the great monaſtery of Bangor in Flintſhire, are monuments of the pious labours of St. Germain, during his abode in Cambria, and on his ſecond miſſion into Britain.

It has been already obſerved, that a metropolitan ſee had been eſtabliſhed many years at Caer Lleon upon Uſke in Monmouthſhire. At this period St. Germain conſecrated Dubricius† to the ſee of Llandaff; but he was ſoon after appointed archbiſhop of Caer Lleon, and primate of all Wales.[8] This *father* of the Cambrian church, was a perſon of eminent learning and integrity; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the Pelagian doctrines, in a

[1] Carte, vol. I. p. 185. [2] *Elltyd.*

[3] Son of *Caw*, a northern Briton, who having loſt his territory entered into a religious life. [4] Carte, vol. I. p. 186.

[5] His original name was *Rhun*. He was ſon of *Urien Reged*, a prince of a diſtrict in the north of England. * *Ty Gwyn ar Daf.*

[6] Carte, vol. I. p. 186. [7] Ibid. † *Dufrig.*

[8] Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 413.

ſynod

ſynod which he held at Brevi* in Caerdiganſhire.[1] After having lived to crown Uthur Pendragon, and the great Arthur, reſpectively kings of Britain, he reſigned to St. David the primacy of Wales; and retired to the iſland of Bardſey;† where he died, having reſided in that place many years as a religious recluſe.[2]

The manner of endowing the ſee of Llandaff with land when it was firſt founded, marks the degree of freedom which prevailed in thoſe early times. This land was given to Dubricius by Meiric the firſt, a prince of Glamorganſhire, in a general council of his nation; and with the conſent of the nobility, the clergy, and laity; the ſame mode of procedure prevailing in every grant which was made to the church, down to the Norman conqueſt.[3]

There was ſomething diſtinguiſhing in the birth, and in the perſonal qualities of David, the national ſaint of Wales, and the brighteſt ornament of its church. This celebrated perſon was uncle to king Arthur, and was the ſon of a prince of that country.‡ He was tall of ſtature, and of a comely perſonage; was a man of learning and eloquence, and of great auſterity in his life and manners.[4] By the induſtry and zeal of St. David, the opinions of Pelagius were eradicated, and the moſt eminent profeſſors of his doctrines were converted to the orthodox faith.[5]

* *Llanddewi Breſi.* [1] Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 413.

† Or the Bards Iſle, on the coaſt of Caernarvonſhire.

[2] Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 413. Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. [3] Carte, vol. I. p. 186.

‡ *Dewi Sant ab Cedig ab Caredig ab Cynedda Wledig.* Bonedd y Saint, a very ancient Britiſh MS. [4] Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 414. [5] Ibid.

With the conſent of king Arthur, he removed the metropolitan ſee from Caer Lleon to Menevia;* which place ever ſince has been called Ty Dewi by the Welſh, and St. David by the Engliſh. The noiſy intercourſe of a populous city like Caer Lleon, being ill adapted for contemplation, was not ſuited to his ſolitary caſt of mind, and rigid ſentiments of piety; and on that account he removed the ſee to Menevia, as to a more ſequeſtered ſituation.[1] After being ſeated in the ſee of St. David ſixty-five years, and having built twelve monaſteries; after having been exemplary in the piety of thoſe days, this holy perſon died at a moſt advanced period of human life; having attained, as it is ſaid, to the age of one hundred and forty-ſix years. He was buried in the cathedral church of St. David; and many hundred years after was canonized by Pope Caliſtus the ſecond.[2] The ſuppoſed power of working miracles, which a ſuperſtitious age had aſcribed to St. David, was probably owing to the great length and to the extraordinary ſanctity of his life. After his death no memorable tranſaction occurred for many years in the archiepiſcopal ſee of St. David. In the time of Sampſon, who was the twenty-ſixth biſhop in ſucceſſion, there were ſeven ſuffragan biſhops, who belonged to that ſee, and were ſubject to his authority; namely, thoſe of Exeter, Bath, Hereford, Llandaff, Bangor, St. Aſaph, and Fernes in Ireland.[3] This biſhop having fled into Britany on account of a contagious diſtemper which raged in his own country, he carried with him the archiepiſcopal pall of St. David; and from this circumſtance, or from their poverty or negligence,

* *Hen Fynyw.* [1] Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 414. [2] Ibid.
[3] Godwin, p. 417. Giraldus. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 76, 77.

the

the title of archbiſhop was loſt ever after to the ſucceſſors of Sampſon. But they long retained, beyond this period, that authority which had been uſually annexed to the archiepiſcopal dignity; and they acknowledged no dependency on the ſee of Canterbury, until the time of king Henry the firſt.[1]

It is reported of Morgeneu, the thirty-third biſhop of St. David, that having preſumed to eat fleſh contrary to the auſtere habits of the primitive fathers, he was afterwards murdered by pirates; and this was regarded by the ſuperſtitious Giraldus as the puniſhment of heaven for ſo heinous an offence.[2]

In the reign of Henry the firſt, the ſee of St. David fell under the juriſdiction of Canterbury; the archbiſhop having conſecrated to this ſee one Barnard, a Norman, and chaplain to Henry the firſt, without the conſent of the clergy of Wales; in whom had uniformly remained the power of electing their biſhops.[3] The biſhopric of St. David was valued in the exchequer at £426 : 2 : 1, and in the Pope's books at 1500 ducats.[4]

There is no mention of any biſhop of Llandaff preceding the time of Dubricius; who was conſecrated to that ſee by St. Germain.[5] But that prelate was ſoon ſucceeded by St. Teilaw; he himſelf being tranſlated to the ſee of St. David. St. Teilaw, the ſecond biſhop, was a perſon of noble birth, and was educated

[1] Godwin, p. 417. Giraldus. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 76, 77. [2] Ibid.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 175. Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 418, 422. [4] Ibid. p. 423.
[5] Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 423.

in

in one of thoſe ſeminaries which had been inſtituted by St. Germain; he was ſlain by a nobleman in his own cathedral, where he was buried; and which church, after him, took the name of Llan Deilaw.[1] The dependency of this ſee on the archbiſhop of Canterbury is implied, by St. Dunſtan's having conſecrated Godwinus biſhop thereof about the year nine hundred and eighty-two.[2] This biſhopric was valued in the exchequer at £154: 14: 1, and paid to the Pope for firſt-fruits 700 ducats.[3]

A. D. 470. About this period a provincial council was held in Britain for the reformation of religion, and for repairing the ruined churches; both of which the marriage of Vortigern with a pagan princeſs had contributed to bring into decay.[4]

A. D. 522. At this time, the eſtabliſhment of the goſpel among the Picts and Scots was conſiderably advanced, by the zeal and pious labours of St. Columba, an Iriſh monk.[5]

Daniel, the ſon of Dynothus* the laſt abbot of Bangor in Flintſhire, having founded a ſchool in Caernarvonſhire for the inſtruction of youth, gave to that place the name of Bangor;[6] which ſome time after was erected into a biſhopric, and was endowed with lands and franchiſes by Maelgwyn Gwynedd the king of North Wales.[7] Daniel was conſecrated to that ſee by Dubricius the archbiſhop of St. David.[8]

[1] Godwin's Engliſh Biſhops, p. 423. [2] Ibid. p. 425. [3] Ibid. p. 429.
[4] Ibid. p. 429. [5] Moſheim's Eccl. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 430. * *Dinoeth.*
[6] Rowland's Mon Ant. p. 184. [7] Ibid. p. 187. [8] Ibid. p. 184.

St. Kentigern* abbot of Glaſgow, and ſon to a princeſs of the Picts, having been obliged to quit Scotland, obtained licence to build a college at Llan Elwy in Flintſhire;[1] at which place he inſtituted a biſhop's ſee; and on his return into his own country, he appointed Aſaph, his diſciple, to ſucceed him; who gave his name to the preſent ſee of St. Aſaph.[2] A. D. 590.

It does not appear that the clergy, in theſe early times, had any diſtinct *cures* or *pariſhes* where they reſided; but they lived, together with their biſhops, on the emoluments of the church, in collegiate bodies; in the ſame manner as at the great monaſtery of Bangor. In theſe colleges, the clergy were habituated to the exerciſes of reading and prayer; and were obliged to perform the offices of their function in thoſe diſtricts to which they were allotted by their biſhops.[3] But during this period we do not find that there were many churches in the iſland; the places appointed for divine worſhip were chiefly a few ſcattered cloiſters and oratories; where the miniſter of the diſtrict came at ſtated times to read, and to preach the word of God, and to adminiſter the ſacraments to the people.[4] It is probable likewiſe that the nobility had chapels joined to their manſions, for the benefit of their own families and their ſurrounding dependents.[5]

The church of Cambria had hitherto preſerved her independency on Rome;[6] and though the ſpirit of innovation had been

* *Cyndcyrn Garthwys.* [1] Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 542. Rapin, vol. I. p. 43.
[2] Camden's Britannia. [3] Rowland's Mon Ant. p. 143. [4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid. p. 144. [6] Ibid. p. 149.

longer

longer oppoſed by the *Britiſh* than it had been by the *Engliſh* clergy, yet in the end, the Romiſh ſuperſtitions prevailed. There was one injunction, however, the *celibacy* of the clergy, which was reſiſted with a ſucceſsful and an uniform firmneſs;[1] as a ſource of profligacy, as innovating on the rights of nature, and as violating the deareſt intereſts of humanity.

IT has been already obſerved, that the Saxons, during their conteſt with the Britons, and for ſome time after they had eſtabliſhed their dominion, adhered to the religion of their anceſtors; and that chriſtianity prevailed in very few places, except in thoſe which ſtill remained unſubdued by that fierce people.

During the reign of Ethelbert, the converſion of the Saxons was undertaken at the inſtigation of Gregory the biſhop of Rome, by St. Auſtin or Auguſtine.[2] The ſupreme authority over the Britiſh church having been given to St. Auſtin by Gregory; and having received at his hand the *Pall*,[3] as the enſign of his patriarchal dignity; that miſſionary reſolved to make an experiment of its virtue, by attempting to exert a controuling power over the biſhops in Cambria.[4] There was a difference ſub-

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 149. [2] Verſtegan, chap. v. p. 142.

3 The Pall was a rich robe of ſtate, very magnificent, and hanging down to the ground; it was a part of the imperial habit, and allowed to the biſhop of Rome by the favour of one of the Roman emperors. The Pall was uſually given to the patriarchs when that ſyſtem of government firſt took place in the church.

[4] Carte, vol. I. p. 223, 224. Geoffry Monmouth. Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 6.

ſiſting

ſifting at this time between the Cambrian church and that of Rome; in the obſervance of the ſacrament of baptiſm, and of the ceremony of keeping Eaſter. To produce an uniformity in worſhip, and to eſtabliſh his own ſupremacy, St. Auſtin obtained a meeting with ſome of the Britiſh clergy at Auſt-Cliffe in Glouceſterſhire.[1] But not being impowered to concede to his demands, or remaining unconvinced by his arguments, the clergy referred the deciſion of the points in diſpute to another more general conference.[2] To this aſſembly, which ſoon after enſued, were convened ſeven Britiſh biſhops, and many learned men from the monaſtery of Bangor. St. Auſtin likewiſe appeared there, in all the pomp of ſpiritual inſolence and pride; being uſhered into the aſſembly by a ſinging proceſſion, and with his banner and his croſs diſplayed.[3] The Britiſh deputies, before they came to the aſſembly, had conſulted an *anchorite*; whether they ſhould ſubmit to the ſpiritual direction of St. Auſtin, or ſhould preſerve their native independency. This holy perſon adviſed them, if St. Auſtin followed the example of his *Maſter*, and conducted himſelf by a meek and humble ſpirit; that they ſhould obſerve his rules, and ſubmit to his authority; but if he demeaned himſelf with haughtineſs, and deſpiſed their modeſt appearance, that they ſhould then ſhew an equal diſdain for him and his councils.[4] Agreeably to this advice, the deputies

[1] Verſtegan, chap. v. p. 142. [2] Verſtegan, chap. v. p. 142.

[3] Carte, vol. I. p. 223, 224. Geoffry Monmouth. Godwin's Engliſh Biſhops, p. 6.

[4] Archbiſhop Uſher, cap. III. Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 5, 6. Geoff. Monmouth.

waited until St. Auſtin had taken his ſeat in the aſſembly; and when they made their appearance, the haughty prelate neither roſe from his place, nor gave them any kind of ſalutation. Affronted at his arrogance and affected ſuperiority, the Britiſh deputies firmly oppoſed him in every point of innovation; and told him, that though his opinions were grounded on the authority of Gregory, their doctrines had long ſince an equal ſanction in the approbation of Eleutherius; that they would yield obedience to their own archbiſhop who reſided at St. David, but would never ſubmit to one whoſe perſon and language were as much unknown to them as were his ſentiments and doctrines.[1] When St. Auſtin found he could not gain upon the firmneſs of the clergy, he relaxed from his haughtineſs; and deſired that they would adminiſter baptiſm, and would obſerve the ceremony of keeping Eaſter after the Romiſh manner; and that they would likewiſe aſſiſt him to complete the converſion of the Saxons.[2] But the Britiſh deputies continuing firm in their refuſal on any terms to join with St. Auſtin, he ſolemnly denounced againſt them the judgment of God; predicted an impending calamity; and confidently aſſured them, that as they would not accept of peace with their Chriſtian brethren, they would ſoon have war with their Pagan enemies; and that they would ſoon find death by the ſwords of *thoſe*, to whom they had now refuſed to preach the word of life.[3] Theſe threats, denounced by a

[1] Archbiſhop Uſher, cap. III. Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 5, 6. Geoff. Monmouth.

[2] Geoff. Monmouth. Godwin's Eng. Biſhops, p. 5, 6.

[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 151. Geoff. Monmouth.

mortified

mortified and irritated prelate, were ſoon after accompliſhed; by the invaſion of Ethelfrid, and by the defeat of the Britons at the battle of Cheſter; with the maſſacre of eleven hundred and fifty *religious* who reſided in the great monaſtery of Bangor.[1]

THOUGH this blow had nearly proved fatal to the *religious order*, it was eventually a permanent advantage to the church; having been the original cauſe of producing the inſtitution of pariſhes, and of the reſidence of the clergy within thoſe allotted diſtricts. The ſeminary of Bangor having been entirely deſtroyed, after this defeat of the Britons; and the Saxons having made their hoſtile advances to the banks of the Dee, it became neceſſary to provide for the ſafety of the clergy, by placing them at a greater diſtance from danger, in the interior parts of the country.[2] The urgency of the times contributed likewiſe to this ſalutary meaſure. A more immediate intercourſe between the clergy and the people, and a keener vigilance in their paſtors became neceſſary, when *ſuperſtition* was innovating upon the purity of the church, and was diffuſing its errors with a zealous and perſevering induſtry.[3]

ON the diſperſion of the clergy from the monaſtery of Bangor, the greateſt part of them had ſettled in North Wales; and the remainder are ſuppoſed to have ſerved, as a ſupply in the miniſtry of the church, in South Wales and in Armorica.[4]

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 26, ſays two thouſand monks.
[2] Rowland, p. 151. Geoff. Monmouth. [3] Rowland, p. 151.
[4] Ibid. p. 152. Matth. Weſtm. p. 150.

The biſhops, and other men of eminence in the Cambrian church, with great induſtry and zeal, travelled through the country, exhorting the princes and the nobility to aſſiſt them in erecting cells and cloiſters for the purpoſes of divine worſhip; in which places they fixed the ſubordinate clergy, who were to perform the functions of religion in their particular diſtricts.[1] This was the origin of *reſidentiary cures*.

THERE is reaſon to ſuppoſe that the cells of theſe times, were originally erected equally for the dwellings of the prieſts, as for the purpoſes of religion; but at the ſame time they acquired a ſacred eſtimation by being dedicated to the worſhip of God. The ſites of the moſt ancient Welſh churches ſeem to favour this opinion; being uſually found in deſolate and unfrequented ſituations; and as ſuch were more calculated for the ſolitary abode of *aſcetics*, than for the general conveniency of religious aſſemblies.[2] To theſe churches, *wakes* or anniverſary *feaſt* days were appointed, to the honour of the ſaints to whom they were dedicated. Theſe *feſtivals* were uſually celebrated either on the Sunday preceding, or on that immediately after the *ſaint's* day.[3]

ABOUT this period three hundred and eleven pariſhes were eſtabliſhed in North Wales; in the iſland of Angleſey there were ſeventy-four; in Caernarvonſhire ſixty-eight; in Mont-

[1] Rowland, p. 153. [2] Rowland, p. 158. [3] Ibid. p. 159.

gomeryſhire

gomeryſhire forty-ſeven; in Denbighſhire fifty-ſeven; in Flintſhire twenty-eight; and in Merionethſhire thirty-ſeven.[1]

During the efforts of St. Auſtin to deſtroy the independency of the Cambrian church, the clergy were collected into different *conventual bodies*, perhaps a veſtige of the druidical eſtabliſhment, under the direction of their peculiar biſhops.[2] In this ſeaſon of danger, while an ambitious prieſthood were attempting to eſtabliſh a ſpiritual tyranny upon the weakneſs of human reaſon,[3] all orders of people took the alarm. The nobility and the bards exerted their zeal on this occaſion; and Talieſin,[4] who flouriſhed in that period, exerciſed his genius in poetry, to excite the vigilance and to animate the zeal of the Britiſh clergy. A. D. 600. The innovating ſpirit of Rome made no progreſs as long as it was oppoſed by their united exertions. But after the maſſacre of the monks at Bangor, when the moſt diſtinguiſhed of that body were ſlain, and the remainder were diſperſed through the country; the fences of the Cambrian church being deſerted or weakened, it became expoſed to a ſeries of evils, under which it ſuffered for many centuries.[5] A. D. 608.

The clergy, while they lived in colleges and were formed into *conventual bodies*, were ſupported by *tythes* and the voluntary oblations of the people. But when the pious zeal of the biſhops, co-operating with the munificence of the nobles, had eſta-

[1] Rowland, p. 152. [2] Ibid. p. 149, 150. [3] Ibid.

[4] Several of the poems of this bard are now extant in MSS.

[5] Rowland, p. 149, 150.

bliſhed

bliſhed theſe *reſidentiary cures*; it was then neceſſary that the ſame rights and advantages ſhould become a diſtinct property, and ſhould be applied to the uſes of particular pariſhes, as they had been heretofore claimed for the general ſervice of the church.[1] The clergy being thus eſtabliſhed in their reſpective cells, the people, who inhabited the neighbouring diviſions of *bods* and *trevs*, into which the country was at that time broken, aſſociated under the ſpiritual guidance of their peculiar miniſter; and aſſigned for his particular maintenance, and as an endowment in future, the *tythes* of their land, and other eccleſiaſtical emoluments.[2] This union of ſeveral townſhips, when aſſociated for the purpoſes of religion, and of forming a regular eſtabliſhment for the maintenance of the church, originally conſtituted a *pariſh*.[3] But the fervour of pious munificence abating in proceſs of time, the *tythes* alone were found inſufficient for the decent maintenance of the clergy; and it became neceſſary to conſolidate ſeveral pariſhes, with their churches, into one *reſidentiary cure*; under the direction of a ſingle prieſt or incumbent. By this alteration, the clergy were enabled to obtain, or to purchaſe *glebes* as the property of the reſpective incumbent; to attend with greater leiſure the ſpiritual concerns of their pariſhes, to build houſes for their particular habitations, and to reſerve the churches for the ſole uſes of religious worſhip.[4]

It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe from theſe pious exertions, that the parochial clergy were untainted with the general depravity,

[1] Rowland, p. 159. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Rowland, p. 159.

which is charged by Gildas upon the *conventual orders*, with a degree of monaſtic ſeverity. Indeed it was not eaſy for the clergy of *collegiate bodies*, from their frequent intercourſe with mankind, and being diſperſed in the families of princes, to avoid the contagious influence of luxury. But theſe dangerous ſituations, and their conſequent profligacy of manners, could have no effect upon the *reſidentiary prieſts*; who, reſiding in ſolitary abodes, ſequeſtered from the views or pleaſures of the world, paſſed their lives in the auſtere piety and mortified habits of *religious recluſes*.[1]

The right of patronage of the biſhoprics in Wales, originally belonged to the princes of Wales; upon the feudal idea of the ſovereign being the lord paramount of landed property; and afterwards, when the different principalities became united by conqueſt to the Engliſh government, the patronages of the Welſh biſhoprics were then annexed to the crown of England.[2]

The clergy of Wales had hitherto preſerved, with great firmneſs, an independency of the Romiſh church. About this period, however, they ſuffered *Elbodius* to be appointed by the Pope, archbiſhop of North Wales; who ſoon brought them to act in conformity to the Romiſh obſervance of Eaſter; a point on which the two churches had hitherto divided in opinion. The Britons, imitating the *Aſiatics*, celebrated their *Eaſter* from A. D. 762.

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 160, 161.

[2] Burn's Eccleſiaſtical Law, vol. I. p. 177, from Coke's Inſtitutes.

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the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the month; but the Romans, agreeably to the *Nicene* Council, kept that feſtival from the fifteenth to the twenty-firſt.[s] Thus, at length, did the chriſtian world ſink under the tyranny of the church of Rome; and, through a long ſucceſſion of ages, the arts of an intereſted prieſthood, by controuling the exertions of human genius, weakened the extenſion of its powers, debaſed its ſpirit, and almoſt annihilated its dignity and freedom.

[s] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 68.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Omnibus hoc ſcriptum viſuris Rogerus de monte alto Seneſcallus Ceſtriæ Salutem: Sciatis quòd ego me conſtitui plegium, &c.

TO all and ſingular to whome this writing ſhall come, Roger de monte alto Steward of Cheſter ſendeth greeting: Know yee that I haue conſtituted my ſelfe pledge for Senena the wife of Gruffyth the ſonne of Lhewelyn, ſometimes prince of Northwales, and haue vndertaken for hir to our ſouereigne lord Henrie king of England, that the ſaid Senena ſhall accompliſh and performe all and ſingular thoſe couenants and articles, agreed vpon betweene our ſaid ſouereigne lord and the ſaid Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of the ſaid Gruffyth hir huſband and Owen his ſon out of the priſon of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance due vnto the ſaid Gruffyth, which the ſaid Dauid keepeth from him by force. In witneſſe whereof to this preſent writing I haue put my ſeale, Dated at Salop, the mundaie before the feaſt of the Aſſumption of the bleſſed virgin Marie, in the 25. yeare of the reigne of the ſaid King.

No. II.

Reuerendiſſimis in Chriſto patribus ac D. D. Roberto Dei gratia Archiepiſcopo Cantuar. totius Angliæ Primati, & Archiepiſcopo Eborum, ac eorum Suffraganeis, &c.

TO the moſt reuerend fathers in Chriſt and Lord, Robert by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Canturburie, primate of England, and the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and

their Suffraganes, being now togither at London in councell: their deuout ſonne Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and lord of Snoudon, greeting with due obedience, reuerence, and honor in all things. Be it knowen to your reuerend Fatherhoods, that where heretofore contention and diſcord (whereof warre followed and long continued) aroſe betwixt the king of noble memorie Henrie king of England of the one partie, and vs of the other partie: the ſame contentions and ſtrife were at the laſt appeaſed by the authoritie of the ſea Apoſtolike, and meanes of the reuerend father lord Otobonus, Deacon and Cardinall of S. Adrian Legate into England: as it appeareth in the forme of treatie and peace betwixt the ſaid king, and Edward his firſt begotten ſon, lord Edward now king of England, and their ſucceſſors on the one partie: and vs and our ſucceſſors on the other partie, by the corporall othes of both parties aſſured. Which forme of peace was committed to writing by the ſaid Legate, with the ſeale of the ſaid king, and the ſeale of the ſaid lord Edward now king, and with our ſeale alſo. In the which peace it is conteined amongſt other things (which you doo well know as we beleeue) that we and our ſucceſſors ſhould hold of the king and his ſucceſſors the principalitie of Wales. So that all Welſh Barons ſhould hold their Baronies and lands of vs and our ſucceſſors in Capite, and ſhould doo homage and fealtie to vs and to our heires (one Baron excepted) for the which we and our ſucceſſors ſhould doo homage and fealtie to the lord the king and his ſucceſſors. It is further conteined in the ſame peace, that neither the ſaid king nor his ſucceſſors, ſhould receiue anie of our enemies, nor anie running awaie from vs, or our ſucceſſors, nor ſhould helpe or maintaine anie ſuch againſt vs or our ſucceſſors. The which all are conteined in the forme of peace, the tenor whereof the reuerend Fathers of Strata Florida, and Aberconwey bearers hereof can ſhew you.

But ſee reuerend Fathers, the lord Edward now noble king of England, after the ſaid peace taketh into his hands certeine Barons lands of Wales, of which they and their anceſtors haue beene long poſſeſſed, and keepeth a Baronie in his hands which ſhould be ours by the forme of peace: other Barons of our land being from vs fugitiues, running to him, he keepeth, helpeth and mainteineth; as Dauid ap Gruffyth, and Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, who purpoſed our death and deſtruction. Notwithſtanding that ſince their departure they haue robbed within our land, committed ſlaughter, and burning of houſes, and doo ſtill dailie commit the like againſt the peace aforeſaid: and although we haue often ſent our greefes and complaints by our ſolemne meſſengers, to the ſaid noble lord Edward, as well before he was king, as ſince, yet vnto this daie he neuer did anie redreſſe therein. Alſo that which is more perilous, he called vs vnto a place (not to vs ſafe) amongſt our deadlie enemies, our fugitiues and felons and their ſpies and murderers, to doo him homage and fealtie: to the which place we can no waies come without danger of our bodie: eſpeciallie ſeeing our enemies aboueſaid be in that place at the king's table, and ſometime in counſell, and openlie brag themſelves. And though lawfull and reaſonable excuſes were alledged by our meſſengers, before the king and his councell, why the place was not ſafe nor indifferent, yet he refuſed to allow or appoint anie other place indifferent for vs to doo our homage and fealtie: which we were and are readie to doo vnto him, in anie ſafe place by him.

him to be appointed, if he will appoint anie: and to performe the other articles of the peace concluded and ſworne. And for that it pleaſed him not to come to anie place, where we could with ſafetie do him homage, we were ſuiters to him, to ſend anie from him to receiue our oth and homage, vntill it pleaſed him to appoint a place, where we ſhall doo our homage to him perſonallie, the which thing he vtterlie denied to doo.

We therefore beſeech your Fatherhoods earneſtlie, that it pleaſe you to conſider what danger ſhould happen to the people both of England and of Wales, by reaſon of the breach of the couenants of peace aboue ſaid: if now warres and diſcord ſhould follow, which God forbid: attending and calling to remembrance the prohibition of the holie father the Pope latelie in the councell at Lions, that no warre ſhould be mooued amongſt Chriſtians: leaſt thereby the affaires of the holie land ſhould be neglected: that it would pleaſe you alſo to helpe with your counſell with the lord and king, that he would vſe vs and order vs according to the peace agreed vpon, the which we will no waie infringe. And if he will not harken to your counſell therein (which God forbid) that you will hold vs excuſed, for we will no waies as much as in vs lieth procure the trouble or diſquietnes of the Realme. And if it may pleaſe you to giue credit to our meſſengers (which we doo ſend to the king at the daie by him vnto vs appointed) to alledge our lawful excuſes in thoſe things, which they by mouth ſhall on our part ſhew vnto you: reſting to doo your will and pleaſure, if it pleaſe you to write againe. Dated at Talybont the 6. daie of October, An. 1275.

No. III.

Certeine greefes ſent from Lhewelyn, to the Archbiſhop: tranſlated Word by Word out of the Records of the ſaid Archbiſhop.

WHERE that it is conteined in the forme of the peace, concluded as followeth.

1 If the ſaid Lhewelyn will claime anie right in anie lands occupied by anie other than by the lord the king, without the ſaid foure Cantreds, the ſaid lord the king ſhall doo him full iuſtice, according to the lawes and cuſtomes of thoſe quarters or parts, where the ſaid lands doo lie. Which article was not obſerued in the lands in Aruſtly, and betwixt the waters of Dyui and Dulas, for that when the ſaid Lhewelyn claimed the ſaid lands before the lord the king at Ruthlan, and the king granted him the cauſe to be examined according to the lawes and cuſtomes of Wales, and the aduocates of the parties were brought in, and the Iudges which vulgarlie they call Ynnayd, before the king, to iudge of the ſaid lands according to the lawes of Wales. And the defendant appeared and anſwered ſo, that the ſame daie the cauſe ought to haue beene fullie determined according to the appointment of our lord the king. Who at his being

at Gloceſter, had aſſigned the parties the ſaid daie: and though the ſame cauſe was in diuers places often heard and examined before the Iuſtice, and that the lands were in Northwales, and neuer iudged but by the laws of Wales, neither was it lawfull for the king but according to the lawes of Wales to proroge the cauſe; all that notwithſtanding he proroged the daie (of his owne motion) contrarie to the ſaid lawes. And at the laſt the ſaid Lhewelyn was called to diuers places, whither he ought not to haue beene called: neither could he obteine iuſtice, nor anie iudgement, vnleſſe it were according to the lawes of England, contrarie to the ſaid article of the peace. And the ſame was doone at Montgomery, when the parties were preſent in iudgement, and a daie appointed to heare ſentence, they proroged the ſaid daie contrarie to the foreſaid lawes: and at the laſt the king himſelfe at London denied him iuſtice, vnleſſe he would be iudged according to the Engliſh lawes in the ſaid matter.

2 ALL iniuries, treſpaſſes and faults on either part doone, be clearelie remitted vnto this preſent daie. This article was not kept; for that as ſoone as the lord Reginald Gray was made Iuſtice, he mooued diuers and innumerable accuſations againſt the men of Tegengl and Ros, for treſpaſſes doone in the time of king Henrie: when they bare rule in thoſe parties, whereby the ſaid men dare not for feare keepe their own houſes.

3 WHERE as it was agreed that Rees Vachan ap Rees ap Maelgon ſhall enioie his poſſeſſions, with all the land which he now holdeth, &c. After the peace concluded he was ſpoiled of his lands of Geneu'rglyn which he then held, with the men and cattell of the ſame.

4 ALSO our lord the king granteth, that all tenants holding lands in the foure Cantreds, and in other places which the king holdeth in his owne hands, ſhall hold and enioie the ſame, as freelie as they did before the time of the warres, and ſhall vſe the ſame liberties and cuſtomes, which they vſed before. Contrarie to this article, the lord Reginald Gray hath brought manie new cuſtomes againſt the forme of peace aforeſaid.

5 ALL controuerſies mooued, or to be mooued betwixt the Prince and anie other, ſhall be decided after the lawe of the marches (if they haue their beginning in the marches) and after the lawes of Wales, ſuch as in Wales have their beginning. Contrarie to this article, the king dooth and ſendeth Iuſtices to Angleſey, who preſume to iudge there the men and ſubjects of the Prince: ſetting fines vpon them, contrarie to the lawes of Wales, ſeeing neither this nor anie like was euer heard in times paſt; impriſoning ſome, outlawing others, when the Prince is at all times readie to doo iuſtice to all men that complaine vpon anie of his men.

6 WHERE it is in the peace, that Gruffyth Vachan ſhould doo homage to the king for the land in Yale, and to the Prince for the land in Ederneon, the kings iuſtices brought the ladie of Maylor, into all the ſaid lands of Edeyrneon. The knowledge

of which cauſe onelie pertained to the Prince, and not to the ſaid Iuſtices: and yet for peace ſake, the Prince did tollerate all this, being at all times readie to miniſter iuſtice to the ſaid ladie.

7 And though the ſaid Prince ſubmitted himſelfe vnto vs and our will, yet we neuertheleſs will and grant, that our will in no caſe goo furder, than is conteined in thoſe articles. Contrarie to this article, gold was exacted for the Queenes workes at everie paiment made to the king: which gold was neuer demanded in time of king Henrie, or anie other king of England. Which gold yet for quietnes ſake the Prince paid, though it were not ſpoken of or mentioned in the peace. And now further it is exacted for the old Queene the kings mother that now is (for the peace concluded with king Henrie) 2000 marks and a halfe: and vnleſſe it be paid, the king threatneth to occupie the goods and lands of Lhewelyn and his people, which he could find in his realme; and ſell men and beaſts vntill the ſaid ſumme were paid.

8 Item when the king inuited the Prince to his feaſt at Worceſter, promiſing with verie fair words, that he would giue his kinſewoman to him to wife, and enrich him with much honour: neuertheleſſe when he came thither, the ſelfe ſame daie they ſhould be married before Maſſe, the king required a bill to be ſealed by the Prince; conteining amongſt other things that he would neuer keep man againſt the kings will, nor neuer mainteine anie, whereby it might come to paſſe, that all the Princes force ſhould be called from him. The which letter ſealed, he deliuered the king by iuſt feare, which might mooue anie conſtant man; yet was not this conteined in the peace, whereas the concluſion of the peace was, that the king ſhould require nothing that was not conteined in the ſame.

9 Item where in the ſaid peace all cuſtomes be confirmed to the ſaid Prince, as his anceſtors of long and dailie obſerued cuſtome haue receiued to their owne vſe, all wrecks happening vpon his owne lands: the Iuſtice of Cheſter tooke a diſtreſſe of the Prince for goods of ſhipwrecke receiued by him before the warres, contrarie to the forme of the ſaid peace. By the which all treſpaſſes of either ſide were remitted; and contrarie to the cuſtomes before ſaid: and if in caſe it were forfeited, yet he tooke ſuch a diſtreſſe, fifteene pounds of honie, and manie horſſes, and impriſoned his men. And this he tooke of the Princes owne proper goods, and further tooke booties of Bagiers which came to Lyrpoole with merchandize, and neuer redeliuered the ſame, untill he had taken ſo much monie for the ſame, as it pleaſed him.

10 Item when certeine men of Geneurglyn had taken certeine goods of ſome of their neighbours of Geneurglyn, when they were in the dominion of the Prince in Meyreon, the kings men of Lhanbadarn did take awaie the ſaid goods out of the ſaid dominion of the Prince: and when the prince his men came thither, and aſked the cauſe why they tooke the ſaid preie: the kings men killed one of them, and wounded other, and the reſt they did impriſon, neither could the prince get anie iuſtice for the ſaid goods to this daie.

11 And

11 And where it is conteined in the peace, that all things committed in the Marches, ſhould be redreſſed in the Marches; yet the kings men would no where heare the princes men, but put them in the caſtell of Lhanbadarn: which is againſt the peace aforeſaid. In theſe articles and diuers others, the king ſtandeth ſworne to the prince, and to his people. And although the prince as well by himſelfe as by his people, haue often requeſted the king to cauſe the ſaid peace to be kept, yet was it in no point kept, but dailie the kings Iuſtices doo more and more heape iniuries and griefs vpon the people of thoſe parts. So that it can not be blamed, if the Prince did aſſent to them that firſt began the wars, ſeeing the oth which the lord Robert Typtoſt ſware for the king, was kept in no point: and cheeflie ſeeing the prince was forewarned, that he ſhould be taken ſo ſoone as the king came to Ruthlan, as he had beene in deede if the king had come thither after Chriſtmaſſe, as he purpoſed.

No. IV. & VII.

Theſe greeſes folowing were done by the King and his Officers, to the Lord Dauid ap Gruffyth.

WHEN the ſaid Dauid came to the lord Edward then earle of Cheſter, and did him homage, the ſaid lord Edward did giue by his letters patents to the ſaid Dauid, two Cantreds, Dyffryncluyd, and Ceinmeyrdh, with all the appurtenances: afterward when he was made king he confirmed the ſaid gift to the ſaid Dauid, and gaue him poſſeſſion of them. Then afterward Guenlhian Lacy died, who held ſome townes in the ſaid Cantreds for terme of life: which after hir deceaſe appertained to Dauid, by force of the foreſaid grant, which townes yet the king tooke from him, contrarie to his letters patents.

2 Item, when the ſaid Dauid did hold of the lord the king the villages of Hope and Eſton in Wales, of the which he ought to anſwere no man, but according to the lawes of Wales, yet the Iuſtice of Cheſter cauſed the ſaid Dauid to be called to Cheſter, at the ſute of one William Venable an Engliſh man: to anſwere for the title of the ſaid villages. And although the ſaid Dauid did often and inſtantlie deſire him the ſaid Iuſtice not to proceed againſt him iniuriouſlie in the countie of Cheſter, where he was not bound to anſwere by the forme of the peace: yet he plainlie denied him to be iudged either in Wales or after the lawes of Wales.

3 Item, the ſaid Iuſtice of Cheſter to the iniurie of the ſaid Dauid, did cut downe his wood of Lhyweny, and his woods at Hope, as well by the dwellers of Ruthlan, as others: and yet the ſaid Iuſtice had no iuriſdiction in thoſe parts. And not being contented to get timber there, for building, as well for Ruthlan as other places in the countrie, but alſo deſtroied the ſaid woods, ſold it, and carried it into Ireland.

4 Item,

4 ITEM, where the ſaid Dauid tooke certaine outlawes and rouers in the woods, and cauſed them to be hanged: yet the ſaid Iuſtice accuſed Dauid to the king, for ſuccoring and mainteining the theeues aforeſaid: which was not like to be true ſeeing he cauſed them to be hanged.

5 ITEM, it is prouided in the peace, that all Welſhmen in their cauſes ſhould be iudged after the lawes of Wales. This was in no point obſerued with the ſaid Dauid and his people. Of theſe foreſaid greefs the ſaid Dauid required often amends, either according to the lawes and cuſtomes of Wales, or of ſpeciall fauour: but he could neuer obteine anie of them both at his hands. Further, the ſaid Dauid was warned in the kings court, that aſſoone as Reginald Gray ſhould come from the court, the ſaid Dauid ſhould be taken and ſpoiled of his caſtell of Hope, his woods ſhould be cut downe, and his children taken for pledges: who ſeeing he had taken much paines and perill for the king in all his warres as well himſelfe as his people, both in England and in Wales, and had loſt therebie the moſt part of the nobilitie of his countrie, and yet neuertheleſſe could obteine neither iuſtice, amends, nor fauour at his hands, hauing ſuch great wrongs offred vnto him, and fearing his owne life and his childrens, or elſe perpetuall priſon, being enforced, as it were againſt his will, began to defend himſelfe and his people.

No. V.

Articles ſent from the Archbiſhop of Canturburie, to be intimated to Lhewelyn, Prince of Wales, and the People of the ſame Countrie.

BECAUSE we came to thoſe parts for the ſpirituall and temporall health of them whom we haue euer loued well, as diuers of them haue knowne.

2 THAT we come contrarie to the will of our Lord the king, whom our ſaid comming (as it is ſaid) dooth much offend.

3 THAT we deſire and beſeech them, for the bloud of our lord Ieſus Chriſt, that they would come to an vnitie with the Engliſh people, and to the peace of our lord the king, which we intend to procure them ſo well as we can.

4 WE will them to vnderſtand, that we cannot long tarrie in theſe quarters.

5 WE would they conſidered, that after our parting out of the countrie, they ſhall not perhaps find anie that will ſo tender the preferring of their cauſe, as we would doo, if it pleaſed God (with our mortall life) we might procure them an honeſt, ſtable and firme peace.

6 THAT,

6 That if they doo contemne our petition and labour, we intend foorthwith to ſignifie their ſtubbernes to the high biſhop, and the court of Rome: for the enormitie that manie waies hapneth by occaſion of this diſcord this daie.

7 Let them know, that vnleſſe they doo quicklie agree to a peace, that warre ſhall be aggrauated againſt them, which they ſhall not be able to ſuſtaine, for the kings power increaſeth dailie.

The greater cauſe the more love.

8 Let them vnderſtand that the realme of England is vnder the ſpeciall protection of the ſea of Rome: that the ſea of Rome loueth it better than anie other kingdome.

9 That the ſaid ſea of Rome will not in anie wiſe ſee the ſtate of the realme of England quaile, being vnder ſpeciall protection.

10 That we much lament to heare that the Welſhmen be more cruell then Saracens: for Saracens, when they take chriſtians they keepe them to be redeemed for monie. But (they ſaie) that the Welſhmen by and by doo kill all that they take, and are onelie delighted with blood, and ſometime cauſe to be killed them whoſe ranſome they haue receiued.

11 That whereas they were euer woont to be eſteemed, and to reuerence God and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, they ſeeme much to reuolt from that deuotion: moouing ſedition and warre, and committing ſlaughter, and burning in the holie time. Which is great iniurie to God, wherein no man can excuſe them.

12 We deſire, that as true chriſtians they would repent, for they cannot long continue their begun diſcord, if they had ſworne it.

13 We will that they ſignifie vnto vs, how they will or can amend the trouble of the kings peace, and the hurt of the common wealth.

14 That they ſignifie vnto vs how peace and concord may be eſtabliſhed: for in vaine were it to forme peace, to be dailie violated.

15 If they ſaie that their lawes or couenants be not obſerued, that they doo ſignifie vnto vs which thoſe be.

16 That granting it that they were iniured, as they ſaie, (which we no waies doo know) they which were Iudges in the cauſe might ſo haue ſignified to the king's majeſtie.

17 That vnleſſe they will now come to peace, they ſhall be reſiſted by decree and cenſure of the church, beſides warre of the people.

No. VI.

To the moſt reuerend Father in Chriſt, the Lord Iohn by Gods grace Arch-biſhop of Canturburie, Primate of all England, his Humble and deuout Sonne Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon ſendeth Greeting.

WITH all reuerend ſubmiſſion and honor we yeeld our moſt humble and hartie thanks vnto your fatherhood, for the great and greeuous paines which at this preſent for the loue of vs and our nation you haue ſuſtained: and ſo much the more we are beholden vnto you, for that beſides the kings pleaſure you would venture to come vnto vs. In that you requeſt vs to come to the kings peace, we would haue your holineſſe to know that we are moſt readie and willing to the ſame, ſo that our lord the king will duelie and trulie obſerue and keepe the peace towards vs and ours. Moreouer, although we would be glad of your continuance in Wales, yet we hope there ſhall not be any delaie in vs but that peace (which of all things we moſt deſire and wiſh for) may be forthwith eſtabliſhed, and rather by your trauell and procurement than by any other mans: ſo that it ſhall not be needefull to complaine vnto the Pope of our wilfulnes: neither do we deſpiſe your fatherhoods requeſts and painefull trauell, but with all hartie reuerence according to our dutie do accept the ſame. Neither yet ſhall it be needefull for the lord the king to vſe anie force againſt vs, ſeeing we are redie to obeie him in all things, our rights and lawes (as aforeſaid) reſerued. And although the kingdome of England be vnder the ſpeciall protection of the ſea of Rome, and with ſpeciall loue regarded of the ſame: yet, when the lord the Pope and the court of Rome ſhall vnderſtand of the great damages which are done vnto vs by the Engliſh-men, to wit, the articles of the peace concluded and ſworne vnto, violated and broken, the robbing and burning of churches, the murthering of eccleſiaſticall perſons, as well religious as ſecular; the ſlaughter of women great with child, and children ſucking their mothers breſts: the deſtroieng of hoſpitals, and houſes of religion, killing the men and women profeſſed in the holie places, and euen before the alters: we hope that your fatherhood, and the ſaid court of Rome will rather with pitie lament our caſe, than with rigour of puniſhment augment our ſorrow. Neither ſhall the kingdome of England be in anie wiſe diſquieted or moleſted by our meanes (as is affirmed) ſo that we may haue the peace dulie kept and obſerued towards vs and our people. Who they be, which are delited with bloodſhed and warre, is manifeſtlie apparant by their deedes and behauiour; for we would liue quietlie vpon our owne if we might be ſuffered, but the Engliſhmen comming to our countrie did put all to the ſword, neither ſparing ſex, age or ſickneſſe, nor any thing regarding churches or ſacred places, the like whereof the Welſhmen neuer committed. That one hauing paid his ranſome was afterward ſlaine, wee are right ſorie to heare of it, neither do we maintaine the offender, who eſcaping our hands keepeth himſelfe as an outlaw in the woods and vnknown places. That ſome began the warre in a time not meete and

conuenient, that vnderſtood not we of vntill now: and yet they which did the ſame do affirme, that in caſe they had not done as they did at that time, they had beene ſlaine or taken themſelues, being not in ſafetie in their owne houſes, and forced continuallie for ſafeguard of their liues to keepe themſelues in armour: and therefore to deliuer themſelues from that feare, they tooke that enterpriſe in hand. Concerning thoſe things which we commit againſt God: with the aſſiſtance of his grace, we will (as it becommeth Chriſtians) repent and turne vnto him. Neither ſhall the war on our part be continued, ſo that we be ſaued harmleſſe and may liue as we ought: but before we be diſinherited or ſlaine we muſt defend our ſelues as well as we may. Of all iniuries and wrongs done by vs, we are moſt willing and readie (vpon due examination and triall of all treſpaſſes and wrongs committed on both ſides) to make amends to the vttermoſt of our power: ſo that the like on the kings ſide be performed in like manner towards vs and our people: and to conclude and ſtabliſh a peace we are moſt readie: but what peace can be eſtabliſhed when as the kings charter ſo ſolemnlie confirmed, is not kept and performed? Our people are dailie oppreſſed with new exactions: we ſend vnto you alſo a note in writing of the wrongs and iniuries which are done vnto vs contrarie to the forme of the peace before made. We haue put our ſelues in armour, being driuen therevnto by neceſſitie: for we and our people were ſo oppreſſed, troden vnder foote, ſpoiled, and brought to ſlauerie by the kings officers, contrarie to the forme of the peace concluded againſt iuſtice, none otherwiſe than if we were Saracens or Iewes: whereof we haue often times complained vnto the king and neuer could get anie redreſſe: but alwaies thoſe officers were afterwards more fierce and cruell againſt vs. And when thoſe officers through their rauine and extortion were enriched, other more hungrie than they were ſent a freſh to flea thoſe whom the other had ſhorne before: ſo that the people wiſhed rather to die than liue in ſuch oppreſſion. And now it ſhall not be needeful to leuie anie armie to war vpon vs, or to moue the prelats of the church againſt vs, ſo that the peace may be obſerued duelie and trulie, as before is expreſſed. Neither ought your holie fatherhood to giue credit to all that our aduerſaries do allege againſt vs: for euen as in their deeds they haue and do oppreſſe vs, ſo in their words they will not ſticke to ſlander vs, laieng to our charge what liketh them beſt. Therefore, for aſmuch as they are alwaies preſent with you, and we abſent from you, they oppreſſing, and we oppreſſed, we are to deſire you euen for his ſake from whom nothing is hid, not to credit mens words but to examine their deeds. Thus we bid your holines farewell. Dated at Garth Celyn, in the feaſt of S. Martine.

No. VIII.

Greefs and Iniuries offered by the King and his Officers to the Men of Ros.

THIS is the forme of peace, which the king of England did promiſe the men of Ros before they did him homage, which he promiſed them to obſerue inuiolablie.

That

That is to ſaie, the king ſhould grant to euerie of them their right and iuriſdiction, as they had in time of king Henrie, according as the ſaid men doo report that they had in the time of king Henrie.

2 ITEM, the lord the king did promiſe the ſaid men, that they ſhould haue iuſtice in their ſutes: after granting of the which articles, the ſaid men did homage to the king. And then the king promiſed them with his owne mouth faithfullie to obſerue the ſaid articles. This notwithſtanding, a certeine noble man paſſing by the kings hie waie, with his wife in the kings peace, met certaine Engliſh laborers and maſons going to Ruthlan where they did then worke: who attempted by force to take awaie his wife from him, and while he defended hir as well as he could, one of them killed the wife, and he who killed hir with his fellowes were taken: and when the kinred of hir which was ſlaine required lawe at the Juſtice of Cheſters hands (for their kinſwoman) they were put in priſon, and the murtherers were deliuered.

3 ITEM, a certeine man killed a Gentleman who had killed the ſonne of Grono ap Heilyn and was taken: but when certaine of the kinred required iuſtice before the Juſtice of Cheſter, certeine of them were impriſoned, the offender ſet at libertie, and iuſtice denied to the kinred.

4 ITEM, certeine Gentleman claimed ſome lands, and offered the king a great peece of monie, to haue iuſtice by the verdict of good and lawfull men of the countrie (then the lands being adiudged to the claimers) Reginald Gray tooke the ſame lands, corne, goods, and all vpon the ground, ſo that they loſt their lands, monie, corne and cattell.

5 ITEM, it is our right that no ſtranger ſhould cut our woods without our leaue: yet this notwithſtanding there was a proclamation at Ruthlan, that it ſhould be lawfull for all other men to cut downe our woods, but to vs it was forbidden.

6 ITEM, where diuerſe honeſt men had lands of the gift of the ſaid Dauid, the Juſtice taketh the ſaid mens lands awaie.

7 ITEM, when anie commeth to Ruthlan with merchandize, if he refuſe whatſoeuer anie Engliſh man offereth, he is forthwith ſent to the caſtell to priſon, and the buier hath the thing, and the king hath the price: then the ſoldiours of the caſtell firſt ſpoile and beate the partie, and then cauſe him to pay the porter, and let him go.

8 ITEM, if anie Welſhmen buie anie thing in Ruthlan, and anie Engliſh man doo meet him, he will take it from him, and giue him leſſe than he paid for it.

9 ITEM, the king contrarie to his promiſe made to the men of Ros, hath giuen the territorie of Maynan, Penmayn, and Lhyſuayn.

10 ITEM, Certeine Gentlemen of the Cantred of Ros bought certeine offices, and paid their monie for the ſame: yet the Iuſtice of Cheſter tooke the ſaid offices from them without cauſe.

See this Article again, page 577.

11 ITEM, Grono ap Heilyn tooke to farme of Godfrey Marliney, the territorie of Maynan and Lhyſuayn, for the terme of foure yeares: yet Robert de Cruquer with horſes and armes and foure and twentie horſſemen, came to vexe the ſaid Grono, ſo that he had no ſafe going, neither to Ruthlan nor Cheſter, without a great garriſon of his kindred and freends.

12 ITEM, certeine Gentlemen were arreſted, for treſpaſſes done before the warres and impriſoned, and could not be deliuered vntill they had paied xvi. markes, which was contrarie to the peace concluded.

13 ITEM, our cauſes ought to be decided after the cuſtome of our lawes; but our men be compelled to ſweare againſt their conſciences, elſe they be not ſuffered to ſweare: furthermore we ſpent three hundreth markes in going to the king for iuſtice in the foreſaid articles. And when we beleeved to recouer full iuſtice, the king ſent to our parties the lord Reginald Gray, to whom the king hath ſet all the lands to farme, to handle the men of the ſaid Cantreds as it pleaſeth him: who compelled vs to *ſweare in his name, whereas we ſhould ſweare in the kings name. And where the kings croſſe ought to be erected, he cauſed his croſſe to be erected, in token that he is the verie true lord: and the ſaid lord Reginald at his firſt comming to thoſe parts of Wales, ſold to certeine ſeruants of the king, offices for lx. markes, which the ſaid ſeruants bought before of the king for xxiiij. markes: which offices ought not to be ſold at the choiſe of the lord.

14 ITEM, the king gaue Meredyth ap Madoc a captaineſhip for his ſeruice, Reginald Gray tooke it from him: neither could he get anie remedie at the kings hands for the ſame.

15 ITEM, one of the counceil of the ſaid Reginald, Cynwric Vadhan told vs by mouth, that as ſoone as the ſaid Reginald Gray returned to Wales he would take xxiiij. men of everie Cantered, and either behead them or impriſon them perpetuallie.

16 ITEM, whereas we paid our taxes and rents in old monie half a yeare before the comming of new monie, they inforced vs to paie new monie for the old.

THESE greeſes and the like, the ſaid Reginald offered vs, and threatned that if we would ſend anie to the king to complaine he would behead them: and when we ſent anie to the king, he could neuer ſpeake with the king, but ſpent vs much monie in

* To ſweare by his hand, whereas we ſhould ſweare by the hand of the king.

vaine.

vaine. For which greefes we beleeue our felues free before God, from the oth which we haue made to the king.

No. IX.

Theſe Greefes folowing, the King and his Iuſtices offered to Rees Vachan of Stratywy.

AFTER that the ſaid Rees gaue the king his caſtell of Dyneuowr, ſithence the laſt peace, the ſaid Rees then being in the tent of the lord Payne de Gaderſey, at the ſame time there were ſlaine fixe Gentlemen of the ſaid Reeſes men, for whom they neuer had amends, which was to him great greefe and loſſe.

2 ITEM, Iohn Gifford claimed the ſaid Reeſes inheritance at Hiruryn, and the ſaid Rees requeſted the lawe of his countrie of the king, or the lawe of the countie of Caermardhen, in the which countie the anceſtors of the ſaid Rees were woont to haue lawe: when they were of the peace of the Engliſhmen, and vnder their regiment; but the ſaid Rees could haue no lawe, but loſt all his lands. They would haue had him to anſwer in the countie of Hereford, where none of his anceſtors euer anſwered. Further in the lands of the ſaid Rees were ſuch enormities committed, which doo moſt apperteine to the ſtate eccleſiaſticall: that is to ſaie in the church of S. Dauid, which they call Lhangadoc, they made ſtables, and plaid the harlots, and tooke awaie all the goods of the ſaid church, and burning all the houſes, wounded the preeſt of the ſaid church before the high altar, and left him there as dead.

3 ITEM, in the ſame countrie they ſpoiled and burnt the churches of Dyngad, Lhantredaff, and other churches in other parts: they ſpoiled their chalices, books, and all other ornaments and goods.

No. X.

Theſe be the Greefes which the King and his Iuſtice gave to Ebewelyn ap Rees and Howel ap Rees.

AFTER that a forme of peace was concluded betwixt Henrie then king of England, and the prince of Wales, the ſaid king granted and confirmed by his charter to the ſaid Prince the homage of the ſaid noble men, ſo long as they ſtood freends with the prince, according to the ſaid gift and confirmation: but Edward now king diſherited the ſaid Gentlemen of their lands, ſo that they could not haue their owne lands, neither by law nor by fauour.

No. XI.

Theſe be the Greefes done by the Engliſhmen, to the Sonnes of Meredyth ap Owen.

AFTER that the king had granted the Gentlemen their owne inheritance of Geneurglyn and Creuthyn, he contrarie to the peace diſherited the ſaid Gentelmen: denieng them all lawes and cuſtomes of Wales, and of the countie of Caermardhyn.

2 THE ſaid king in his countie of Caerdigan by his ſaid Iuſtices compelled the ſaid Gentelmen to give iudgment vpon themſelues: where their predeceſſors neuer ſuffered the like of Engliſhmen.

3 THE ſaid Iuſtices of the king haue taken awaie the courtes of the noblemen in Wales, and compelled the people to ſatisfie before them for treſpaſſes: when as they ought to haue ſatisfied by the ſaid nobles.

4 WHEN a wreeke hapneth vpon anie of the grounds of the noble men, whoſe anceſtors had wrecke, they ſhould haue the ſame: yet the king forbiddeth them, and the ſaid king by color of that ſhipwrecke contrarie to their cuſtome and lawe did condemne them in eight markes, and tooke away all the goods of the ſhipwrecke.

5 THAT none of our men of the countie of Caerdigan dare come amongſt the Engliſhmen, for feare of impriſonment: and if it had not beene for feare of hurt, the nobles would neuer haue ſtirred.

No. XII.

The complaints of the noble Men of Stratalyn, of the Wrongs and Greefes doone to them, by Roger Clifford, and Roger Scrochill Deputie to the ſaid Roger Clifford: contrarie to the Priuilege, Iuſtice and Cuſtome of the ſaid noble Men, as they ſaie and prooue.

WHEN the ſaid Roger compelled the ſaid men of Stratylyn to giue them (to haue their cuſtomes and privileges) twentie marks ſtarling, and after the paiement of the monie, they brake by and by after this ſort, to put vpon twelue men according to the lawes of England, which was neuer the manner nor cuſtome of the ſaid countrie.

2 ITEM, Madoc ap Blethyn was condemned in foure markes vniuſtlie, contrarie to the lawes and vſe of the countrie.

3 ITEM, Grono Goch was likewiſe condemned in fiue marks and twelue beaſts, contrarie to the cuſtome of the countrie.

4 ITEM, the ſaid Roger tooke the lands of the men of the countrie as forfeit: and for one foote of a ſtag found in a dogs mouth, three men were ſpoiled of all that they had.

5 ITEM, Ithel ap Gwyſty was condemned in a great ſum of monie, for the fact of his father done fourtie yeares before.

6 ITEM, the ſaid Roger laid vpon vs the finding of all the Engliſh ſoldiours, whereof before there was but one halfe.

7 ITEM, we were giuen to maiſter Maurice de Cruny, and were ſold to Roger Clifford: which was neuer ſeene in our parents time.

8 ITEM, the widow of Robert of the Mowld aſked of the king the third part of the land in the Mowld in ward: whereas it was iudged before the king, that the ſaid lands were neuer giuen in ward.

No. XIII.

Theſe be the Articles of Greefes doone to the Men of Penlhyn, by the Conſtable of Henrie Chambers of the white Abbie, and his Men.

CYNWRIC AP MADOC was ſpoiled by them in time of peace, of eight pound, foure oxen, corne the worke of one plough for two yeares, and to the value of three pound, of three of his men, and they had the worth of xvi. pound for the ſaid eight pound, and did beate him beſides: which was more wrong, for then he was the princes conſtable at Penlhyn. And all the cauſe that they pretended to make this ſpoile, was onelie that they ſaid they had found foure and twentie ſheafes of tyth in the houſe of a ſeruant of the ſaid Cynwric.

2 ITEM, Adam Criwr was condemned in eight ſhillings eight pence, and a mare, price twentie ſhillings, and was taken and beaten, for that he had taken the ſtealer of that mare, and brought him bound with him, the which theefe was forthwith deliuered.

3 ITEM, Forwerth ap Gurgeneu was condemned in foure pound, for that he had ſcaped out of their priſon in time of the warres, and was found in the ſaid towne in the time of peace, and this is directlie againſt the peace concluded betwixt the king and the Prince.

4 ITEM,

4 ITEM, Caduan Dhu ſeruant to the conſtable of Penlhyn was condemned, bicauſe he would not receiue the old monie for new.

5 ITEM, Gruffyth ap Grono the Princes man was ſpoiled of an oxe, price eleuen ſhillings eight pence, and after that the conſtable had plowed with the ſaid oxe ſeuen monthes, he paid to the ſaid Gruffyth for the ſaid oxe, three ſhillings foure pence.

6 ITEM, two ſeruants of one named Y Bongam were ſpoiled of two pounds, for that they tooke a theefe that robbed them by night, and yet the theefe was deliuered.

7 ITEM, Eneon ap Ithel was taken, beaten, and ſpoiled of two oxen, price foure and twentie ſhillings and two pence, for this cauſe onelie, that the ſaid oxen went from one ſtreete to an other in the towne.

8 ITEM, Guyan Mayſtran was ſpoiled of his monie, becauſe a certeine merchant of Ardudwy owed them certeine things, and yet the ſaid merchant was not of their bailiwicke.

No. XIV.

The Greefes of Grono ap Heilyn.

A TENANT of Grono ap Heilyn was called to the kings court without anie cauſe: then Grono came at the daie appointed to defend his tenant, and demanded iuſtice for him, or the law which the men of his countrie did vſe: all this being denied, the ſaid tenant was condemned in ſeuen and twentie pound, i. d. ob. Then the ſaid Grono went to London for iuſtice, which was promiſed him, but he could neuer haue anie, where he ſpent in his iournie fifteene markes.

2 A CERTEINE Gentleman was ſlaine, who had foſtered the ſonne of Grono ap Heilyn, and he that killed him was taken and brought to Ruthlan caſtell: then the ſaid Grono and the kindred of him that was ſlaine aſked iuſtice, but ſome of them were impriſoned, and the killer diſcharged. Then Grono went againe to London for iuſtice, which the king did promiſe him, but he neuer had anie, but ſpent twentie markes.

3 THE third time Grono was faine to go to London for iuſtice in the premiſſes: where he ſpent xviij. markes, vj. s. viij. d. And then likewiſe the king promiſed him that he ſhould haue iuſtice: but when he certeinelie beleeued to haue iuſtice, then Reginald Gray came to the countrie and ſaid openlie, that he had all doings in that countrie by the kings charters: and tooke away all Bailiwicks, which the king had giuen the ſaid Grono and ſold them at his pleaſure: then the ſaid Grono aſked iuſtice of the ſaid Reginald, but he could not be heard.

4 THE

4 The ſaid Grono tooke to farme for foure yeares of Godfrey Marſiney, Maynan and Lhysfayn, then Robert Cruquer came with his horſſes and armes to get the ſaid lands by force, and for that Grono would not ſuffer him to haue the ſaid lands before his yeares came out, he was called to the law, and then the ſaid Reginald Gray came with xxiiij. horſſemen, to take the ſaid Grono. And for that they could not that daie haue their purpoſe, they called Grono the next daie to Ruthlan: and then Grono had counſell not to go to Ruthlan. Then they called him againe to anſwere at Caerwys, but the ſaid Grono durſt not go thither, but by the conduct of the biſhop of S. Aſaph, for that Reginald Gray was there and his men in harneſſe.

5 For theſe greeſes for the which he could get no iuſtice, but labour and expenſes, of liiij. markes and more, and for that he durſt not in his owne perſon go to the court, he ſent letters, one to the king, an other to his brother Lhewelyn, to ſignifie to the king that he ſhould looſe all the fauour of the countrie, if he kept no promiſe with them, and ſo it came to paſſe, becauſe the men of Ros and Engleſild could get no iuſtice, the king neglecting the correction of theſe things, loſt the whole countrie.

No. XV.

Humblie ſheweth to your Holines, Lord Archbiſhop of Canturburie, Primate of all England, the noble Men of Tegengl: that when the ſaid noble Men did their Homage to the Lord Edward, King of England, the ſaid King promiſed them to defend them and their Goods; and that they ſhould vſe all Kind of Right, Priuilege, and Iuriſdiction, which they did vſe in Time of King Henrie, of the Graunt of the ſaid King, whereof they were after ſpoiled.

FIRST they were ſpoiled of their right and priuileges and cuſtomes of the countrie: and were compelled to be iudged by the lawes of England, whereas the tenor of that their priuilege was to be iudged according to the lawes of Wales at Tref Edwyn, at Ruthlan, and at Caerwys, and the beſt men of the countrie were taken, bicauſe they deſired to be iudged at Tref Edwyn, according to the tenor of their priuileges, by the awes of Wales.

2 Whatsoeuer one Iuſtice dooth, his ſucceſſor dooth reuerſe the ſame: for in Dauids cauſe Reginald Gray reuoked that, which his predeceſſor confirmed and allowed.

3 If he doo take anie Gentleman of the countrie, he will not let him go vpon ſuertie, which he ought to doo.

4 If anie Gentleman be brought to the caſtell of the Flynt, vpon ſmall accuſation, and his cattell withall; they can neither be deliuered, nor haue delaie, vntill they giue the

conſtable an oxe, and vntill they paie three pound fees to Cynwric for the hauing of the delaie.

5 REGINALD GRAY gaue the lands of the men of Merton to the Abbot and couent of Baſingwerke, againſt the lawes of Wales and the cuſtome of the countrie, and contrarie to the forme of the peace betwixt prince Lhewelyn and the king; that is to ſaie, XVI. Caratatas terræ.

6 THE noble and beſt of the countrie be iniured, for that the king builded the caſtell of Flynt vpon their ground: and the king commanded the Iuſtices to giue the men as much and as good ground or the price. But they are ſpoiled of their lands, and haue neither other lands nor monie.

7 REGINALD GRAY will not ſuffer men to cut their owne wood, vntill he haue both monie and reward, and vntill they paie for it alſo; but permitteth others to cut it downe freelie, which they ought not to doo by the lawes and cuſtomes of Wales.

8 WHERE the men of Cyrchynan couenant with the king to giue the king halfe a medow, of condition the king ſhould not ſuffer the woods to be cut downe, Howel ap Gruffyth being preſent: yet Reginald Gray hath broken the ſame, permitting euerie man to cut their woods, and ſpoile them alſo of their medowe.

9 THE ſonne of Cynwric ap Grono was taken at Ruthlan, and put in priſon without anie cauſe at all: neither would the kings officers deliuer him, vnleſſe he would redeeme the gage of a certeine woman, for the which he was conſtrained to paie much more than the pawne laie for.

10 WHEN the bailiffe of Ruthlan was at a feaſt, Hicken le Maile wounded a Gentleman cruellie in the preſence of the ſaid bailiffe: by the occaſion of which wound, Hicken was condemned in eight pound, and when he which was hurt would haue demanded the ſaid eight pound, he was put in priſon with Hicken.

11 THE meſſengers of Reginald Gray attempted an abſurditie not heard of, requiring the people of the countrie to plow his ground, and ſowe the ſame: and the meſſengers were Cynwric Says and Hicken Lemayl, and the ſaid Cynwric ſware openlie before the whole companie, that vnleſſe all men ſhould plow Reginald Grayes ground, they ſhould ſhortlie repent it: then the people feared much, as in that caſe anie conſtant man would feare.

12 THE heires of Tegengl bought their offices for XXX. markes of the king. But afterward Reginald Gray ſpoiled them of their offices and monie, againſt the lawes and cuſtomes of England.

13 SEAUEN Gentlemen were wrongfullie killed by the Engliſhmen, but as yet the parents of the Gentlemen can haue no amends: and though the offenders were taken, yet the ſaid conſtable let them go without puniſhment.

14 THE conſtable of Ruthlan kept two of the kings ſoldiours in priſon, for that they tooke an Engliſhman, who had wounded a man.

ALL theſe things conteined in theſe articles are contrarie to the priuilege, libertie and right of the ſaid men, and contrarie to the lawes and cuſtomes of Wales: neither dare the inhabitants ſend their complaints to the king for feare of Reginald Gray (which feare anie conſtant man might haue) becauſe the ſaid Reginald Gray ſaid openlie, that if he could come by anie ſuch their meſſengers, he would cut off their heads; as it is certeinelie told vs by one of his counſell: further neither toong can expreſſe, nor penne can write, how euill the men of Tegengl haue beene ordered.

HUMBLIE complaineth vnto your lordſhip, my lord Archbiſhop of Canturburie Primate of all England, Lhewelyn ap Gruffyth ap Madoc, of the conſtable of Oſwaldes Croſſe, the king and of the men of that towne, who haue ſpoiled the ſaid Lhewelyn of the third part of a towne called Lhedrot, and his fathers houſe without anie law, or right, or cuſtome of the countrie. Further the ſaid Conſtable and his complices haue againſt the lawes and the cuſtome of the countrie ſpoiled the ſaid Lhewelyn of the common and paſturage, which he and his predeceſſors haue had and vſed time out of mind: and further condemned the ſaid Lhewelyn for the ſaid paſture in lxx. markes. And further the king of England granted certeine letters to a baſtard called Gruffyth Vachan of Cynlhaeth, to law with the ſaid Lhewelyn for his whole lordſhip and poſſeſſions; by the occaſion of the which letters, the ſaid Lhewelyn hath ſpent two hundreth pound of good monie. Lhewelyn ap Gruffyth ap Madoc.

ALSO the ſaid Conſtable compelled the ſaid Lhewelyn to ſend two of his Gentlemen to him, whom when they came to him he cauſed to be hanged, which Gentlemen ought not by right to haue been hanged, whoſe parents had rather haue giuen him three hundreth pounds.

AFTERWARD the ſaid Conſtable impriſoned threeſcore of the men of the ſaid Lhewelyn (no cauſe alledged) but that a certeine Page ſpake a word: who could not be deliuered out of priſon, vntil euerie of them paid ten ſhillings.

WHEN the men of the ſaid Lhewelyn came to the ſaid towne to ſell their oxen, the ſaid Conſtable would cauſe the beaſts to be driuen to the caſtell: neither would he reſtore the beaſtes nor monie for them. Further, the ſaid Conſtable and his men tooke awaie the cattell of the ſaid Lhewelyn from his owne ground, and did their will with them.

FURTHER the kings Iuſtices compelled the ſaid Lhewelyn, contrarie to the law and cuſtome of Wales, to deliuer to the ſonnes of Eneon ap Gruffyth, a certeine towne which both he and his anceſtors euer had held. The ſaid Conſtable tooke the horſſe of Lhewelyns Bailiff: when the ſaid Bailiff owed him nothing, who could neuer get his horſſe againe, nor anie ſatisfaction for it.

FURTHERMORE when the ſaid Lhewelyn ſhould haue gone to a towne called Caerlhêon to appeare there as he was appointed, the ſonnes of Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, and the ſoldiours of Roger Strainge, by the counſell of the ſaid Roger, tooke the ſaid Lhewelyn and his men, and impriſoned them, to their great damage; which the ſaid Lhewelyn would not for 300. pound ſtarling, who could by no meanes be deliuered, vntill they had found ſufficient ſuerties.

THE Archbiſhop receiuing theſe and other articles, came to the king, and requeſted him to conſider theſe wrongs, and to cauſe amends to be made, or at the leaſt excuſe the Welſhmen hauing ſo iuſt cauſe of greeſe. Who anſwered that the Welſhmen were to be excuſed: yet he ſaid he was euer readie to doo iuſtice to all them that complained. Wherevpon the Archbiſhop beſought the king againe, that the Welſhmen might haue free acceſſe to his Grace to declare their greeſes, and to ſeeke remedie: the king anſwered they ſhould freelie come and depart, if it ſhould ſeeme that by iuſtice they deſerued to depart.

THE Archbiſhop hearing this, went and came to the Prince of Wales in Snowdon, that he might mooue him and his brother Dauid, and the other companie to ſubmit themſelues: whereby he might incline the king to admit them. Which after much talke and conference with the Archbiſhop, the Prince anſwered that he was readie to ſubmit himſelfe to the king, reſeruing two things: that is to ſay, his conſcience, which he ought to haue for the rule and ſafegard of his people: and alſo the decencie of his ſtate and calling. Which anſwere the Archbiſhop brought, and reported to the king. At the which the king ſaid, that he would not anie other treatie of peace, than that the Prince and his people ſhould ſimplie ſubmit themſelues. But the Archbiſhop (knowing well that the Welſhmen would not ſubmit themſelues but in the forme afore-ſaid, or in other forme to them tollerable and of them liked) requeſted the king, that he might haue conference in this matter with all the noble Engliſhmen then preſent: who after ſuch conference agreed all to theſe articles following. The which articles the Archbiſhop did ſend in writing to the Prince, by Iohn Wallenſis.

Conſcientia de ſalute populi. 2. Decorum.

No. XVI.

Theſe are to be ſaid to the Prince before his Councell.

FIRST, that of the foure Cantreds and the lands by the king giuen to his nobles, and the Iſle of Angleſey, he will haue no treatie of.

2 ITEM,

2 ITEM, of the tenants of the foure Cantreds if they will ſubmit themſelues, he purpoſeth to doo as becommeth a kings majeſtie: and we verelie beleeue he will deale with them mercifullie, and to that end we will labour and truſt to obtaine.

3 As touching the lord Lhewelyn we can haue none other anſwer, but that he ſhall ſubmit himſelfe ſimplie to the king: and we beleeue certeinlie he will deale mercifullie with him, and to that end we trauell all we can, and verilie beleeue to be heard.

No. XVII.

Theſe following are to be ſaid to the Prince in Secret.

FIRST, that the nobilitie of England haue conceiued this forme of fauorable peace, that the lord Lhewelyn ſhould ſubmit himſelfe to the king: and the king ſhould honorablie prouide for him a thouſand pound ſtarling, and ſome honorable countie in England. So that the ſaid Lhewelyn would put the king in quiet poſſeſſion of Snowdon: and the king will prouide honorablie for the daughter of Lhewelyn, according to the ſtate and condecencie of his owne bloud, and to theſe they hope to perſuade the king.

2 ITEM, if it happen that Lhewelyn marrie a wife, and to haue by hir anie heire male, they truſt to intreate the king, that the ſame heire male and his heires for euer ſhall haue the ſame thouſand pound and countie.

3 ITEM, to the people ſubiect to the ſaid Lhewelyn the king will prouide, as becommeth their eſtates and condition, and to that the king is well inclined.

No. XVIII.

Theſe are to be ſaid to Dauid Brother to Lhewelyn in Secret.

FIRST, that if for the honor of God (Iuxta debitum crucis aſſumptæ) he will go to the holie land, he ſhall be prouided for according to his degree, ſo that he doo not returne, vnleſſe he be called by the king: and we truſt to entreat the king, to prouide for his child.

2 AND theſe things we tell our ſelues to the Welſhmen, that a great deale greater perill dooth hang ouer them, than we told them by mouth when we were with them: theſe things which we write ſeeme greeuous, but it is a great deale more greeuous to be oppreſſed with armes, and finallie to be rooted out, bicauſe euerie daie more and more their danger dooth increaſe.

3 ITEM,

3 ITEM, it is more hard to be alwaies in warre, in anguiſh of mind, and danger of bodie, alwaies ſought and beſieged, and ſo to die in deadlie ſinne, and continuall rancor and malice.

4 ITEM, we feare (whereof we be ſorie) vnleſſe you doo agree to peace, we moſt certeinlie will aggrauate the ſentence Eccleſiaſticall againſt you for your faults: of the which you can not excuſe yourſelues, whereas yee ſhall find both grace and mercie, if you will come to peace.

And ſend vs your anſwer of theſe in writing.

No. XIX.

To the moſt reuerend Father in Chriſt, the Lord Iohn by Gods Grace Archbiſhop of Canturburie, and Primate of all England, his obedient Sonne Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon ſendeth greeting.

MOST hartily with all reuerence and honor we are content and readie holie father as you haue counſelled vs, to ſubmit our ſelues vnto the kings Grace, ſo it be in that forme that ſhall be ſafe and honeſt for vs: but becauſe that forme of ſubmiſſion conteined in the articles which were ſent vnto us, is neither ſafe, nor honeſt, as we and our councell do thinke (at the which articles all men do maruell:) tending rather to the deſtruction of vs and our people, than anie ſecuritie and honeſt dealing, we may in no wiſe yeeld our aſſent vnto it, and if we ſhould ſo doo, our nobles and people would not agree to the ſame, knowing the miſcheefe and inconuenience that is like to enſue thereof. Neuertheleſſe, we beſeech your holie fatherhood, that for the reformation of a decent, honeſt and firme peace (for the which you haue taken ſo great paines) you do circumſpectlie prouide, hauing reſpect vnto the articles which we ſend vnto you in writing. It is more honorable for the king, and more agreeable to reaſon that we ſhould hold our lands in the countrie where wee dwell, than that wee ſhould be diſinherited, and our lands giuen to other men. Dated at Garth Celyn.

No. XX.

The Anſwers of the Welſhmen.

FIRST, though the lord the king will haue no treatie of the foure Cantreds of the lands that he gaue his nobles, nor the Iſle of Angleſey; yet the Princes councell will no peace to be made, vnleſſe treatie be had of them. For that the foure Cantreds be of the more tenure of the Prince, where alwaies the Princes of Wales had more right, ſince the

the time of Camber the ſonne of Brutus: ſo that they be of the principalitie of Wales. The confirmation of the which the Prince obtained by Otobonus the Popes legate in England, by the conſent of the king and his father: as it doth appeare by the letters patents. And more iuſt and equall it is, that our heires doo hold the ſaid Cantreds of the king for monie and vſed ſeruice, than the ſame be giuen to ſtrangers, which abuſe the people by force and power.

2 All the tenants of all the Cantreds of Wales altogither doo ſaie, that they dare not ſubmit themſelues to the king, to doo his pleaſure. Firſt, for that the king kept neither couenant, nor oth, nor grant by charter from the beginning, to the Prince or his people. Secondlie, for that the kings men doo cruellie exerciſe tyrannie towards the Church and Churchmen. Thirdlie, that they be not bound to anie ſuch matter, ſeeing they be the Princes tenants: who is readie to doo vſed and accuſtomed ſeruice, and to obey the king, with and by the ſaid ſeruice.

3 To that which is ſaid, that the Prince ſhould ſimplie commit himſelfe to the kings will, it is anſwered, that none of vs all dare come to the king, for the cauſes aforeſaid, we altogither will not ſuffer our Prince to come in that maner.

4 Item, where the great men of England would procure a prouiſion of a thouſand pounds a yeare in England: let it be anſwered, that ſuch prouiſion is not to be accepted, for that it is procured by them, who go about to diſinherit the Prince to haue his lands in Wales.

5 Item, the Prince ought not to diſmiſſe his inheritance, and his predeceſſors in Wales, ſince the time of Brutus, and confirmed by the ſea apoſtolike, as is aforeſaid, and to take lands in England, where he knoweth neither toong, maners, lawes nor cuſtoms, wherein he ſhall be ſoone trapped by his neighbours the Engliſhmen, his old malicious enimies, whereby he ſhould loſe the land too.

6 Item, ſeeing the king goeth about to depriue him of his ancient inheritance, it is not like that he would ſuffer him to poſſeſſe lands in England, where he claimeth no right; ſeeing that the princes lands in Wales of his owne inheritance is but barren and vntilled, it is leſſe like the king would ſuffer him to enioie good fertile ground in England.

7 Item, the Prince ſhould giue the king poſſeſſion of Snowdon for euer. Let it be anſwered, that ſeeing that Snowdon is of the appurtenances of the principalitie of Wales, which the Prince and his predeceſſors held ſince the time of Brute (as it is before ſaid) his councell will not ſuffer him to renounce that place, and to take in England a place leſſe due vnto him.

8 Item, the people of Snowdon doo ſaie, that although the Prince would giue the king poſſeſſion of it, yet they would neuer doo homage to ſtrangers: of whoſe toong, maners,

maners, and lawes they ſhould be ignorant. For ſo they ſhould be forever captiued and cruellie handled, as the Cantreds haue beene by the kings bailiffes and other the kings men handled more cruellie than Sarracens, as it dooth well appeare by the notes of their greefes, which the men of the Cantreds ſent to you holie father.

No. XXI.

Theſe are to be anſwered for Dauid, the Princes Brother.

WHEN he is diſpoſed to ſee the holie land, he will doo it for Gods ſake voluntarilie, not by ſuch inforcement againſt his will: for he intendeth not to go on pilgrimage after that ſort. Bicauſe he knoweth enforced ſeruice not to pleaſe God; and if he hereafter ſhall for deuotion ſee the holie land, that is no cauſe for euer to diſinherit his offspring, but rather to reward them.

AND for that neither the Prince nor his people, for countrie nor for gaines, did mooue warre, inuading no mans lands, but defending their owne lands, lawes, and liberties; and that the king and his people of inueterate hatred, and for covetouſnes to get our lands inuading the ſame, mooued warre: wee therefore ſee our defenſe is iuſt and lawfull, and herein wee truſt God will helpe vs, and will turne his reuenge vpon deſtroiers of churches; who haue rooted vp and burned churches, and taken out both all ſacraments and ſacred things from them, killing preeſts, clarkes, religious, lame, dombe, deaffe, yonglings ſucking their mothers paps, weake and impotent, both man and woman, and committing all other enormities, as partlie it appeareth to your holineſſe. Wherefore God forbid that your holineſſe ſhould fulminate ſentence againſt anie, but ſuch as hath doone ſuch things. We who haue ſuffered all theſe things at the kings officers hands, doo hope at your hands remedie and comfort; and that you will puniſh ſuch church robbers and killers, who can defend themſelues no waies, leaſt their impunitie be cauſe and example for others to do the like. Uerie manie in our countrie doo much maruell that you counſelled vs to leaue our owne land, and to go to an other mans lands among our enimies to liue: for ſeeing we cannot haue peace in our owne land, which is our owne right, much leſſe ſhould we be quiet in an other mans, amongſt our enimies. And though it be hard to liue in warre and perill, harder it is to be vtterlie deſtroied and brought to nothing: eſpeciallie for chriſtians, ſeeking elſe nothing but to defend our owne, being by neceſſitie driuen therevnto, and the greedie ambition of our enimies.

AND your holineſſe told vs, that you had fulminated ſentence againſt all that for hatred or gaines doo hinder the peace. And it appeareth euidentlie who doo war for theſe cauſes, the feare of death, the feare of impriſonment, the feare of perpetuall priſon, the feare of diſinheriting, no keeping of promiſe, couenant, grant, nor charter,

tyrannicall

tyrannicall dominion, and manie more like compell vs to be in warre, and this we ſhew to God and to your lordſhip, deſiring your godlie and charitable helpe.

FURTHERMORE, if anie in England haue offended the king (as manie doo offend him) yet none of them be diſinherited: ſo if anie of vs haue offended the king, let him be puniſhed and make ſatisfaction, as he maie, without exhereditating. As we truſt in you, we praie you holie Father to labour to this end. If they laie to vs that we breake the peace, it appeareth euidentlie that they and not we breake the ſame, who neuer kept promiſe, nor couenant, nor order, made anie amends for treſpaſſes, nor remedie for our complaints.

Rex omnibus, &c.

SCIATIS quod cum Lewelinus princeps de Aberffraw & dominus Snawerden, nobis conceſſerit & firmiter promiſerit, quod ſtabit prouiſioni venerabilium patrum Redulphi Ciceſtrenſis epiſcopi & cancellarii noſtri, & Alexandri Conventrenſis & Lichfield epiſcopi, & dilectorum & fidelium noſtrorum Richardi Mareſchalli comitis Pembroch, Joannis de Laſcy comitis Lincolniæ & conſtabularri Ceſtriæ, Stephani de Segrave Juſticiarii noſtri Angliæ, & Radulphi filii Nicholai Seneſchalli noſtri, una cum Idnevet Seneſchallo ipſius Lewelini & Werrenoc fratre ejus, Imano Vachan & David Clerico, quam ipſi facturi ſunt ſuper congruis emendis nobis faciendis, de omnibus exceſſibus nobis & noſtris, ab eo & ſuis factis & de reſtitutione nobis & hominibus noſtris faciendâ de omnibus terris & poſſeſſionibus noſtris & noſtrorum per ipſum Lewelinum & Wallenſes occupatis, occaſione Werræ inter nos & ipſum motæ; ſimul etiam de recipienda reſtitutione a nobis & noſtris, de omnibus terris ipſius Lewelini & hominum ſuorum per nos & noſtros occupatis, occaſione Werræ prædictæ, & de aſſignando David filio ipſius Lewelini & Iſabellæ uxori ejus primogenitæ filiæ & hæreredis. Gullielmi de Breus, rationabili portione ipſam Iſabellam contingente, de terris quæ fuerunt prædicti Gullielmi partis ſui, & de refuſione pecuniæ nobis, facienda, pro prædictis exceſſibus congrue emendandis & portione prædicta aſſignanda; proviſa tamen ſuper hoc ab eiſdem ſufficiente ſecuritate de fideli ſeruitio nobis præſtando & de tranquilitate nobis & regno noſtro Angliæ, obſervanda. Ita quod dampnum vel periculum, nec nobis nec regno noſtro inde poſſit evenire. Et ſi pendente proviſione prædicta, aliquid de novo emerſerit emandandum, idem Lewelinus voluerit & conceſſerit, quod per prædictos proviſores emendetur. Nos proviſionem eorundem quam facturi ſunt ſuper omnibus præmiſſis, gratam habemus & acceptam pro nobis, & noſtris ſicut præfatus Lewelinus pro ſe & ſuis & in hujus rei teſtimonium has literas patentes inde fieri fecimus. Teſte me ipſo apud Salop ſeptimo die Decembris & decimo ſeptimo anno regni noſtri.

Rex, &c.

LEWELINO principi de Aberfraw ſalutem. Sciatis quod recipimus in gratiam noſtram, Gilbertum Mareſchallum & omnes qui fuerunt imprifii Richardi Mareſchalli tam de Angliâ quam de Walliâ qui ad pacem noſtram venire voluerunt & eis reddidimus omnes terras & tenementa ſua quæ de nobis tenuerunt, & de quibus diſſeſſiti fuerunt occaſione guerræ motæ inter nos & prædictum comitem, & nobis remanent quieta quæcunque ſuper nos & noſtros per prædictum comitem, vel ſuos imprifios occupata fuerunt quæ vobis duximus ſignificanda. Volentes quod vobis innoteſcant quæ penes nos acta ſunt in hac parte, & quia per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuarienſem archiepiſcopum & co-epiſcopos ſuos captæ ſunt treugæ inter nos & vos ſub firma ſpe tractandi de pace inter nos & vos formanda & fortius firmanda. Mittimus propter hoc prædictum archiepiſcopum & venerabiles patres Alexandrum Coventrenſem & Lichfieldenſem & Henricum Roffenſem co-epiſcopos ſuos ad partes marchiæ; ita quod erunt apud Salop die Lunæ in craſtino ſanctæ trinitatis: et rogamus vos quatenus ſicut noſtram deſideratis amicitiam non omittatis quin in craſtino die Martis loco tuto & competenti, quem prædictus archiepiſcopus vobus ſignificabit ipſi archiepiſcopo & co-epiſcopus ſuis occuratis ad tractatum cum eis habendum ſuper præmiſſis. In quorum etiam ore quædam quæ non duximus ſcripto commendanda poſuimus vobis plenius exponenda; rogantes quatinus ſicut decet taliter ea quæ reformationem pacis reſpiciunt & quæ ipſi plenius in hac parte vobis explicabunt audire cum effectu & eiſdem adquieſcere velitis, quod non ſtet per vos quin firmum & ſtabile pacis vinculum inter nos & vos roboretur ad noſtrum pariter & veſtrum commodum & honorem.

Rex, &c.

DILECTO & fideli ſuo Richardo comiti Cornubiæ & Pictaviæ ſalutem. Sciatis quod treugæ captæ ſunt inter nos & Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw per venerabilem patrem Edmundum archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem & epiſcopos ſecum adjuntos & quoſdam alios fideles noſtros propter hoc ad partes Walliæ deſtinatos duraturæ a feſto Sancti Jacobi anno regni noſtri decimo octavo uſque in duos annos ſequentes in hac forma. Quod omnes injuriæ & damnæ hinc inde facta infra ultimam treugam captam per venerabilem patrem Henricum Roffenſem epiſcopum in media quadregiſſima proximo præterita per dictatores ejuſdem treugæ emendabuntur, quod omnes terræ hinc inde occupatæ per ultimam guerram motam, reſtituentur his quibus poſtea ſint oblatæ, homines etiam illi qui hinc inde receſſerint a fidelitate dominorum ſuorum & ſe tenuerunt ex parte adverſa libere revertantur. Ita quidem quod durantibus treugis prædictis in nullo occaſionabuntur nec aliquid dampni vel mali eis fiet occaſione prædicta. Adjectum eſt etiam in eadem proviſione treugarum; quod ſi vos & dilectus & fidelis noſter Radulphus de Thorny nolueritis ſub eiſdem treugis comprehendi bene placebit eidem Lewelino. Sin autem nihilominus, quod ad nos & alios fideles noſtros eas firmiter obſervabit. Et ſub tali conditione quod ſi forte tenere non velletis contra vos ſe defendet. Ita quod contra ipſum & defenſionem ſuam nullum vobis

faciemus

faciemus nec facere poterimus per nos vel per aliquem de marchia vel alium interim consilium vel auxilium ad ipsum gravandum, & taliter sunt treugæ prædicta ex parte ipsius Lewelini juratæ & assecuratæ & in adventu prædicti archiepiscopi ad nos similiter ex parte nostra eas jurari faciemus & assecurari, & ideo vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quatinus prædictis treugis sine difficultate aliquâ adquiescentes eas teneatis & ex parte vestra eas teneri faciatis. Quia modis omnibus volumus quod eas teneatis & firmiter observetis. Quid autem inde facere proposueritis aperte responsum vestrum nobis sub festinatione scire faciatis. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium tricesimo die Junii.

Radolphus Herefordensis episcopus, decanus Herefordiæ, Walterus de Clifford & Walterus de Bello Campo iterum constituti sunt dictatores emendarum, faciendarum & recipiendarum de interceptionibus factis, ut dicitur Lewelino principi de Aberfraw, &c. et Morganô de Carleon quoad castrum Carleon & eisdem dictatoribus associati sunt prior de Wenloc & Joannes extraneus & debent convenire in crastino clausi Paschæ apud vadum de Montgomery ad consequendum quod priore die ad hoc constituto debuisset fuisse executum. Teste rege apud Northamton sexto die Martii.

REX omnibus ad quod præsentes literæ pervenerint. Sciatis quod concessimus bona fide & sine malo ingenio & ratas habemus et gratas treugas captas apud Theoksburiam die Veneris in festo Sancti Benedicti, anno regni nostri vicesimo per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum inter nos et omnes homines et imprisios nostros apertos ex una parte, et Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw et dominum de Snaudan et omnes homines et imprisios suos apertos tam Wallenses quam alios ex alia parte duraturos a festo Sancti Jacobi, anno eodem usque in unum annum completum. Ita scilicet quod tam nos et nostri quam prædictus Lewelinus et sui simus in eisdem terris et tenementis, hominibus et homagiis in quibus fuimus prædicto die captionis treugarum istarum. Salva Morgano de Carleon restitutione sua tam de terris quam de bonis et mobilibus suis quæ comes Gilbertus Mareschallus occuparerat, super eum infra treugas alias inter nos et ipsum Lewelinum ultimo captas. Siquid autem interim fuerit foris factum per captionem terrarum vel castrorum vel bonorum mobilium et manifestum de captione terrarum vel castrorum illorum terræ; et castra statim reddantur non expectata aliqua correctione emendatorum treugæ, sed de bonis mobilibus ita captis per ipsos correctores fiant emendæ, treugis nihilominus durantibus in suâ firmitate in forma prædicta. Ita quod hinc inde nulla namia capiantur pro aliqua interceptione facta infra treugas istas de bonis mobilibus, nec pro aliqua contentione ante captionem hujus treugæ orta, sed per ipsos correctores fiant. Nullus etiam receptet in potestate suâ imprisios alterius inde emendæ sicut prædictum est durantibus treugis. Nullum etiam castrum novum firmetur in marchia vel dirutum reficiatur durantibus treugis, et terræ sint communes secundum formam treugarum quæ ultimo captæ fuerunt inter nos et ipsum Lewelinum. Juraverunt autem in animam nostram ex parte nostra in hanc treugam bona fide, et sine malo ingenio

fideliter obſervandam uſque ad prædictum terminum dilicti et fideles noſtri Henricus de Aldithely. Joannes Leſtrange et Henricus de Stafford, in cujus, &c. Teſte me ipſo apud Theokeſburiam, undecimo die Julii, anno regni noſtri viceſimo.

Sciant præſentes et futuri, quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illuſtrem ex una parte, et David filium Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et dominum de Aberfraw ex altera, apud Glouceſtriam die Martis proximo ante feſtum Sancti Dunſtanni, anno regni ipſius regis viceſimo quarto, de homagio ipſius David quod ipſe offerrebat eidem domino regi pro jure ſuo Norwalliæ et de terris quas bárones ipſius domini regis ſcilicet Griffinus filius Wennuwan et alii barones domini regis petebant verſus ipſum David ut jura ſua excepta de monte alto ſecundum quod continetur in ſcripto nuper confecto apud crucem Griffini per Seneſchallos domini regis, quæ ad præſens excipitur ab arbitrio, ſalvo tamen in poſterum jure ſeneſchalli Ceſtriæ in terra illa ſi quod habent. Scilicet, quod prædictus dominus rex cepit homagium præfati David de prædicto jure ſuo Norwalliæ, et quod tam idem dominus rex pro præfatis baronibus ſuis de conſcenſu eorundem quam præfatus David pro ſe et ſuis et hæredibus eorum ſuper omnibus terris prædictis ſe ſubmiſerunt, arbitrio venerabilium patrum Ottonis Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diaconi, cardinalis apoſtolici ſedis legati; Wigorniæ et Noriveci epiſcoporum, et nobilis viri Richardi comitis Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ, fratris ipſius domini regis, et Joannis de Monemue ex parte ipſius domini regis, et venerabilis patris epiſcopi de Sancto Aſaph Idnevet Vaghan, Eynguan Vaghan ex parte præfati David. Ita quod quomodo libet ab ipſis omnibus vel à majori parte eorundem, ſuper præmiſſis fuerit arbitratum, utraque pars ipſorum ſtabit arbitrio et illud in perpetuum firmiter obſervabit; et ad hæc fideliter ſine fraude ſervanda Gulielmus de Cantelupo de præcepto regis juravit in animam ipſius regis et idem David in propria perſona ſua corporate præſtitit ſacramentum. Et inſuper ſe ſubmiſerunt juriſdictioni et inordinationi præfati domini legati quamdiu in Anglia legationis fungatur officio, ut partem contra præmiſſa venientem per cenſuram eccleſiaſticam modis omnibus quibus melius viderit expedire, tam ad prædictum arbitrium obſervandum quam ad tranſgreſſionem contra illud perpetratam emendandam valeat coercere, ordine juris obſervato. Dum tamen idem David vel ſui, ſi forſitan contra prædicta venire preſumpſerint prius coram dicto domino legato vel aliquibus aliis ad hoc ab ipſo deputandis et partibus merito non ſuſpectis in confinio marchiæ loco eidem David et ſuis tuto legitime communicantur, ſi ad hoc vocati venirent: vel ſi legitimè vocati non venerint pro contumacibus habeantur niſi rationabile et ſufficiens habeant impedimentum, finito vero prædictæ legationis officio ſub forma preſcripta et cohercioni et juriſdictioni domini Cantuarienſi archiepiſcopi et ſucceſſorum ſuorum et eccleſiæ Cantuarienſis ſe partes prædictæ ſubmiſerunt. Et ſciendum quod per hanc pacem remanent domino regi et hæredibus ſuis omnia homagia baronum Walliæ quieta, et remittuntur omnia incendia, homicidia, et alia mala tam ex parte Anglicorum quam Wallenſium perpetrata; ita quod ad invicem plene reconcilientur. Salvo præfati David jure ſuo, ſi quod habet in aliis terris. Et ſi forte aliquis prædictorum arbitrorum ante hoc arbitrium completum in fata deceſſerit, vel per impedimentum rationabile prædicto arbitrio faciendo non poſſit intereſſe; alius loco ſuo ſubſtituetur qui

neutri

neutri partium merito ſuſpectus habeatur: ad hoc præfati epiſcopus de Sancto Aſaph Idnevet et Ignan et Griffinus filius Rotherich præſtiterunt ſacramentum, quod quantum in eis eſt, prædicta fideliter obſervabunt et ab ipſo David et ſuis modis omnibus quibus poterunt, facient obſervari: ad majorem autem hujus rei ſecuritatem factum eſt hoc ſcriptum inter ipſos regem et David in modo chirographi. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipſum dominum regem appoſitum eſt ſigillum ipſius una cum ſigillo prædictorum epiſcopi de Sancto Aſapho Idnevet, Ignan et Griffini, et parti penes ipſum David remanenti appoſitum eſt ſigilum domini regis: his teſtibus venerabilibus patribus Ottone Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono, cardinali apoſtolicæ ſedis legato; Waltero Eboracenſi archiepiſcopo, Waltero Careleolenſi, Waltero Wygornenſi et Gulielmo Norwicenſi epiſcopis; Richardo comite Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ fratre domini regis, venerabili patre epiſcopo de Sancto Antando; ſeneſchallis noſtris Joanne extraneo. Edenyfet Watham, Griffino filio Rotherich, David archidiacon de Sancto Aſaph et aliis.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini ſalutem. Bene recolimus qualiter nos vobis nuper in mandatis dedimus, quod coram nobis apud Wigorniam compareretis ad providendum arbitros qui loco eorum qui primo ad hoc electi fuerint et qui ad partes receſſerunt tranſmarinas, juſtitiam ſecundum formam pacis inter et vos proviſe ſingulis conquerentibus exhiberent; et in arbitrio prædicto ſecundum formam debitam procederent et ſimiliter ad juſtitiam recipiendam de portione uxorem veſtram contingente de hæreditate ſuâ: et ſimilitar ad ſtandum recto ſuper his de quibus ſeneſchallus de monte alto et aliis de vobis ſunt conqueſti. Et quia ad diem et locum vobis præfixos non acceſſiſtis, ſed literas veſtras nobis miſiſtis; continentes quod tres ex veſtris ad nos loco veſtro deſtinaſtis, ex quibus tantum unus ad nos acceſſit qui ad præmiſſa adimplenda nullam poteſtatem habuit; unde quibuſdam ex noſtris viſum fuerat quod hoc malitioſe et ut ſubterfugium quæreretis per vos factum fuit. Nos tamen hoc non credentes ſed fidelitatem veſtram adhuc magis probare volentes, vobis mandamus in fide qua nobis tenemini, præcipiendo quatinus omni occaſione poſtpoſita perſonaliter compareatis apud Salop, die dominica ante dominicam palmarum coram fidelibus noſtris quos illuc duxerimus tranſmittendos ad conſentiendum in perſonas certas, ad procedendum in arbitrio prædicto loco eorum qui ad partes tranſmarinas receſſerunt et ad faciendum in eodem arbitrio id quod adhuc reſtat faciendum; et ad recipiendum juſtitiam de portione uxorem veſtram de hæreditate ſua contingente et ad ſtandum recto ſeneſchallo Ceſtriæ et aliis de vobis conquerentibus. Quod ſi perſonaliter ad hoc faciendum venire non poſſitis tales loco veſtro mittatis qui plenam poteſtatem habeant hæc omnia nomine veſtro faciendi. Nos enim vobis et veſtris per eos quos ibidem mittimus aut per noſmet ipſos ſalvum et ſecurum provideri faciemus conductum. Teſte rege apud Wudeſtock decimo nono die Februarii.

Anno domini milleſimo ducenteſimo quadrageſimo primo, die dominica proxima ante inventionem ſanctæ crucis aſſignata, David filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ

Norwalliæ et marchionibus ad conſentiendum in arbitros ſuſtituendos loco abſentium et ad faciendam et recipiendam juſtitiam ſecundum formam pacis conventæ inter dominum regem et dictum David comparuit Thudius ſeneſchallus ipſius David, cancellarius et Phillippus filius Ibor clericus ex parte David procuratores; oſtendentes literas ipſius David, in quibus dictus David promittebat ſe ratum habiturum quicquid per ipſos fieret ſecundum formam pacis ſupradictæ. Radulphus vero de mortuo mari et Rogerus ſeneſchallus Ceſtriæ et Griffinus pro ſe et aliis marchionibus comparuerunt; petentes inſtanter quod ſecundum dicta teſtium productorum coram domino Stephano de Segrave, et conjudicibus ſuis vicem domini regis gerentibus apud Salop eiſdem exhiberetur juſtitiæ complementum. Sed contra procuratores præfati David aſſerebant dictos reſtes non eſſe receptos ſecundum formam pacis. Quare ſecundum dicta eorum non dicebat nec poterat judicari. Tandam continuata die et altercatione magna ſuper hoc et aliis habitata inter partes, forma pacis prædictæ producta in medio viſaque et perfecta loco abſentium arbitrorum ſcilicet domini Ottonis Sancti Nicholai in carcere Tulliano diaconi cardinalis, domini Papæ quondam legati in Anglia Wigornenſis et Norwicenſis epiſcoporum ſubrogati ſunt per dominum regem de conſenſu dictorum procuratorum epiſcopus Coventrenſis, Joannes filius Galfridi et Herebertus filius Matthæi, et Walterus de Clifford: quibus data eſt eadem poteſtas quam haberent abſentes ſi præſentes eſſent ſecundum formam pacis prædictæ et aſſignata eſt dies partibus à die Pentecoſtes proximo in unum menſem apud pontem de Maneford ultra Salop ad probanda hinc inde ſive per productos teſtes; non obſtante productione jam facta per alios et quolibet probationis genere ſive per inſtrumenta, ſive alio modo quæ voluerunt et ſibi noverint expedienda; et illa die dabitur alia ad judicium audiendum ſecundum probata coram eiſdem arbitris juxta formam pacis ſuperius prælibatæ.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ ſalutem. Ex certâ quorundam relatione didicimus quod vos contra juramentum nobis præſtitum quoſdam fratres Griffini filii Madoc et etiam quoſdam homines noſtros de Keri, qui homagia nobis fecerunt vobis confœderatis et ab obſequio et fidelitate noſtra ſubtraxiſtis et fratres prædicti Griffini contra nos in terra veſtra receptatis. Tres quidem de ſeneſchallis veſtris in ſuccurſum eorum qui expugnant dilectum et fidelem noſtrum Radulphum de mortuo mari deſtinaſtis cædes et incendia per vos et veſtros in terra ſua et terris aliorum fidelium committendo, terras etiam quæ in curia noſtra abjudicatæ fuerunt Oweno Vaghan et nepotibus ſuis, eis contra juſtitiam deforciatis, non permittentes quod execution fiat de his quæ in curia noſtra ſunt conſiderata. Quandam etiam navem Ceſtriæ quæ in poteſtate veſtra applicuit cartata blado et aliis victualibus areſtari feciſtis per vos et gentem veſtram, in nullo his quorum bladum et victualia fuerint inde ſatisfacientes ſuper quibus non modicum admiramur et movemur; et multo fortius quod cum nuper miſiſſemus nuntios veſtros ſolempnes uſque Salop, utpote venerabilem patrem Henricum Coventrenſem et Lichfieldenſem epiſcopum, et dilectos et fideles noſtros Joannem filium Galfridi, et Henricum de Aditheleg paratos ad emendas faciendas

et recipiendas de interceptionibus factis, tam ex parte noſtra, quam ex parte veſtra, vos tanquam in contemptum noſtrum prædictis fidelibus noſtris non occurriſtis, nec per aliquos de veſtris in eorum occurſum mittere curâſtis, quod quidem ægre nos movet cum tot et tantas injurias quas longum eſſet enumerare contra nos et noſtros nullo modo attemptare debuiſtis: et ideo vobis mandamus quod prædictos fideles noſtros tam fratres prædicti Griffini quam homines noſtros de Keri quos a fidelitate noſtra ſubtruxiſtis ad fidem noſtram redire faciatis. Non impedientes quin prædictus Owenus Vaghan et nepotes ſui ſecundum abjudicatum eſt in curia noſtra terris ſuis gaudere poſſint et eas pacificè poſſidere. Id etiam quod contra dilectum et fidelem noſtrum Radulphum de mortuo mari et alios fideles noſtros et etiam quod de navi illa Ceſtrenſi attemptaſtis, ſic emendari faciatis; quod nobis non relinquatur materia injurias prædictas gravius ulciſcendi quod nollemus. Nec omitatis quin citra feſtum Sancti Petri ad vincula nobis ſignificetis qualiter dampna et injurias prædictas, quæ nullo modo diſſimulare poterimus nobis emendare volueritis. Teſte rege apud Merlebergh, quarto decimo die Julii.

Sciant præſentes et futuri quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illuſtrem ex una parte et ſenanam uxorem Griffini filii Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, quem David frater ejus tenet carceri mancipatum cum Owen filio ſuo nomine ejuſdem Griffini ex altera; ſcilicet quod prædicta Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino viro ſuo quo dabit domino regi ſexcentas marcas, ut rex eum et prædictum Owen filium ſuum liberari faciat a carcere detineri. Et ut rex poſtea judicio Curiæ ſuæ ſecundum legem Walenſem ei et hæredibus ſuis habere faciat ſuper portione quæ eum continget de hæreditate quæ fuit prædicti Lewelini patris ſui et quam prædictus David ipſi Griffino deforciavit. Ita ſi quod idem Griffinus vel hæredes ſui per conſiderationem curiæ domini regis reciperent portionem quam ſe dicunt contingere de hæreditate prædicta, eadem Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino et hæredibus ſuis quod ipſe et hæredes ſui imperpetuum inde reddent domino regi et hæredibus ſuis trecentas marcas annuas. Scilicet tertiam partem in denariis et tertiam partem in bobus et vaccis, et tertiam partem in equis per æſtimationem legalium hominum liberandas vicecomiti Salop, apud Salop, et per manum ipſius vicecomitis ad ſaccarium regis deferendas et ibidem liberandas ſcilicet unam medietatem ad feſtum Sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad paſcham. Eadem etiam Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino viro ſuo et hæredibus ſuis quod firmam pacem tenebunt cum præfato David ſuper portione quæ eidem David remanebit de hæreditate prædicta; manucepit etiam Senana pro præfato Griffino et hæridibus ſuis, quod ſi aliquis Walenſis aliquo tempore regi vel hæredibus ſuis rebellis extiterit, præfatus Griffinus et hæredes ſui ad cuſtum ſuum proprium ipſum compellent ad ſatisfaciendum domino regi et hæredibus ſuis. Et de his omnibus ſupradictis obſervandis, dicta Senana dabit domino regi David et Rothery filios ſuos obſides: Ita tamen quod ſi de præfato Griffino et Oweno filio ſuo qui cum eo eſt in carcere humanitus contingat antequam inde deliberentur; alter prædictorum filiorum eidem Senanæ reddetur reliquo obſide remanente: juravit inſuper Senana tactis ſacro-ſanctis evangeliis pro ſe et præfato Griffino et hæredibus ſuis quod hæc omnia firmiter obſervabunt. Et manucepit quod præfatus Griffinus idem jurabit

cum

cum à carcere liberatus fuerit, et ſuper præmiſſis ſe ſubmiſit nomine dicti Griffini juriſdictioni Herefordenſis et Coventrenſis epiſcoporum. Ita quod præfati epiſcopi, vel alter eorum quem dominus rex elegerit ad requiſitionem ipſius regis per ſententias excommunicationis in perſonas et interdicti in terras eorum coherceant ad omnia prædicta et ſingula obſervanda. Hæc omnia manucepit prædicta Senana et bona fide promiſit ſe facturam et curaturam quod omnia impleantur, et quod præfatus Griffinus cum liberatus fuerit, et hæredes ſui hac omnia grata habebunt et complebunt et inſtrumentum ſuum inde dabunt domino regi in forma prædicta. Ad majorem ſiquidem hujus rei ſecuritatem factum eſt hoc ſcriptum inter ipſum dominum regem et præfatam Senanam nomine præfati Griffini viri ſui. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipſum dominum regem appoſitum eſt ſigillum præfati Griffini per manum præfatæ Senanæ uxoris ſuæ una cum ſigillo ipſius Senanæ; et parti remanenti penes ipſam Senanam nomine præfati Griffini appoſitum eſt ſigillum ipſius domini regis: de ſupradictis etiam omnibus complendis et firmiter obſervandis dedit prædicta Senana nomine præfati Griffini domino regi plegios ſubſcriptos, viz. Radulphum de Mortuo Mari, Walterum de Clifford, Rogerum de Monte alto ſeneſcallum Ceſtriæ, Mailgun, filium Mailgwn, Mereduc filium Roberti, Griffinum filium Maddoc de Baunfeld, Howel et Mereduc fratres ejus, Griffinum filium Wennwen, qui hæc omnia pro præfata Senana manuceperunt et cartas ſuas ipſi domino regi inde fecerunt. Actum apud Salop die Lunæ proxima ante aſſumptionem beatæ Mariæ anno ipſius regis viceſimo quinto.

OMNIBUS hoc ſcriptum viſuris Rogerus de Monte Alto ſeneſchallus Ceſtriæ ſalutem. Sciatis quod ego me conſtituti plegium Senanæ uxoris Griffini filii Leolini quondam principis Norwalliæ, et manu cepi pro ea erga dominum meum Henricum regem Angliæ illuſtrem, quod omnia quæ conventionavit eidem domino meo nomine præfati viri ſui a carcere in quo David frater ejus eos detinet et pro portione quæ ipſum Griffinum contingit de hæreditate quæ fuit prædicti Leolini patris ſuis et quam præfatus David frater ejus ei deforciat, domino regi firmiter obſervabit. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui. Actum apud Salopeſbury die Lunæ ante aſſumptionem Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni ipſius viceſimo quinto.

Sub eadem forma fecerunt ſinguli plegii præſcripti.

SCIANT præſentes et futuri quod ego Mereducus filius Howel, tactis ſacroſanctis juravi quod ab iſto die in antea omnibus diebus vitæ meæ ero ad fidelitatem domini regis Angliæ, et ſerviam ei fideliter et devote cum omnibus viribus meis et toto poſſe meo quandocunque indiguerit ſervitio meo, et treugam inter dominum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me initam uſque ad feſtum S. Michælis anno regni regis Henrici vigeſimo quinto ex parte mea fideliter obſervabo: et tam ad fidelitatem domino regi in perpetuum obſervandum quam ad treugas prædictas obſervandas uſque ad terminum prædictum ſuppoſui me juriſdictioni domini Herefordenſis epiſcopi, et domini Coventrenſis et Lichfieldenſis epiſcopi, vel alterius eorum, quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, ut ſi in aliquo contra prædictam fidelitatem domini regis, vel contra obſervantiam

ſervantiam prædictarum trugarum venerit, liceat eis vel eorum alteri quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit perſonam meam et omnes meos excommunicare et terram meam interdicere, donec de tranſgreſſione ipſam ſatisfecero ad plenum. Et ſi forſitan infra prædictum feſtum S. Michaeli inter prædictum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me nulla pax fuerit formata, licet poſt feſtum illud bellum moveant prædicto Radulpho, non obligabit me prædictum juramentum dum tamen erga dominum regem fidelitatem obſervam continuam, ſicut prædictum eſt. Etſi bellum poſt prædictum terminum inter nos moveatur, nihilominus dominus reſuſtinebit quod ego et mei receptemur in terra ſua ſicut alii fideles ſui. Ad prædicta autem obſervanda domino regi et hæredibus ſuis obligo me per juramentum prædictum, et per ſigilli mei appoſitionem quod huic ſcripto appoſui, ad majorem confirmationem prædictorum. Actum in craſtino aſſumptionis Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni regis Henrici vigeſimo quinto.

Sub eiſdem verbis fecerunt domino regi chartas ſuas, Owen filius Howel. Mailgon filius Mailgun. Mereduc filius Mereduc. Howel filius Cadwachlan, et Cadwachlan filius Howel.

OMNIBUS Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præſentes literæ pervenerunt, David, filius Leolini, ſalutem. Sciatis quod conceſſi domino meo Henrico regi Angliæ illuſtri filio domino Joannis regis: quod deliberabo Griffinum fratrem meum quem teneo incarceratum una cum filio ſuo primogenito et aliis qui occaſione prædicti Griffini ſunt in parte mea incarcerati, et ipſos eidem domino meo regi tradam. Et poſtea ſtabo juri curiæ ipſius domini regis tam ſuper eo, utrum idem Griffinus debeat teneri captus quam ſuper portione terræ quæ fuit prædicti Leolini patris mei, ſi qua ipſum Griffinum contingere debeat, ſecundam conſuetudinem Wallenſium. Ita quod pax ſervetur inter me et prædictum Griffinum fratrem meum quod caveatur de ipſa tenenda ſecundum conſiderationem curiæ ipſius domini regis, et quod tam ego quam prædictus Griffinus portiones noſtras que nos contingent de prædictis terris tenebimus in capite de prædicto domino rege. Et quod reddam Rogero de Monte Alto ſeneſchallo Ceſtriæ terram ſuam de Monthaut cum pertinentiis: et ſibi et aliis baronibus et fidelibus domini regis ſciſinas terrarum ſuarum occupatarum a tempore belli orti inter ipſum dominum Johannem regem et prædictum Leolinum patrem meum, ſalvo jure proprietatis cujuſlibet pacti et inſtrumenti ſuper quo ſtabitur juri hinc inde in curia ipſius domini regis: et quod reddam ipſi domino regi omnes expenſas quas ipſe et ſui fecerunt occaſione exercitus iſtius. Et quod ſatisfaciam de damnis et injuriis illatis ſibi et ſuis ſecundum conſiderationem prædictæ curiæ vel malefactores ipſos, ipſi domino regi reddam omnia homagia quæ dominus Johannes rex pater ejus habuit, et quæ dominus rex de jure habere debet; et ſpecialiter omnium nobilium Wallenſium. Et quod idem dominus rex non dimittit aliquem de ſuis captivis quin ipſi domino regi et ſuis remaneant ſeiſinæ ſuæ. Et quod terra de Enguſmere cum pertinentiis ſuis in perpetuum remanebit domino regi, vel hæredibus ſuis, et quod de cætero non receptabo vilagas vel foris banniatos ipſius domini regis, vel baronum ſuorum de

marchia in terra mea, nec permittam receptari; et de omnibus articulis ſupradictis, et ſingulis firmiter et in perpetuum obſervandis, domino regi et hæredibus ſuis, pro me et hæredibus meis cavebo per obſides et pignora et aliis modis quibus dominus rex dicere voluit vel dictate. Et in his et in omnibus aliis ſtabo voluntati, et mandatis ipſius domini regis et juri parebo omnibus in curia ſua. In cujus rei teſtimonium, præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appendi. Actum apud Atrieum juxta fluvium Elvey de S. Aſapho in feſto decollationis S. Johanni Baptiſtæ, anno prædicti domiregis Henrici vigeſimo quinto.

Sciendum quod illi qui capti detinentur cum prædicto Griffino, eodem modo tradentur domino regi donec per curiam ſuam conſideratum fuerit, utrum et quomodo debeant deliberari. Et ad omnia firmiter tenenda, ego David juravi ſuper crucem ſanctam quam coram me feci deportari. Venerabilis etiam pater Howelus epiſcopus de S. Aſaph ad petitionem meam firmiter promiſit in ordine ſuo, quod hæc omnia prædicta faciet, et procurabit modis quibus poterit, obſervari. Ednevet ſiquidem Waugam per præceptum meum, illud idem juravit ſuper crucem prædictam. Actum ut ſupra. Præterea conceſſi pro me et hæredibus meis quod ſi ego, vel hæredes mei contra pacem domini regis, vel hæredium ſuorum, vel contra articulos prædictos, aliquid attentaverimus tota hæreditas noſtra domino regi, et hæridibus ſuis incurratur. De quibus omnibus et ſingulis ſuppoſui me, et hæredes meos, juriſdictioni achiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis, et epiſcoporum Londinenſis, Herefordenſis, et Coventrenſis, qui pro tempore præerunt, quod omnes, vel unus eorum quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, poſſit nos excommunicare, et terram noſtram interdicere, ſi aliquid contra prædicta attentaverimus. Et procuravi quod epiſcopi de Bangor et de S. Aſaph chartas ſuas domino regi fecerunt per quas conceſſerunt, quod omnes ſententias tum excommunicationis quam interdicti à prædictis archiepiſcopo, epiſcopis, vel aliquo eorum, ferendas, ad mandatum eorum exequentur.

Rex omnibus, &c.

DAVID filius Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, Salutem. Noverint univerſitas veſtræ me ſpontanea voluntate mea pepegiſſe domino meo Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ, quod ego et hæredes mei eidem domino regi, et hæredibus ſuis omnibus diebus vitæ noſtræ conſtanter et fideliter ſerviemus, nec aliquo tempore contra eos erimus: quod ſi forte evenerit, quod à fideli ſervicio ſuo, vel hæredum ſuorum, quod abſit, receſſerimus, tota terra noſtra erga ipſum dominum regem et hæredes ſuos incurratur, et in uſus eorum perpetuis cedat temporibus. Hanc autem pactionem et conceſſionem ſigilli mei appoſitione roboravi, et ad majorem hujus rei declarationem venerabiles patres Bangorenſem, et de S. Aſaph epiſcopi, ad petitionem meam præſenti ſcripto ſigilla ſua appoſuerunt. Actum apud Rothetan tricesimo primo die Auguſti.

ILLUSTRI

ILLUSTRI viro domino Henrico Dei gratia regi Anglorum, &c. abbates Haberconwiæ, et de Kemere Ciſtercienſis ordinis inquiſitores dati a domino Papâ, ſalutem in domino. Mandatum domini Papæ recipimus in hæc verba, ‘ Innocentius Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilectis filiis abbatibus de Haberconwiæ, & de Kemere Ciſtercienſis ordinis Bangorum dioceſis ſalutem et apoſtolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilecti filii noſtri nobilis viri David principis Norwalliæ fuit propoſitum coram nobis, quod cum inter ipſum, quem parentes ejus in alumnum Romanæ eccleſiæ donaverunt, et Chariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum regem Anglorum illuſtrem bellum longo tempore perduraſſet, tandem poſtquam fuit in venerabilem fratrem noſtrum epiſcopum de S. Aſaph et collegas ipſius de ſtando hinc inde eorum arbitrio ſuper omnibus querelis juramento a partibus præſtito concorditer bonis viris mediantibus conpromiſſum. Idem rex, non attendens quod pendente illorum arbitrio, ſibi ſuper hoc aliquid attentare non licebit in prædictum principem ex inſpirato hoſtiliter iruit ad præſtandum, quod ſuper prædictis de quibus conpromiſſum fuerit et juratum, ac aliis ipſius regis, mandare per vim computit, & metum qui cadere poterat in conſtantem.

Cum igitur ea quæ vi & metu fiant, carere debeant robore firmitatis, diſcretioni veſtræ per apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, quatenus inquiſita ſuper hoc diligentius veritate, ſi rem inveneritis ita eſſe, auctoritate noſtra prædictum principem ab obſervatione ſic extorti juramenti penitus ab ſolventes, ſententia, ſi qua occaſione ejuſmodi in ejus perſonam, vel terram ab aliquo forſan tota fuerit, juxta formam eccleſiæ ſine difficultate qualibet, ſicut juſtum fuerit relaxetis. Teſtes vero, &c. Datum Januæ ſeptimo calendas Auguſti pontificatûs noſtri anno ſecundo. Hujus igitur autoritate muniti vobis mandamus quatenus in vigilia S. Agnetis Virginis, apud Keyrus in eccleſia Guſtefend coram vobis compareatis, ſuper contentis in autentico dicto principi reſponſuri, ſi vobis videritis expedire.

Iſti ſunt ARTICULI intimati Domino Leolino *Principi* Walliæ, *et populo ejuſdem loci, ex parte Archiepiſcopi ſupra dicti.*

PRIMO, Quod propter ſalutem eorum ſpiritualem, et temporalem ad partes iſtas venimus, quas ſemper dileximus, ut plures eorum noverunt.

Secundo, Quia venimus contra domini regis voluntatem, cui etiam adventus noſter dicitur plurimum diſplicere.

Tertio, Quia rogamus eos et ſupplicamus eis pro ſanguine Jeſu Chriſti, quatenus venire velint ad unitatem cum gente Anglorum, et ad pacem domini regis, quam eis intendimus, quanto melius poterimus procurare.

Quarto, Volumus eos ſcire quod in his partibus domini non poterimus remanere.

Quinto, Volumus eos attendere quod poſt receſſum noſtrum non invenient alique m, qui ita velit ſua amplecti negotia promovenda, qui vellemus, ſi placeret. Altiſſima vita noſtra temporali corporum pacem honeſtam et ſtabilem perpetuo procuraſſe.

Sexto, Quia ſi noſtras preces ſpreverint et labores, ſtatim intendimus eorum pertinaciam ſcribere ſummo pontifici et curiæ Romanæ, propter peccata mortalia, quæ multiplicantur occaſione diſcordiæ omni die.

Septimo, Noverint quod niſi citius ad pacem venerint aggravabitur eis bellum, quod non poterunt ſuſtinere, quia creſcit regia potentia omni die.

Octavo, Noverint quod regnum Angliæ eſt ſub ſpeciali protectione ſedis apoſtolicæ, et quod Romana curia plus inter regna cætera diligere conſuevit.

Nono, Quod eadem curia nullo modo volet permittere ſtatum regni Angliæ vacillare, quod ſibi ſpecialibus obſequiis eſt devotum.

Decimo, Amariſſimè plangimus hoc quod dicitur Wallenſes crudeliores exiſtere Saracenis; quia cum Saraceni capiunt Chriſtianos, eos ſervant pecunia redimendos, quos Wallenſes captos dicuntur illico jugulare quaſi ſolo ſanguine delectentur; immo quod eſt deterius, quos promittunt redimi, tradunt accepta pecunia jugulandos.

Undecimo, Quod cum conſueverit deum et perſonas eccleſiaſticas revereri, a devotione hominum videntur multipliciter receſſiſſe, qui in tempore ſanctiſſimo in redemptoris injuriam moverunt ſeditionem, homicidia et incendia perpetrantes, in quo eos nullus poterit excuſare.

Duodecimo, Petimus ut tanquam veri Chriſtiani ad cor redeant pœnitentes, quia cœptam diſcordiam non poſſent continuare etiam ſi juraſſent.

Tertiodecimo, Petimus ut nobis ſignificent quibus modis velint et valeant turbationem pacis regiæ, læſionem reipublicæ, te mala alia emendare.

Quartodecimo, Ut ſignificent nobis qualiter valeat ipſa concordia ſtabiliri, fruſtra enim pax firmari videbitur quæ tam aſſidue violatur.

Quintodecimo, Ut ſi dicant leges ſuas vel fœdera ex pacto inito non ſervari, nobis ſignificent quæ ſunt illa.

Sextodecimo, Noverint quod etiam poſito quod eis derogatum fuiſſet, quod neſcimus, nullo modo licebit eis quaſi eſſent judices in cauſa ſuà taliter majeſtatem regiam impugnare.

Septimodecimo, Quod niſi modo pax fiat proceditur contra eos forſitan ex decreto militiæ, ſacerdoti, et populi convocati.

REVEREN-

REVERENDISSIMO patri in Chriſto domino J. de gratia Cantuarienſi archiepiſcopo totius Angliæ primati, ſuus humilis et devotus filius Leolinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, ſalutem et filialem dilectionem cum omnimoda reverentia, ſubjectione et honore, ſanctæ paternitati veſtræ pro labore vobis quaſi intolerabile quem aſſumpſiſtis ad præſens pro dilectione quam erga nos et noſtram nationem geritis, omni qua poſſumus devotione regratiantes vobis aſſurgimus; et eo amplius quod contra domini regis voluntatem veniſtis prout nobis intimaſtis. Cæterum quod nos rogaſtis ut ad pacem domini regis veniamus, ſcire debet veſtra ſanctitas quod ad hoc prompti ſumus, dummodo idem dominus rex pacem debitam et veram nobis et noſtris velit obſervare. Ad hoc licet gauderemus de mora veſtra facienda in Wallia, tamen per nos non eritis impediti quin pax fiat, quantum in nobis eſt, quam optamus per veſtram induſtriam magis quam alicujus alterius roborari. Et ſperamus nec per Dei gratiam erit opportunum propter noſtram pertinaciam aliquid ſcribere domino Papæ. Nec veſtras paternas preces ac graves labores ſpernemus, ſed eas amplectimur omni cordis affectu ut tenemur. Nec erit opus quod dominus rex aggravet contra nos manum, cum prompti ſumus ſibi obedire juribus noſtris et legibus nobis ut præmittatur reſervatis.

Et licet regnum Angliæ ſit Curiæ Romanæ ſpecialiter ſubjectum et dilectum, tamen cum dominus Papa, necnon et Curia Romana audiverint quanta nobis per Anglicos mala ſunt illata, videlicet quod pax prius formata non fuit nobis ſervata nec pacta; deinde devaſtationes, combuſtiones, et eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum interfectiones, ſacerdotum videlicet et incluſorum, et aliarum religioſarum perſonarum paſſim mulierum et infantium ſuggentium ubera et in utero portantium, combuſtiones etiam hoſpitalium et aliarum domorum religioſarum, homicidiorum in cœmiteriis, eccleſiis, et ſuper altaria, et aliorum ſacrilegiorum et flagiciorum auditu etiam horribilium, auditu Paganorum ſicut expreſſius in aliis rotulis conſcripta vobis tranſmittimus inſpicienda.

Speramus imprimis, quod veſtra pia et ſancta paternitas clementer nobis compatietur, nec non et curia ſuper dicta, nec per nos regnum Angliæ vacillabit, dum, ut promiſſum eſt, pax debita nobis fiat et ſervetur. Qui vero ſanguinis effuſione delectantur manifeſtum eſt factis. Nam Anglici hactenus nulli ſexui vel ætati ſeu languori pepercerunt, nulla eccleſiæ vel loco ſacro detulerunt, qualia vel conſimilia Wallenſes non fecerunt. Super eo autem quod unus redemptus fuit interfectus, multum dolemus, nec occiſorem manu tenemus, ſed in ſylvis uti latro vagatur. De eo vero quod inceperunt guerram aliqui in tempore indebito, illud ignoravimus uſque poſt factum, et tamen ipſi aſſerunt quod niſi eo tempore hoc feciſſent mortes et captiones eis imminebunt, nec audebunt in domibus reſidere, nec niſi armati incedere, et ſic præ timore tali tempore id fecerunt. De eis verò quæ fecimus contra dominum, ut veri chriſtiani per Dei gratiam pœnitebimus, nec erit ex parte noſtra quod bellum continuetur, dum ſumus indemnes ut debemus. Ne tamen exhæredemur et paſſim occidemur, oportet nos defendere ut valemus. Cum verò injuria et damna hinc inde conſiderentur et ponderentur parati ſumus emendare pro viribus quæ ex parte noſtra ſunt commiſſa, dum de prædictis injuriis et damnis nobis factis et aliis emenda nobis fiat. Et ad pacem firmandam et ſtabiliendam ſimiliter ſumus prompti debitis modis.

Quando

Quando tamen regales chartæ et pacta inita nobis non ſervatur, ſicut nec hucuſque ſunt obſervata, non poteſt pax ſtabiliri, nec quando novæ exactiones et inauditæ contra nos et noſtros omni die adveniunt. Vobis autem tranſmittimus in rotulis damna nobis illata et fœdera non ſervata ſecundum formam pacis prius factam. Quod verò guerravimus quaſi neceſſitas nos cogebat; nam nos et omnes Wallenſes eramus adeo oppreſſi et ſuppeditati et ſpoliati et in ſervitutem redacti per regales Juſticianos et Ballivos contra formam pacis et omnem juſticiam amplius quam ſi Saraceni eſſemus vel Judæi, ſicut credimus et ſæpe denunciavimus domino regi, nec aliquam emendam habere potuimus. Sed ſemper mittebantur juſticiarii et ballivi ferociores et crudeliores, et quando illi erant ſaturati per ſuas injuſtas exactiones, alii de novo mittebantur et populum excoriandum in tantum quod populus mallebat mori quam vivere. Nec oportet militiam ampliorem convocare, vel contra nos moveri ſacerdotium dum nobis fiat pax et ſervetur modis debitis ut ſuperius eſt expreſſum. Nec debitis ſancte pater omnibus verbis credere noſtrorum adverſariorum; ſicut enim nos factis oppreſſerunt et opprimunt, ita et vobis diffamant, nobis imponentes quæ volunt.

Ipsi enim vobis ſunt præſentes et nos abſentes, ipſi opprimentes et nos oppreſſi. Et ideò propter Deum fidem eis in omnibus non exhibeatis, ſed facta potius examinetis. Valeat ſanctitas veſtre ad regimen eccleſiæ per tempora longa.

Primus Articulus eſt talis, cum in forma pacis ſic contineatur ut ſequitur. Si vero idem Leolinus jus vendicaverit in aliquibus terris quas alii præter dictum dominum regem occupaverint extra quatuor cantredos prædictos, pleniariam ſibi juſtitiam exhibebit præfatus dominus rex ſecundum leges et conſuetudines partium illarum in quibus terræ illæ conſiſtunt: qui articulus non fuit obſervatus ſuper terris Arwyſtley et inter Dyvy et ductus fluviorum, pro eo quod cum dominus Leolinus dictas terras vendicaſſet coram domino rege apud Ruthlan, et rex ſibi conceſſiſſet cauſam examinare ſecundum leges et conſuetudines Walliæ ac advocati pretium fuiſſent introducti coram rege ut judicarent de dictis terris ſecundum leges Wallicanas; parte rea comparente et reſpondente adeo quod eo die deberet finaliter terminari ex præfixione domini regis qui apud Gloverniam exiſtens diem prædictum partibus aſſignavit, licet ſæpius in diverſis locis coram juſticiariis fuiſſet dicta cauſa examinata, et terræ ipſæ eſſent in pura Wallia. Nec unquam judicata fuit ſuper eis niſi ſecundum leges Wallicanas; nec dominus rex poſſet vel deberet prorogare niſi ſecundum leges Walliæ: diem tamen ipſum motu proprio prorogavit et contra leges ante dictas, et ad ultimo fuit vocatus ad loca varia ad quæ non debuit evocari, nec juſtitiam obtinere potuit, niſi ſecundum leges Angliæ contra illud quod in dicto articulo continetur. Et idem factum fuit coram juſticiariis apud Montgomery, cum partes eſſent in judicio conſtitutæ et firmatæ, et dies datus ad ſententiam audiendam, diem prorogaverunt leges memoratas. Demum apud Londinum poſt multos labores et expenſas varias rex ipſe juſtitiam ſibi denegavit, niſi vellet ſecundum leges Angliæ ſubire judicium in cauſa memorata.

Secundus articulus non ſervatus eſt talis. Et omnes tranſgreſſiones injuriæ et excelſus hinc inde factæ pœnitus remittuntur uſque in diem hodiernum. Iſte articulus non

fuit obſervatus quia dominus Reginaldus de Grey ſtatim cum fuit factus juſticiarius, movet varias quæſtiones et innumerabiles contra homines de Tegengl, et nos ſuper tranſgreſſis quæ factæ fuerunt in tempore domini Henrici regis, et dicti domini Leolini dum dominum in partibus illis obtinebat unde dicti homines multum timentes non audebant in domibus ſuis permanere.

Tertius articulus, Ubi dictus Rys Vachan filius Nefi filii Maelgon cum terra quam nunc tenet et cum poſt pacem initam fuit ſpoliatus de terra de Geneverglyn, quam tunc tenebat cum hominibus et Averiis eorundem.

Quartus articulus, Item concedit dominus rex quod omnes terras tenentes in quatuor Cantredis, et in aliis terris quas dominus rex retinet in manu ſua, teneant eas adeo libere et pleniarie ſicut ante guerram tenere conſueverint, et eiſdem libertatibus et conſuetudinibus gaudeant quibus prius gaudere ſolebant, et cum contra iſtum articulum dictus Reginaldus conſuetudines varias de novo introduxit, et hoc contra pacis formam ſupradictam.

Item quintus articulus, Controverſiæ et contentiones moræ vel movendæ inter principem et quoſcunque terminabantur et decidentur ſecundum leges Marchiæ de his quæ emergunt in Marchia, et ſecundum leges Walliæ de rebus contentioſis quæ in Wallia orientur. Contra iſtum articulum venit dominus rex mittendo juſticiarios uſque ad Montgomery, qui ibidem judicare præſumpſerunt homines dicti Leolini, vindictum ponendo ſuper illos contra leges Walliæ, cum hoc vel aliud ſimile nunquam factum fuiſſet ibidem temporibus retroactis, quoſdam incarcerando, alios in exilium mittendo, cum ipſe idem princeps paratus eſſet de eiſdem hominibus ſuis exhibere juſtitiæ complementum omnibus quærelantibus de eiſdem.

Item ſextus articulus. Item cum ſit contentum in dicta pacis forma, quod Griffinus Vachan homagium faceret domino regi, de terra, de Yâl, et principi de terra de Edeyrnahu juſticiarii domini introduxerunt, in totam terram prædictam de Edeyrnahu cujus cognitio cauſæ ad principem pertinebat ſimpliciter, et non ad illos Juſticiarios; et tamen pro bono pacis princeps hoc tolerabat cum ipſe princeps paratus eſſet eidem dominæ ſuper hoc juſtitiam exhibere.

Septimus articulus, ubi dicitur et licet idem princeps ſe noſtræ ut dictum eſt ſuppoſuerit voluntati, nos tamen concedimus et volumus quod voluntas noſtra . . . . . ultra dictos articulos ſe in aliquo non extendant. Contra iſtum articulum exigebatur aurum ad opus reginæ in qualibet ſolutione facta regi cum . . . . . Aurum nunquam fuit exactum Wallenſibus, nec in tempore domini Henrici, vel alicujus alterius regis Angliæ: quod aurum exſolvit pro bono pacis, cum tamen nihil de hoc tactum fuit in forma pacis vel excogitatum: et nunc inſuper exigitur à principe aurum-ad opus reginæ ſenioris matris videlicet domini Edvardi nunc regis Angliæ, pro pace facta in tempore domini Henrici nunc regis Angliæ, cum nihil de hoc tunc fuerat dictum vel quoquomodo excogitatum, videlicet duo millia Marcarum et dimidium, et niſi dictæ Marcæ ſolverentur,

minabatur

minabatur dicta regina quod bona ejuſdem Leolini occuparet quæ invenire poterat in domino regis, et homines ſuos capere vel venundare quoſque dictam ſummam haberet ad plenum. Item cum invitâſſet dominus rex dictum principem adfectum Wiggornienſem verbis blandiſſimis promittendo ei quod daret tunc conſanguineam ſuam ſibi in uxorem, et multis ditaret honoribus; nihilominus cum illuc veniſſet in die deſponſationis, ante miſſam petiit dominus rex unam literam conſignari à principe continentem inter cætera, quod idem princeps nullum omnino honorem in terra ſua teneret contra regis voluntatem, vel manu teneret ex quo poſſit contingere quod omnes fideles principis ab eo commoverentur. Quam quidem literam ſibi ſigillatam tradidit, computans per metum qui cadere poſſet in conſtantem virum, cum tamen in forma pacis, ut præmiſſum eſt, contineatur quod nihil ab eo deberet exigi, ultra quod in dicta forma continetur.

Item, cum ſecundum eandem pacis formam conſuetudines eidem principi confirmentur quibus uſus fuerat ab antiquo; ac idem princeps et anteceſſores ſui, ex conſuetudine diutina et obtenta bona de naufragis in terris ſuis provenientia conſueverant recipere, et in ſuos uſus convertere ad libitum: Juſticiarius Ceſtrenſis namium recepit ſuper principem pro bonis quæ recepit de naufragiis ante guerram contra dictam pacis formam per quam hinc inde erant remiſſa, et contra conſuetudines ante dictas. Dato etiam quod hoc eſſet foris factum namium recepit tale, videlicet quindecem libratas mellis et plures equos ac homines ſuos incarceravit, et hoc ex propriis bonis principis ante dicti. Preterea, accipit ſcaphas de Banweys quæ venerant apud Liverpol cum mercandiis per mercatores, et eas numquam deliberavit donec pecuniam pro eis accepit quantum volebat.

Item, cum quidam homines de Geneurglyn quædam bona abſtuliſſent ab aliis vicinis ſuis de Geneurglyn, dum eſſent in domino principis de Merpyreton homines reges de Llanbadarn prædam fecerunt, et acceperunt de terra principis de Merpyreton, et cum homines ſui veniſſent illuc ad quærendum quare dictam prædam receperant, unum de eis interfecerunt, et alios vulneraverunt, & quoſdam incarceraverunt. Et cum in dicta pacis forma contineatur quod in marchia deberent emendari quæ in Marchia committebantur, tamen dicti homines regis homines principis audire noluerunt alibi quam in caſtro de Llanbadarn, & hoc contra pacis formam antedictam, ſuper quo hactenus nullam juſtitiam habere potuerunt. In iſtis articulis injuriatus dominus rex principi & ſuis, & etiam in multis aliis: et licet princeps tam per ſe quam per ſuos petiviſſet ſæpius a domino rege quod pacis formam ſupradictam erga ſe & ſuos faceret obſervari, in nullo tamen extitit obſervata ſed omni die de novo juſticiarii & ballivi domini regis in partibus illis injurias injuriis, & varia gravimina cumulaverunt: propter quod mirum non debet videri alicui ſi princeps præfatus aſſenſum præſtitit illis qui guerrare cœperunt, cum in his fides quam in animam domini regis ſibi dominus Robertus Tibetot juraverat in nullo ſervabatur, & maxima & principaliter cum princeps fuiſſet præmunitus a perſonis fide dignis quod princeps foret a rege capiendus in ſuo primo acceſſu apud Ruthlan, & etiam fuiſſet captus ſi rex illuc acceſſiſſet poſt Natale ſicut propoſuerat.

Nec gravamina & alia quaſi innumerabilia, ſancte pater, conſiderantes, nobis affectu paterno compaciamini, et pro ſalute animæ domini regis, et noſtræ, et etiam multorum aliorum, ad pacem bonam utriuſque populi laboretis fructuoſe.

Cum

Cum dominus David primo veniſſet ad dominum Edwardum tunc comitem Ceſtriæ, ac homagium ſibi feciſſet, idem dominus Edwardus eidem Davidi duas cantredas, videlicet de dyffryn-Clwyd et Cywonant cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis dedit plenarie, et literas ſuas patentes ſuper hoc fieri fecit, tandem etiam donationem eidem invocavit, poſtquam creatus eſt in regem, et etiam illum Davidem in poſſeſſionem illarum cantredarum induxit corporalem.

Demum domina Gwenlhian de Lacy mortua, tres villas quas in dictis cantredis tenuit quoad vitam quæ ad ipſum Davidem ſpectabant ratione donationis ſupradictæ dominus rex ſibi abſtulit minus juſte contra tenorem chartæ ſuæ.

Item, Cum dictus David ex donatione domini regis prædicti villas de Hope et Eſton obtineret in Wallia, de quibus nulli reſpondere tenebatur niſi ſecundum leges Wallicanas; tandem juſticiarius Ceſtrienſis fecit ipſum ad inſtantiam cujuſdam Anglici Willh. de Vanabel nomine ad comitatum Ceſtrienſem ſuper dictis vilulis ad judicium evocari. Et licet dictus dominus David petiviſſet multoties quod injurioſe contra eundem non procederetur in dicto comitatu, pro eo quod ibidem reſpondere nullatenus tenebatur ſuper villis prædictis quæ ſitæ erant in Wallia, ſed potius tractaretur, hoc ſibi plene denegavit.

Item, Idem juſticiarius Ceſtrienſis in gravamen dicti domini Davidis nemus ſuum de Lleweni et Sylvas ſuas de Hope fecit ſuccidi tam per villanos de Ruthlan, quam per alios, cum idem juſticiarius in terris prædicti domini Davidis nullam omnino haberet juriſdictionem, et non contenti quod meremium ibidem quærerent ad ædificia exigenda tam apud Rodelanum quam alibi in patria, ſed nemus deſtruendo meremium ibidem fectum ad vendendum in Hiberniam tranſtulerunt.

Item, Cum idem dominus David quoſdam Fortanicos de terra domini regis qui in nemoribus latitabant cepiſſet, ac ſuſpendio tradidiſſet, idem tamen juſticiarius ipſum Davidem penes regem accuſabat, ac ſi ipſe dictos malefactores defenderet, et manuteneret, quod veriſimile non erat cum ipſe David dictos latrones ſuſpendi faceret et occidi.

Item, Cum eſſet cautum in forma pacis quod Wallenſes deberent in cauſis ſuis tractari ſecundum leges Wallicanas, iſtud tamen circa dictum Davidem et ſuos homines in nullo extitit obſervatum.

De premiſſis vero gravaminibus et aliis petiit idem David aliquam emendationem vel ſecundum leges Walliæ, vel conſuetudines, vel etiam ex gratia ſpeciali; et hoc etiam petiit a domino rege, quorum neutrum potuit aliquatenus obtinere: et cum hoc præmunitus fuit a quibuſdam a curia domini regis, quod in primo regreſſu domini Reginaldi de Gray de curia idem David eſſet capiendus ut filii ſui capiendi pro obſedibus eſſet, inſuper ſpoliandus caſtro ſuo de Hope, et etiam ſylva ſua ibidem ſuccidenda. Ideo cum idem David multum laboraſſet pro domino rege prædicto in diverſis

guerris tam in Anglia quam in Wallia, et expoſuiſſet ſe et ſuos variis periculis et injuriis, ac amiſiſſet nobiliores de ſuis et fortiores, ac multos nimis, nihilominus de dictis graviminibus et aliis nullam omnino juſtitiam, emendationem, ſeu gratiam potuit obtinere. Propter quæ gravamina et pericula, timens mortem propriam aut filiorum ſuorum, vel incarcerationem perpetuam vel ſaltem diutinam, quaſi coactus et invitus incepit prout potuit ſe et ſuos defenſare.

Hæc eſt forma quam dominus rex Angliæ promiſit hominibus de Ros, antequam ipſi fecerunt ſibi homagium, & illam formam eis promiſit inviolabiliter obſervare, videlicet.

Quod ipſe dominus rex concederet unicuique eorum jus ſuum, et juriſdictionem ſuam, et etiam dominium, bonæ memoriæ domini Henrici quondam regis Angliæ, ſecundum quod prædicti homines de Ros referent ipſos haberent temporibus prædicti Henrici.

Item, Promiſit prædictus dominus rex ſupradictis hominibus quod non darentur nec ad firmam ponerentur; quibus articulis conceſſis præfatis hominibus homagium fecerunt domino regi, et ipſe eis promiſit ore proprio dictos articulos obſervare. Hoc non obſtante quidam cementarii redeuntes ad villam de Ruthlan, de loco ubi ipſi operabantur, obviaverunt cuidam nobili tranſeunti cum uxore ſua per viam regiam ſuper pace domini regis, qui cementarii per vim propoſuerunt auferre a prædicto nobili ſuam uxorem, et quia ipſe nobilis defendit ſuam uxorem ne ab ipſo auferetur, prædicti cementarii prædictum nobilem interfecerunt. Ille autem cui plus opponebatur dictum homicidium perpetraſſe, cum quibuſdam ſociis ſuis capti fuerunt: et cum parentela prædicti interfecti petierit juſtitiam a domino juſticiario Ceſtrienſi de morte conſanguinii eorum, illi de parentela ipſius interfecti fuerunt incarcerati, et interfectores fuerunt a carcere liberati.

Item, Quidam homo interfecit quendam nobilem qui videlicet filium Goronu de Heylyn nutriverat, et interfector captus fuit: et cum quidam de parentela prædicti interfecti peterent juſtitiam de eorum conſanguineo a domino juſticiario Ceſtrienſi, quidam eorum capti fuerunt, et interfector fuit in caſtello domini regis liberatus, et adhuc eſt ibi, denegata juſtitia prædictæ parentelæ.

Item, Quidam nobiles vindicaverunt jus in quibuſdam terris, et de mobilibus ſuis obtulerunt domino regi magnam ſummam pecuniæ pro juſtitia habenda per rationem et veredictum proborum et legalium hominum de patria; quæ quidem terræ adjudicatæ fuerunt, prædictis vendicantibus totam terram prædictam cum omnibus ædificiis biadis, et aliis bonis in ipſis contentis. Dominus Reginaldus de Grey; et ſic amiſerunt primo pecuniam quam pro terra pacaverunt, et poſtea terram.

ITEM, Juriſdictionis noſtræ eſt quod nullus extraneus extirparet ſylvas noſtras, niſi prius habita licentia noſtra; hoc non obſtante, proclamatum fuit apud Rodolanum quod liceret unicuique Anglicano extirpare ſylvas noſtras ſine noſtra licentia ad libitum eorum voluntatis, et quod nobis fuit prohibitum dictas ſylvas noſtras extirpare.

ITEM, Terras quas probi homines a domino Davide filio Leolini bonæ memoriæ habuerunt per donationem prædicti Davidis abſtulit prædictus juſticiarius a prædictis probis hominibus.

ITEM, Quando aliquis ad villam de Ruthlan veniret cum mercandiis ſuis, ſi refutaret illud quod Anglicus eidem, offerret pro ſuis mercandiis, ſtatim duceretur ille Wallenſis ad caſtrum, et emptor ibidem haberet rem quam larginaverat, et dominus rex haberet pretium dictæ rei, tunc caſtellam dictum Wallenſem ſpoliatum et atrociter verberatum deliberabant, pacatis prius portario caſtri quatuor denariis. Si vero aliquis Wallenſis emeret aliquam rem in villa de Ruthlan, Anglicus qualiſcunque ſuperveniret, et rem venditam dicto Wallenſi auferet ab ipſo pro minori pretio quam dictus Wallenſis ſolverat pro eadem.

ITEM, Contra promiſſionem domini regis prædictis hominibus de Ros, ipſe dedit territoriam villæ de Maenam in Penmayn et Lhyſfaen.

ITEM, Taurus cujuſdam probi hominis deprehenſus fuit in patris domini regis apud Ros, et captus, et dominus ejus vocatis fuit ad placitum uſque Rodolanum, et fuit condemnatus in quinque libris occaſione dicti tauri; bis adivit Londinium pro juſtitia petenda, et nullam fuit, aſſecutus, et in illis duabus vicibus expendidit prædictus homo tres libras.

ITEM, Quidam nobiles de cantreda de Ros emerunt officia pro certa ſumma pecuniæ; pacata pecunia, meritis ſuis non exigentibus, dominus juſticiarius Ceſtrenſis abſtulit ab eis eorum officia.

ITEM, Quidam ruſticus Goronow ab Heylyn condemnatus fuit in 171. bonæ et legalis monetæ juris, ordine non ſervato.

ITEM, Goronow filius Heylyn accipit ad firmam territorium de Penmaen et Lhyſfaen a magiſtro Godfrido M. pro certa pecuniæ ſumma, uſque ad finem quatuor annorum, quo facto dominus Robertus de C. cum equis et armis, et cum viginti quatuor equitibus venit ad inequitandum prædictum Goronow, occaſione dictæ terræ, ita quod ſic non fuit ſecurus tranſitus nec uſque Rodolanum, nec uſque ad juſticiarios niſi cum forti Warniſtura de ſua parentela et etiam de ſuis amicis.

ITEM, In reformationem pacis ultro factæ et firmatæ inter dominum regem, et ſuos ex una parte, et dominum principem et ſuos ex altera expreſſe continebatur; quod omnes injuriæ et tranſgreſſiones factæ ex utraque parte penitus remitterentur; hoc non

obſtante oppoſitum fuit contra quoſdam nobiles quoddam fore factum tempore guerræ, et ſtatim capti fuerunt, nec potuerunt a carcere liberari antequam ipſi pacarent ſedecem marcas.

ITEM, Cum cauſæ debent tractari et terminari ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem terræ noſtræ compelluntur homines cantredæ noſtræ ad jurandum in cauſis prædictis contra ſuam conſcientiam, nec aliter jurare patiuntur.

PRÆ nos conſtavimus trecentas marcas eundo ad dominum regem pro juſtitia petenda in prædictis articulis, ibidem morando, et ad propria redeundo; et cum nos credebamus habere plenam juſtitiam de ſingulis articulis prædictis, dominus rex tranſmiſit ad partes noſtras dominum Reginaldum de Grey, cui dictus dominus rex totam terram ad firmam conceſſit, ad tractandos homines prædictæ cantredæ prout ſuæ placeret voluntati: qui compulſit nos jurare per manum ſuam cum deberemus jurare per manum domini regis, et ubi crux domini regis levari deberet, quod crux prædicti Reginaldi levaretur, in ſignum quod ipſe erat verus dominus. Dictus vero Reginaldus in ſuo adventu ad partes Walliæ vendidit quibuſdam ſervientibus domini regis officia ſua, quæ prædicti ſervientes prius emerant a dom. rege pro 23 Marcis, et illa officia non deberent vendi niſi cum dominium dominorum mutaretur.

ITEM, Dominus rex dedit Maredudo filio Madoc magiſterium ſatellitum pro ſuo ſervitio, dominus Reginaldus de Grey abſtulit ab eo ſuum officium, nec a domino rege aſſequi potuit aliquam juſtitiam.

ITEM, Unus de conſilio prædicti Reginaldi nobis dixit ore tenus, ſcilicet Cynwricus Fichan, quod in adventu prædicti Reginald ad partes Walliæ, viginti quatuor homines de probioribus hominibus cujuſlibet cantredæ caperet ad incarcerandos ipſos perpetuo vel decapitandos: propter iſta gravimina, et alia quæ dictus Reginaldus nobis fecit, et etiam propter minas quas ipſe nobis intulit, videlicet quod ſi mitteremus aliquos nuncios ad curiam domini regis pro juſtitia petenda decapitarentur. Multa alia damna nobis allata, et injuriæ factæ; et quando mittebamus ad curiam domini regis, nuntii non permittebantur nec auſi fuerunt intrare, ſed expendebant multa inutiliter; ob iſta gravamina æſtimabamus nos eſſe liberos a juramento facto domino regis coram deo.

ITEM, Bledyn Seis et Anjanus filius Genaf de Ros quoddam malefactum fecerunt temporibus David filii Lewelini, & Henrici regis, de homicidiis factis tunc ſatisfactionem et emendam ſatisfacere monſtraverunt; et modo de novo Reginaldus de Grey vellet et cogetet illam emendam renovare, donec oportuit ipſos terram proprias relinquere.

ITEM, Cenſus et obventiones quos ſolvimus de veteri moneta per medietatem unius anni ante adventum novæ monetæ, cogerunt nos reddere eis novas monetas pro veteri et hoc ſub eodam numero.

Iſta

Iſta ſunt gravamina per dominum regem & ſuos juſticiarios illata Rheſo parvo de Yſtrad Tywy.

PRIMUM eſt, Poſtquam dictus Rhys dedit et conceſſit domino regi caſtrum ſuum apud Dynefowr poſt ultimam pacis formam: qui dictus Rheſus tunc temporis erat in tentilio domini Payn de Gadfry, eodem tempore interfecti fuerunt ſex nobiles viri domini Rhys, de quibus ſatisfactionem nec juſtitiam unquam habuit quod fuit eis damnum et gravamen.

ITEM, Johannes Giffard calumniavit eum Rheſum ſuper hæreditatem propriam apud Hirwryn, quicquid Rheſus inquiſivit a domino rege legem patriæ ſuæ, aut legem comitatus Caermardden, in quo comitatu anteceſſores dicti Rhys ſolebant habere leges, quando fierent in unitatem Anglicorum, et ſub eorum dominis; quod idem Rhys nullas leges habuit, et ſuam terram prædictam totaliter amiſit; vellent ipſum infringere in comitatu Herefordienſi, ubi numquam anteceſſores ejus reſponderunt.

PRÆTEREA in terris præfati Rheſi talia gravamina fuerunt per Anglicos facta, maxime pertinent ad eccleſiaſticos, videlicet in eccleſia Sancti Davidis quæ vocatur Llangadawc fecerunt ſtabula, et meretrices collocaverunt, et omnia bona quæ in ea continebantur omnino aſportaverunt atque totos domos combuſſerunt; et in eadem eccleſia juxta aram percuſſerunt capellanum cum gladio ad caput ejus et eum reliquerunt ſemivivum.

ITEM, In eadem patria eccleſiam Dyngad et eccleſiam Llantredaf ſpoliaverunt et combuſſerunt; cæteraſque eccleſias ex partibus illis omnino ſpoliaverunt calcibus, et libris, ac omnibus aliis ornamentis et rebus.

Gravamina Lewelini filii Rhys, & Howeli fratris ejus per dominum regem illata ſunt hæc.

POSTQUAM in formam pacis inter dominum Henricum tunc temporis regem Angliæ et dominum principem apud Rhydchwnna, tunc præfatus rex conceſſit, et per cartas ſuas confirmavit præfato principi homagium prædictorum nobilium *exos.* Prædicti nobiles fuerunt fideles et conſtantes cum præfato principe, juxta eorum donationem et cartarum ſuarum confirmationem: Edwardus nunc rex Angliæ prædictos nobiles dehæreditavit, denegando eiſdem omnes leges et conſuetudines Walliæ; ita quod non habuerunt terras ſuas nec per legem, nec per gratiam.] So long as.

Iſta

Iſta ſunt gravimina, damna, ſeu moleſtia per Anglicos illata filiis Maredudi, filii Oweni.

Primum eſt quamquam dominus rex conceſſit prædictis nobilibus ſuas proprias hæreditates poſt pacis formam, videlicet Geneur'glyn et Creudhyn; præfatus vero rex, contra ſuam donationem et pacis formam, terris ſupradictis antedictos nobiles dehæreditavit, denegando eidem omnes leges et conſuetudines Walliæ, et Angliæ, atque comitatus Caermardhyn.

Secundum eſt, Quod præfatus rex in ſuo comitatu de Cardigan, per ſuos juſticiarios antedictos nobiles compellit, ut ipſi traderent judicium ſuper ignobiles ac ſubditos patriæ, et quod tales homines e comiſſo judicium ſuper ipſos opponerent, ubi numquam anteceſſores eorum ab Anglicis talia ſuſtinuerunt.

Tertium eſt, Quod juſticiarii domini regis curiam eorum nobilium abſtulerunt, compellendo homines ſuos proprios coram eis ſatisfacere quia de jure coram prædictis nobilibus deberent ſatisfacere.

Quartum eſt, Quod quoddam naufragium in terris antedictorum nobilium fuit, qui quidem nobiles bona naufragii receperunt, ſicut anteceſſores eorum fecerunt, et hoc non fuit eis prohibitum per aliquos ex parte regis: antedictus vero rex contra eorum conſuetudinem et legem, occaſione illius Naufragii eoſdem damnavit in octoginta Marcis ſterlingorum; atque bona quæ in Naufragio continebantur omnino aſporta verunt.

Quintum eſt, Quod nullus noſtrum in comitatu Uffegd de Cardigan auſus eſſet venire inter Anglicos propter timorem carceris et niſi fuiſſet propter periculum Nobilibus Metrop. nihil contra honoram domini regis moverent.

Significant vero quod omnes Chriſtiani habent leges et conſuetudines in eorum propriis terris; Judæi vero inter Anglicos habent leges, ipſi vero in terris ſuis, et eorum anteceſſores habuerunt leges immutabiles et conſuetudines, donec Anglia poſt ultimam guerram ab eis leges ſuas abſtulerunt.

Memorandum de quærelis omnium nobilium virorum de Yſtradatuy eiſdem latis ac factis per Rogerum de Clyfford, & Rogerum Croſcil vicem domini Rogeri de Clyfford gerentem contra privilegium, juſtitiam, et conſuetudinem prædictorum virorum de Yſtratuy, ut dicunt et probant.

Primus articulus eſt quod cum dicti Rogeri cogerunt dictos homines de Yſtradatuy reddere ſibi pro conſuetudinibus ſuis viginti Marcas ſterlingorum, et poſt ſolutionem dictæ

dictæ pecuniæ cito fregerunt in hunc modum, quod posuerunt super 17 viros judicantes secundum jus Angliæ; quod nunquam fuit consuetudo nec privilegium dictæ patriæ.

ITEM. Madecus filius Bledyn condemnatus fuit in quatuor Marcio injustè.

ITEM. Lewelinus Rufus condemnatus fuit in quinque Marcis et 17 averiis contra privilegium et consuetudinem patriæ.

ITEM. Quod ipsi Rogeri fecerunt forestam super terram propriam virorum patriæ: et propter pedem unius cervi inventum id ore canis alicujus, tres homines fuerunt spoliati omnino.

ITEM. Michael ab Ygustyl condemnatus fuit in decem solidis pro facto patris sui, quadraginta annis elapsis.

ITEM. Cogerunt parentes Ennii à Strabonis ad reddendum suum relevagum in vita sua.

ITEM. Quod ipsi posuerunt super nos omnes satellitos de Anglicis, quod nunquam fuit nostra dimidietas.

ITEM. Dati fuimus domino Mauritio de Crumy, et vinditi fuimus domino Rogero de Clyfford, quod nunquam fuit super parentes nostros.

ITEM. Roberti de Monte alto petiit, à domino rege tertiam partem terræ de Monte alto in Ward, et dijudicata fuit coram domino rege quod numquam dicta terra fuit in Ward data.

Hi sunt articuli quæstionum illati ab hominibus de Penlhyn, injuste per constabularium Albi Monasterii & suos cives.

PRIMO. Cynwric filius Madoci fuit spoliatus ab eis tempore pacis octo libris, et quatuor bobus, et blado laboris unius aratri, per duos annos et valore trium librarum à tribus hominibus ejusdem; affirmat etiam quod solvet 16 libras per octo in valore, et majorem habuit injuriam imponendo manus in ipsum quam totum quod amisit, quia tunc erat constabularius domini principis apud Penllyn: non fuit alia causa dictæ spoliationis nisi quia dicebatur invenire 24 garbas de decimis in domo cujusdam hominis dicti Cynwrici.

ITEM. Adam Preco condemnatus fuit in septem solidis & octo denariis, et equa valoris unius libræ, imponendo manus in ipsum et liberando latronem dictæ equæ, quia ipse venerat ibidem cum dicto latrone capto.

ITEM.

ITEM. Endevot ab Gruffydh condemnatus fuit in 27s. nec fuit causa nisi quia vendidit equam unam ad unum miliare citra villam, sicut solebant à tempore quo non extat memoria, quando veniebant ad nundinas.

ITEM. Adaf Ddu condemnatus fuit in 30s. eo quod duo boves quos proposuerat vendere in foro Albi Monasterii exibant villam ipso conveniente, et captus fuit et detentus usque ad solutionem 30s. nec ipsi boves exierant nisi da Plateo qua stabant usque ad aliam Plateam.

ITEM. Biryt filius Gwyn, condemnatus fuit in quinque solidis, et in carcerem ductus; eo quod percussit unum bovem indomitum ipsum calcantem in foro.

ITEM. Yorwerch ab Gorgonon condemnatus fuit 7s. eo quod evaserat quondam de carcere eorum tempore guerræ, et in tempore pacis inventus fuit in dicta villa, et hoc contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum regem, et dominum principem.

ITEM. Duo famuli Kenwric ap Gruffydh condemnati fuerunt in duabus Marcis, eo quod dicebant ipsos non solvisse toletum postquam solverant.

ITEM. Caducanus Niger famulus constabularii de Penlyhyn captus fuit et condemnatus in 6s. et 4d. eo quod nolebat recipere veterem monetam pro nova.

A servant. ITEM. Gruffydh ap Goronow *sercinarius* domini Principis spoliatus fuit uno bove valoris 11s. et 8d. et postquam arraveret constabularius cum dicto bove per septem menses, solvit dictus Gruffynus pro dicto bove, 40d.

ITEM. Howel ap David spoliatus fuit per satellites albi Monasterii duobus solidis extra villam, eo quod denegaverat prius munera ut solent satellites petere.

ITEM. David ap Gronow ab Eynion spoliatus fuit 30s. eo quod quidam cives albi monasterii dixit, quod quidam de Penlhyn, qui mortuus fuerat, denegabatur ei in quibusdam rebus.

ITEM. Duo famuli Y bongam capti fuerunt et condemnati in duabus libris, eo quod posuerunt manum in quendam latronem qui spoliabat eos in villa per noctem, et liberaverunt latronem.

ITEM. Eyneon filius Ichael captus et verberatus fuit, et spoliatus duobus bobus valoris, 24s. et 6d. nulla alia de causa, nisi quod boves ipso connivente moverunt se de platea ad iliam plateam.

ITEM. Adaf ap Ychael condemnatus fuit in duabus libris pro una libra, et ipse posuerat in juramento cujusdam civis de albo monasterio quod non tenebatur nisi in una libra pro principe, nec voluit jurare, et ideo spoliatus fuit una libra.

ITEM.

Item. Guyan Maeſtran ſpoliatus fuit 5 s. eo quod dicebat quod quidam Mercator de Ardydwy tenebatur eis in quibuſdam rebus, cum ipſe nec erat de dicta Balliva: item condemnatus fuit in 8 d. quia dicebant ipſum vendere quaſdam oves extra villam cum ipſe non vendiderat.

Item. Famulus Lewelini ab Gwyn ſpoliatus fuit ſeptem ovibus, et 5 s. et ſuo pallio, eo quod dicebant ipſum eſſe de domino Griffydh ab Gwyn cum ipſe non erat.

Item. Iorwerch ab Meylir captus fuit et condemnatus in 15 s. cum pallio, eo quod denegavit dare munus ſatellitibus quod petebant, ipſi finxerunt eum in villa pernoctare.

Item. Cives albi monaſterii rapuerunt à Madoco Rufo filio Ychael unum bovem valoris, 11 s. et 6 d.

Ista omnia facta fuerunt per Henricum Gamber dicti loci conſtabularium, cum aliis innumerabilibus articulis.

Item. Ybicre captus fuit in negotio domini principis, et condemnatus in 5 s. abſque aliqua cauſa.

Hæc ſunt gravamina Goronow filii Heylyn, viz.

Quod quidem Villanus dictus Coronon vocatus fuit ad curiam domini regis occaſione indebitæ cauſæ. Tunc dictus Goronow venit ad ſuum villanum defendendum, et petiit pro ipſo veritatem à domino juſticiario, aut legem qua utuntur homines ſuæ patriæ; omnibus autem his eidem denegatis, dictus villanus condemnatus fuit in 27 libris, et tribus obolis: tunc dictus Goronow adivit Londonium pro juſtitia habenda, et expendit quinque Marcas et quatuor Solidos, et promiſſa fuit ſibi juſtitia, et nullam fuit aſſecutus.

Item. Quidam nobilis fuit interfectus, videlicet, qui nutriverat filium dicti Goronow, et ille interfector captus fuit et deportatus fuit apud caſtrum de Ruthlan: tunc dictus Goronow et quidem de parentela interfecti petierunt juſtitiam de interfectore: tunc denegata eis juſtitia, quidam fuerunt incarcerati, et ille interfector fuit in Caſtello liberatus. Tunc dictus Goronow interum adivit Londonium propter ſupradicta gravamina ad juſtitiam petendam, et expendit, 20 Marcas, 3 s. 4 d. Et dominus rex promiſit eidem plenariam juſtitiam, et nullam fuit adeptus cum pervenit ad patriam ſuam.

Item. Tertio ex defectu juſtitiæ oportuit dictum Goronow adire Londonium occaſionibus ſupradictis pro juſtitia petenda et expendit illa vice 18 Marcas, 6 s. 8 d. bonæ et legalis Monetæ; et tunc ſimpliciter promiſit dominus rex eidem juſtitiam perhibere; et quando credebat habere juſtitiam, tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, et dixit aperte quod ipſe deberit tractare totam patriam per chartas domini regis, et abſtulit totam Ballivam à dicto Goronow; quam ſibi dominus rex conceſſit, et vendidit illam Ballivam ad voluntatem ſuam, et tunc petiit dictus Goronow juſtitiam à domino Reginaldo de gravaminibus ſupradictis, et nullam fuit adeptus.

ITEM. Dictus Goronow recepit terram, videlicet, Penmaen et Lysfaen adfirmam de Godfrido Merlyn, uſque ad finem quatuor annorum pro certa pecuniæ ſumma. Tunc Robertus de Cruquer venit cum equis ſuis et armis ad quærendum dictam terram per vim, et quia dictus Goronow non permitteret auferre dictam terram ab eodem uſque terminum præfignatum, tunc vocatus fuit ad curiam dictus Goronow illa occaſione; tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, cum viginti quatuor equitibus armatis ad proponendum capere dictum Goronow, vel ad eundem decapitandum; et quia viderunt quod non poſſent implere ſuum propoſitum illo die, vocaverunt dictum Goronow craſtino die apud Ruthlan, et tunc dictus Goronow habuit conſilium ita quod non deberent adire dictam curiam: iterum dictus Goronow vocatus fuit adplacitum apud Caerwys, et non auſus fuit adire dictum placitum niſi per conductum domini epiſcopi Aſaphenſis, quia dictus Reginaldus et ſui complures ibidem erant armati.

ITEM. Propter iſta gravamina de quibus nullam habuit juſtitiam niſi laborare et expendere duas libr. quatuor Marcas, et 9d; et quia non auſus fuit in propria perſona adire curiam, miſit quendam nunciam deportantem duas literas, unam ad dominum regem, et aliam ad fratrem Lewelinum, ad ſignandum domino regi quod amitteret totam patriam, et dictum Goronow quia non obſervavit illud quod eiſdem promiſit; et quia nullam poſſent homines de Ros et Arglifeld aſſequi juſtitiam, et quia noluit corrigere ſive emendare iſta gravamina propter hoc amiſit totam patriam.

SUPPLICANT ſanctitati veſtræ, domine archiepiſcope Cantuarienſis totius Angliæ primas, nobiles viri de Tegengyl, et vobis demonſtrant quod cum prædicti nobiles fecerunt homagium domino Edwardo regi Angliæ, ipſe rex eiſdem promiſit quod eoſdem immunes obſervaret et indemnes, tam in bonis, libertatibus, juribus, juriſdictionibus, privilegiis quibus uſi fuerunt tempore Henrici regis per ſuum obtentum privilegium; ex quibus privilegiis fuerunt poſtmodo ſpoliati.

IMPRIMIS. Juribus et conſuetudinibus partiæ fuerunt ſpoliati, viz. prædictus Edwardus compellendo quod ipſi procederent in cauſis ſecundum legem Anglicanam, cum ſecundum tenorem privilegii ſui ſecundum legem Wallicanam procedere debuiſſent, viz. apud Tref Edwyn, et apud Ruthlan, et apud Caerwys; et optimati de patria fuerunt manu capti quia ipſi provocabant quod ipſi procederent in cauſa apud Tref Edwyn ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem Wallicanam ſecundum tenorem privilegii.

SECUNDO. Quia unus juſticiarius duceret in cauſis peragendis, alius ſuus prædeceſſor in irritum revocaret, viz. in cauſa Davidis Reginaldus de Grey recitavit, proceſſum quem ſuus anteceſſor ratum habuit, et etiam approbavit.

TERTIO. Quod ſi unus nobilis de patria fuiſſet propter calumniam ſibi impoſitam captus, quod non remitterent eundem pro *cautione fideviſſoria* evadere, quod facere debuiſſent.

Surety.

QUARTO.

QUARTO. Quod tres unius nobilis deducti ad caſtrum fuerunt de Flynt, propter parvam accuſationem, una cum averiis ſuis, nec potuerunt de caſtro devenire, nec dilationem obtinere donec unuſquiſque dedit unum bovem conſtabulario de Flynt, et donec ſolverunt tres libras Kynwrico Seis pro dilatione habenda.

QUINTO. Reginaldus de Grey terras virorum de Merton dedit et conceſſit abbati de Baſingwerk ordinis Ciſterciend. contra legem Wallicanam, et patræ conſuetudim; et contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum Lewelinum principem et dominum regem, viz. 16 cantatas terræ.

SEXTO. Mirantur nobiles et optimati patriæ pro eo quod dominus rex fecit ædificare caſtrum ſuper terram et poſſeſſionem magnatum, et mandavit dominus rex juſticiario ſuo quod ipſe ſolveret eque bonam terram illis ſpoliatis et adhuc aliquam terram, nec ſuæ terræ æſtimationem ſunt conſecuti in Flynt.

SEPTIMO. Reginaldus de Grey non permitteret poſſeſſores ſylvarum uti ſylvis ſuis, donec ab eiſdem pretium et præmium fuiſſet conſecutus, et aliis ruſticis gratis permitteret ſylvam prædictorum abſcidere, cum non debuiſſent ſecundum patriæ conſuetudinem et legem Wallicanam.

OCTAVO. Cum homines de Cyrchynan fecerunt pactum cum domino rege, quod cum ipſi concederent dimidietatem cujuſdam prati, ad hoc quod dominus rex non permitteret ſylvam prædictorum abſcidere Howelo filio Gruffydd præſente, et poſtmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictum pratum infirmavit, viz. concedendo aliis quod abſciderent ſylvam prædictorum, et eoſdem dimidietate prati ſui ſpoliando.

NONO. Filius Kynwrici ab Goronow fuit captus apud Ruthlan culpa ſua minime præcedente, niſi vellet pignus ſuum *acquietare* a quoddam muliere, et conſtabularius de Ruthlan fecit eundem detradi in carcerem injurioſe, nec potuit exinde deliberari donec prædictus fuit condemnatus ultra ſuorum bonorum *hypotheca*. Redeem the gage. Velus.

DECIMO. Cum ballivus de Ruthlan erat in convivio apud villam Four Hutmus de Limayl quendam virum nobilem crudeliter vulneravit in præſentia ballivi ſupradicti; cujus vulneris occaſione prædictus Hutmus fuit in octo libris condemnatus: et quum ille cui injuria fuiſſet facta petere voluiſſet prædictas libras, eundem fecit detrudi in carcerem una.

UNDECIMO. Nuntii Reginaldi de Grey propoſuerunt facere illud quod erat abſurdum et diſſonum juris ſecundum canonicas ſanctiones; videlicet petere ab eiſdem quod ipſi ararent Reginaldo de Grey, et quod ipſi ſeminarent illam araturam; et illi fuerunt nuntii, viz. Kynwricus Seis et Hutmus de Limayl, quod prædictus vero Kynwricus in præſentia omnium de patria juravit, niſi omnes de patria ararent quod ipſi infra tempus pœniterent, et ipſi multum timuerunt metu qui potuit cadere in conſtantem virum.

Duodecimo. Quod præcones de Tegeyngl emerunt officium præconiæ pro 30 marcis a domino rege, et poſtmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictos præcones tam pecunia quam præconia ſpoliavit contra legem et conſuetudinem Anglicanam.

Tertiodecimo. Septem nobiles fuerunt interfecti minus juſte ab Anglicis, et adhuc parentes prædictorum aliquam ſatisfactionem non habuerunt, cum illi malefactores fuerunt capti; et poſtmodum prædictos malefactores remiſerunt prædicti conſtabularii impunitos.

Quartodecimo. Conſtabularius unus de Ruthlan detradit duos Satellites domini regis in carcere, pro eo quod ipſi tenuerunt aliquem Anglicum qui grave delictum commiſit hominem alium vulnerando.

Isti omnes articuli in præmiſſis nominati, fuerunt perpetrati contra prædictorum virorum libertatem, juriſdictionem, et privilegium et contre legem et conſuetudinem Wallicanam; videlicet, quod non erant auſi eorum quærelas domino regi per ſuos nuncios denuntiare, propter metum Reginaldi et timorem, qui metus potuit cadere in conſtantem virum: quia prædictus Reginaldus ſua voce Dilvada fuit proteſtatus; quod ſin inveniret nuntios prædictorum quod eoſdem decapitaret prout nobis ex parte unius ex conſilio ſuo fuit certive intimatum. In tantum quod lingua non poteſt proferre, nec penna ſcribere in quantum prædicti homines de Tegeyngl fuerunt aggravati.

Openly.

Conqueritur vobis, domine archiepiſcope Cantuarienſis totius Angliæ primas, Lewelinus filius Griffini filii Madoci de conſtabulario de cruce Oſwaldi regis, et de hominibus ejuſdem villæ, qui prædictum Lewelinum tertia parte cujuſdam villæ quæ vocatur Ledrot, et curia patris ſui, ſine obſervatione juris patriæ ſuæ vel conſuetudine inequiter ſpoliarunt.

Præterea. Prædictus conſtabularius et ſui complures eundem Lewelinum communi paſtura, qua prædictus Lewelinus uſus fuit temporibus retroactis, ordine juris patriæ minime obſervaro, ſpoliarunt, et in 70 libris occaſione prædictæ paſturæ condemnaverint. Cæterum dominu rex Angliæ conceſſit quaſdam literas cuidam Baſtardo, ſcilicet Griffino Fychan ab Cynlhaeth, ad litigandum contra eundem Lewelinum pro toto domino ſuo obtinendo, quarum literarum occaſione idem Lewelinus expendit ccl. ſterlingorum legalis uſualiſæ monetæ.

Iterum. Prædictus conſtabularius compulſit prædictum Lewelinum ad mittendum duos ſuos nobiles ad eos ſuſpendendos ad prædictum conſtabularium quicquid viri nobiles ſuſpendi minime debuiſſent, quam ſuſpenſionem nollent parentes prædictorum hominum ſuſtinuiſſe pro ccc libris ſterlingorum. Poſtmidum prædictus conſtabularius incacerravit bis 60 homines prædicti Lewelini nulla præmiſſa ratione, niſi quod quidam gareo emiſit quandam vocem, nec potuerunt evadére ſuum carcerem donec quilibet eorum ſolvit decem ſolidos pro ſua deliberatione.

Item.

Item. Quando homines prædicti Lewelini venirent ad forum ad ſuos boves vendendos, prædictus conſtabularius faceret boves deduci ad caſtrum, nec poſtmodum boves reſtituerit, nec pretium ſolveret venditori: præſertim idem conſtabularius et ſui ceperunt jumenta prædicti Lewelini ad terram ſuam propriam, et de eiſdem jumentis fecerunt ſuam voluntatem.

Præterea. Juſticiarii domini regis compulſerunt prædictum Lewelinum ad tradendum quandam villam filiis Eneoni filii Griffini; qui quidem prædictam villam, nec a ſe, nec a prædeceſſoribus fuerunt conſecuti, ordine juris patriæ ſuæ in hac parte minime obſervato.

Idem. Prædictus conſtabularius abſtulit equum ballivi prædicti Lewelini ſine aliqua ratione, nec ſibi aliquid debebatur; nec adhuc prædictus ballivus ſatisfactionem aliquam eſt conſecutus.

Cæterum. Quando prædictus Lewelinus volebat adire villam quæ vocatur Caerlleon cum literis domini regis ad comperiendum ibidem in die ſibi aſſignata; filii Griffini filii Gwenynny et armigeri domini Rogeri Staraingę ex conſilio Rogeri eundem Lewelinum et ſuos incarcerarunt in ſui injuriam et ſuorum non modicam læſionem; quam injuriam et læſionem nollet prædictus Lewelinus et ſui ſuſtinuiſſe pro ccc marcis ſterlingorum; nec ab eiſdem potuit evadere donec invenit pro ſe ſufficientem cautionem.

His et aliis receptis in ſcriptis acceſſit, archiepiſcopus ad dominum regem; ſupplicans ei humiliter ut gravamina ſupradicta dignetur avertere, et ea correctione debita terminare: et ſaltem pro tanto habere exceſſus Wallenſium excuſatos: qui reſpondit Wallenſes injuriis ſibi illatis eſſe excuſabiles, quia omni tempore poratus extiterat omni facere juſtitiam conquerenti: quo audito, archiepiſcopus regi iterum ſupplicavit ut permitteret Wallenſes pro ſuis gravaminibus exponendis et remediis afferendiis ap ipſum habere acceſſum liberum et regreſſum: qui reſpondit quod libere permitteret eos ad ſe accedere ſed et redira; ſi ſecundum juſtitiam regreſſus eorum meritis reſponderet. Quibus auditis acceſſit archiepiſcopus ad principem Walliæ in Snawdoniam ut tam ipſum quam Davidem fratrem ſuum et cæteros Wallenſes ad aliquam humilitatis regulam ipſorum animos inclinaret; per quam poſſet qui ipſorum nuntius regiam clementiam ad ipſos admittendos in gratiam inclinare. Poſt varios autem tractatus reſpondit princeps: quod paratus erat voluntati regiæ ſa ſupponere duobus præſuppoſitis, ſalva ſcilicet conſcientia ſua qua populo ſuo aſſiſtere tenebatur; ſalva etiam condeſcentia ſtatus ſui. Quæ cum archiepiſcopus retuliſſet domino regi, reſpondit dominus rex quod nullum alium de pace volebat cum principe ac ſubditis ſuis habere tractatum, niſi quod ipſi ſupponerent ſe in omnibus regiæ voluntati: et cum conſtaret archiepiſcopo Wallenſes nullo modo velle ſe regiæ voluntati ſupponere, niſi præcite in forma eis tolerabili et accepta, tractatum habuit ex permiſſioni domini regis cum magnatibus tunc præſentibus, qui omnes conſenſerunt in articulos infra ſcriptos, quos per fratrem Joannem Wallenſem inſcriptos principi et ſuis archiepiſcopus deſtinavit.

Primo.

Primo. Quod dominus rex de quatuor cantredis et terris ab eo datis, magnatibus ſuis nullum vult habere tractatum, nec etiam de inſula Angleſey.

Idem. De tenentibus eorum cantredorum ſi ad ſuam pacem venerint, proponit facere prout condecet regiam majeſtatem, credimus tamen quod aget cum eis miſericorditer ſi ad pacem venerint, et ad hoc proponimus una cum cæteris amicis efficaciter laborare, ſperantes efficaciter exaudiri.

Item. De facto domini Lewelini nullum potuimus aliud habere reſponſum niſi quod ſimpliciter et abſolute conformet ad domini regis voluntatem, ut credimus firmiter quod dominus rex cum eo aget miſericorditer, et ad hoc intendimus cum totis viribus laborare cum cæteris amicis exaudiendis ut confidimus cum effectu.

Primo. Quod proceres hanc formam gratiæ regiæ conceperunt; ut videlicet domino Lewelino ſe regiæ gratiæ ſubmittente, provideatur ei per regem honorifice in mille libratis ſterlingorum de aliquo honorifico comitatu, in aliquo loco Angliæ; ita tamen quod prædictus Lewelinus ponat dominum regem in Seyſina Snaudonum abſolute, perpetue et quiete. Et ipſe rex filiæ principis ſecundum condiceſtiam ſui proprii ſanguinis providebit, et ad hoc ſperant ſe poſſe regis animum inclinare.

Item. Si contingat Lewelinum ducere uxorem et habere de ea puellam maſculam, intendunt impetrare proceres a domino rege, ut proles illa ſuccedat perpetuo hæreditario Lewelini in terra maſculorum liberorum videlicet comitatu.

Item. De populo principi immediate ſubjecto tam in Snaudon quam alibi providebiter ſecundum deum prout complete ſaluti ejuſdem populi et honori; et ad hoc eſt regia clementia ſatis prona, populo deſiderans conſolabiliter providere.

Primo. Quod ſi ad honorem Dei at ſuum juxta crucis aſſumptæ debitum velit in terræ ſanctæ ſubſidium proficiſci, providebitur ei honorifice ſecundum condeſcentiam ſtatus ſui, ita tamen quod non redeat niſi per regiam clementiam vocatus: rogabimus etiam dominum regem, et ſperamus efficaciter exaudiri, ut provideat proli ſuæ.

His omnibus motu noſtro ſubjungimus Wallenſibus omnia pericula imminere longe gravius quam eis diximus oraculo vivæ vocis: ſcribimus dure valde ſed longe durius eſt obrui vi et armis, et in fine totaliter extirpari, quoniam omni die pericula nobis imminentia aggravantur.

Item. Longe difficilius eſt omni tempore in guerra eſſe in anguſtia cordis et corporis vivere, et ſemper in inſidiis malignari, et cum hoc vivere et mori in peccato mortali continuo et rancore.

Item. De quo doleremus valde ſi ad pacem minime veniatis, indubitanter timemus contra vos debere ſententiam eccleſiaſticam intolerabiliter aggravari pro exceſſibus veſtris;

de quibus non poteritis vos aliquatenus excuſare in quibus invenietis miſericordiam, ſi ad pacem veniatis et de his nobis reſpondeatur in ſcriptis.

Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto patri ac domino J. *Dei gratia Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi ac totius Angliæ primati ſuus in Chriſto devotus filius Lewelinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, ſalutem cum deſideriis benevolentiæ filialis ac reverentiis multimodis et honoribus.*

SANCTE pater, ſicut voſmet conſuluiſtis, ad gratiam regiam parati ſumus venire ſub forma tamen nobis ſecura et honeſta: ſed quia forma contenta in articulis nobis miſſis minime ſecura eſt et honeſta prout nobis et conſilio noſtro videtur; et de qua multum admirantur omnes audientes, eo quod plus tendit ad deſtructionem et ruinam populi noſtri ac noſtram, quam ad noſtram honeſtatem et ſecuritatem, nullo modo permittit conſilium noſtrum nos in ea conſentire ſi vellemus; alii quoque nobiles et populus nobis ſubjectus nullo modo conſentirent in eandem ob indubitatam deſtructionem et diſſipationem quæ inde eis poſſent evenire.

TAMEN ſupplicamus veſtræ ſanctæ paternitati quatenus ad reformationem pacis debitæ, honeſtæ, et ſecutæ, ob quam tot labores aſſumpſiſtis, proinde laboretis, collationem habentes ad articulos quos vobis mittimus in ſcriptis: honorabilius enim eſt et rationi magis conſonum ut de domino rege teneamus terras in quibus jus habemus, quam nos exhæredare et eas tradere alienis. Datum apud Garthcelyn.

PRIMO. Quod licet dominus rex de quatuor Cantredis et aliis terris ab eo datis magnatibus ſuis, ac de Inſula Angleſey nullum voluerit habere tractatùm, tamen conſilium principis non permittit, ſi contingat aliquam pacem fieri, quin tractetur de premiſſis; eo quod iſti Cantredi ſunt de puro principis tenemento, in quibus merum jus habuerunt principes et prædeceſſores ſui à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti, tum quia ſunt de principatu, cujus confirmationem princeps obtinet pro bonæ memoriæ Octobonum ſedis *Apoſtolicæ* legatum in Anglia, conſenſu domini regis et ſui patris ad hoc intervenienti, ſicut pater Chartas eorum inſpicienti, tum quia etiam equius eſt quod veri hæredes teneant dictos Cantredos de domino rege pro pecunia et ſervitiis conſuetis, quam eos dari extraneis et Advenis, qui et ſi fuerunt regere aliquam tamen per vim et potentiam. Pope.

DICUNT etiam comiter omnes tenentes de omnibus Cantredis Walliæ quod non ſunt auſi venire ad voluntatem regis ut de eis diſponat ſecundum regiam majeſtatem.

PRIMO. Quod dominus rex nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec Chartas ſervavit ab initio verſus dominum ſuum principem et ipſos.

SECUNDO. Quia regales in eccleſias et eccleſiaſticas perſonas inivit crudeliſſimam tyrannidem.

TERTIO.

Tertio. Quod non tenentur ad prædicta, cum ſint homines principis qui etiam paratus eſt de dictis tenementis domino regi obedire per ſervitia conſueta. Ad id quod dicit quod princeps veniet ſimpliciter et abſolute ad voluntatem domini regis: reſpondetur quod cum nulli de dictis Cantredis auſi ſint venire ad talem voluntatem propter cauſas prædictas, nec comitas eorum permittat principem venire ad dictam voluntatem modo prædicto.

Item. Quod proceres regni procurent ut domino principi provideatur in mille libratis in aliquo loco Angliæ; dicatur quod illam proviſionem non debet acceptare cum ſit procurata per dictos proceres, qui nituntur ad exhæreditationem principis, ut habeant terras ſuas in Wallia. Item idem princeps non tenetur dimittere hæreditatem ſuam et progenitorum ſuorum in Wallia à tempore Bruti, et etiam ſibi confirmatam per Romanæ ſedis legatum, ut dictum eſt; et terram in Anglia acceptare, unde linguam, mores et leges ac conſuetudines ignorat; ubi poſſent etiam ſibi quædam malitiori imponi ex odio inveterato à vicinis Anglicis quibus terra illa privaretur in perpetuum.

Item. Ex quo rex proponit privare principem ſua priſtina hæreditate, non videtur probabile quod rex permitteret ei habere terram in Anglia ubi nullum jus videtur habere. Et ſi etiam non permitteretur principi terra ſterilis et inculta jure hæreditario ab antiquo et debita in Wallia; nullatenus permitteretur eidem in Anglia terra fertilis culta et habundans.

Item. Quod dictus princeps ponat dominum regem in Seyſino Snawdon abſolute, perpetue et quiete: dicatur quod cum Snawdon ſit de appendiciis principatus Walliæ, quem ipſe et anteceſſores ſui tenuerunt à tempore Bruti, ut dictum eſt; conſilium ſuum non permittit eum renuntiare dicto loco, et locum nimis ſibi debitum in Anglia receptare.

Item. Populus Snawdon dicit, quod licet princeps vellet dare regi Seyſinam eorundem, ipſi tamen nollent homagium facere alicui extraneo, cujus linguam, mores, legeſque penitus ignorant. Quia ſic poſſet contingere eos in perpetuum captivari, ac crudeliter tractari, ſicut alii Cantredi circum quaque per Ballivos regis ac alios regales alias tractati fuerunt, crudelius quam Saraceni; prout patet in rotulis quos vobis miſerunt ſancte pater. Iſta ſunt dicenda pro Davide fratre principis. Quod cum voluerit terram ſanctam adire hoc faciet voluntarie et ex voto pro Deo non pro homine, unde invitus non peregrinabitur Deo dante; qui coacta ſervitia Deo novit diſplicere. Et ſi contingat ipſum in poſterum terram ſanctam adire bona ductus voluntate, non propter hoc deberent ipſe et hæredes ſui in perpetuum exhæreditari; immò potius præmium obtinere. Præterea quia princeps, et ſui cauſa odii, ad aliquos concipiendi, vel lucri captandi non moverunt guerram alienas terras invadendo; ſed ſuam propriam hæreditatem jura libertateſque, necnon ſuorum defendendo; dominuſque rex et ſui odio inveterato, et cauſa lucrandi terras noſtras guerram fecit: credimus in hoc juſtam guerram nos fovere, et ſperamus in hac Deum nos velle juvare, ac in eccleſiarum devaſtatores

vaſtatores divinam ultionem convertere, qui eccleſias funditus deſtruxerunt ac combuſſerunt, ſacra ex eis rapuerunt, Sacerdotes, Clericos, religioſos, claudos, ſurdos, mutos, infantes, ubera lactentes, ac debiles et miſerabiles perſonas, ut uſque ſexu occiderunt; et alia enormia perpetrarunt, ſicut in dictis rotulis vobis tranſmiſſis continetur: unde abſit à ſancta paternitate veſtra ſententiam aliquam fulminare in alios quam in illos qui prædicta perpetrârunt. Nos enim qui regalibus prædicta paſſi fuimus, ſperamus à vobis ſuper præmiſſis paternum ſolatium, et remedium obtinere; et in prædictos ſacrilegos eorumque fautores, qui nullo ſuper his privilegio defenduntur, animadvertere; ne præ defectu dignæ correctionis ſeu ultionis in eos exercendo prædicta mala in perpetuum per alios trahantur in exemplum.

Murantur etiam quamplures in terra noſtra, quod conſuluiſtis nobis dimittere terram noſtram propriam, et alienam adire inter hoſtes noſtros comerſando; quia ex quo non poſſumus pacem habere in terra quæ noſtra eſt ipſo jure noſtro, minime poterimus in aliena terra inter hoſtes noſtros pacifice conſervari: et licet durum ſit in guerra et inſidiis vitam ducere; durius tamen eſt funditus deſtrui, et ad nihilum, niſi Deus avertat, deduci populum Chriſtianum qui nihil aliud quærit niſi ſua jura defendere; unde neceſſitas ad hoc nos cogit, et inimicorum cupiditas non offendit; et vos, ſancte pater, coram nobis diciſtis, quod vos ſententiaſtis in omnes qui impediunt pacem cauſa odii vel lucri; ſed manifeſtum eſt qui ſunt illi qui guerrant iſtis cauſis.

Timor enim mortis, et incarcerationis, vel perpetuæ exhæreditationis, nulla obſervatio fœderum pactorum vel chartarum, tyrannica dominatio, vel multa alia conſimilia cogunt nos eſſe in guerris; et hoc Deo et vobis offendimus, et petimus à vobis paternum adjutorium, ut patet in literis noſtris.

Ad hoc multi alii in regno Angliæ offenderunt regem et tamen nullos exhæredavit in perpetuum, ut dicitur; unde ſi aliqui ex noſtris ipſum offenderunt injuſte, dignum eſt ut ſatisfaciant prout poſſint ſine exhæredatione; et ſicut in vobis confidimus, ſupplicamus quod ad hoc laboretis ſancte pater: nam etſi nobis imponatur quod fregimus pacem, tamen illi verius fregerunt qui nullum fœdus vel pactum nobis ſervaverunt; qui nullam emendam de quærimoniis nobis fecerunt, ut patet in rotulis.

Primo auditis reſcripſit Archiepiſcopus Walleſibus in hæc verba:

IN nomine domini, Amen. Cum nos frater J. permiſſione divina Cantuarienſis eccleſiæ miniſter humilis totius Angliæ primas, ſcientes noſtro incumbere officio, pro vobis domine Leweline princeps Walliæ ac ſubditis veſtris exponere nos et noſtra ſpretis viarum incommodis et periculis, veſtram adjuverimus præſentiam oves erroneas reducturi; et ſpeculatoris fungentis officio vobis myſteriæ vivæ vocis diximus pericula

quæ genti veſtræ videbamus luce clarius imminere, ſubjunctis remediis eorundem; teſte optantes altiſſimo juxta pontificale debitum cuilibet veſtrum eccleſiam minimo de corpore noſtro pontem facere ad ſalutis littora reducendo. Tandem veſtris auditis precibus et anguſtiis eas ut neceſſitatis veſtræ nuntius præſentavimus regiæ majeſtati, quem ab olim ad pœnitentes adverſarios introitum ſcimus eſſe propitium; ut quidam de veſtris et aliis ut nobis certis conſtat indiciis ipſius clementia abutantur. Tractavimus inſuper cum magnatibus et proceribus Angliæ præſentibus de modificione gratiæ regiæ ipſorum aſſiſtentia noſtris vobis ſupplicationibus impretranda, cujus modificationis ſeriem per ſervum Dei fratrem Johannem Wallenſem vobis miſimus in ſcriptum, una cum conſilio noſtro quod vobis ſecundum deum ſalubrius videbatur; vos autem deliberationem veſtram nobis in quadam remiſiſtis cedula per eundem, cujus cedulæ pernitioſas latebras vobis paterno affectu præſentibus aperimus. Primò igitur dictis vos juri nolle cedere quatuor Cantredarum, quia progenitores veſtri à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti in eiſdem juris plenitudinem habuerunt; ſed ne ſimpliciores in vobis de ſucceſſu hujuſmodi gloriantur, ſalva in omnibus pace veſtra, vobis licet inviti ipſius radicem originis ex geſtis Britonum et Anglorum ad memoriam revocamus. Diſperſis enim olim Trojanis pro eo quod Paridis adulterium defenſarunt; fatemur progenitores veſtræ multitudinis interpoſitis quibuſdam ſeditionibus fugæ ſibi præſidium aſſumpſiſſe; et utinam non maneat in eis hujuſmodi contagii memoria qui ſic libera matrimonia parvipendunt ut ſpurios et inceſtu genitos à ſucceſſione hæreditaria ut dicitur non repellunt, quin potius uxores legitimæ Howeli da patrociniæ, contra Evangelium dato repudio fama teſte, vel potius infamia repelluntur; qualiter demum Brutus Dianæ præſagiis non ſine diaboli præſtigiis per idolatriam immolato Cervæ Venatitiæ obtentis, inſulam Britannicam pervaſerit per famoſas hiſtorias declaratur; pervaſerit inquam inhabitatam inſulam, agentibus ſtatura proceris quarum peremit fortiſſimum Corineus. Gentibus inquam de boreali praſapia quæ non ſolum ..... verum etiam Scythiam trans Danubium ab occidente noſtro per Aquilonis latera uſque in Orientales terminos occupavit. Quam ergo quæſumus fecerunt vobis injuriam Angli et Saxone ejuſdem generis, ſi vos proceſſu temporis ab uſurpato dominio perturbarunt: cum ſcriptum eſſe noveritis, væ qui prædaris in omne prædaberis. Non oportet autem ſimplices in radice adulterina proceſſu idololatriæ, et uſurpationis ſpoliis gloriari. Progenitores inſuper veſtri moderniores, cum enervati deliciis ſibi non ſufficerent defenlandis, obruentibus eos Scotis et Pictis, denegato etiam eis Romani imperii præſidio poſtulato, ad Germanorum refugium convolârunt, qui venientes repudiarunt, hoſtes uſque in præſentem diem ſuarum labores manuum manducantes. Ex his cauſis quum ſedet ſola à vobis inſula olim populo plenâ, veſtro proſcribente Jeremia, quia prophetæ tui viderunt tibi vana et ſtulta; item prædictorum juribus Cantredorum confirmationem legati frivole allegatis, cum non fuerit intentionis ſuæ jura regia, ſeu etiam jura civilia et Canonica, ſicut nec potuit enervare: pro crimine enim leſæ majeſtatis, in quod vos incidiſſe dicimini, juxta quod ſcribitur ſexta quæſtione. Secunda paragrapho; *Si quis cum militibus*, et 22. Quæſt. *ultima capitulo* de forma fidelitatis. Omne perit jus hæreditarium et expirat: in Cantredis igitur prædictis in quibus ab olim

domino

domino regi jus dicitur adquisitum, et in Snawdon ac cæteris quæ teneris jure hæreditario, nihil potestis sicut nec subditi vestri, ut ex prædallegatis videtur, nisi ex sola regia clementia præstolari. Dicitur demum quod populus non vult ad gratiam regiam convolare, quia dominus rex, nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec chartarum fœdera principi conservavit. Et nos quærimus ex cujus vel quorum istud sit judicio declaratum, nisi per vos qui in causa propria judicium usurpatis, et per singulas lustrales periodos pacem infringitis, innocentes jugulatis, incendia facitis, munitiones regias pro viribus vastatis; ac domini Howeli da quitalia injuriarum remedia in lege sua quam vidimus instituit, autoritate quam ei diabolus delegavit. Præterea in regem impungitis, dicentes, quod regales ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas crudeli vastavit tyrannide, et consumunt; ad quod taliter respondemus, quod dominus rex prædicta mala nec fieri mandavit, nec rata habuit, quin potius nobis obtulit ultronei, quod quam citò aderit oportunitas ecclesiarum proponit dispendia resacire; quod differt usque ad sedatam guerræ tempestatem, ne si prius fieret destruerèntur iterum per latrones. Præterea timetis in Anglia honorem suscipere, ne consequenter vobis occasionata malitia auferatur, cum tamen fateamini quod dominus re nullum suum exhæredaverit inimicum; quod frustra vos timere credimus, si legaliter vivere vos et vestri didiceritis, et non a parti cum domino vestro contendere vel certare. Mores vobis et populo vestro causamini incognitos; et nos è contrario opinamur quod expediret vobis omnibus in modum alium et mores penitus transformari. Cum enim sitis sicut cæteri homines donis Dei gratuitis adornati, sed in vestro Anglo devoramini: ut nec ecclesiam juvetis contra hostes fidei militando; nec Clerum studio sapientiæ, exceptis pauciſſimis, decoretis; quin potius major pars vestrum torpet otio et lasciviis, ut pene nesciat mundus vos esse populum, nisi per paucos ex vobis qui videntur ut plurimum in—mendicare. Deinde scribitis quod creditis altissimum vos juvare pro justitia decretantes; utinam inquam altissimus juvet vos salubriter et dirigat ad salutem. Sed ne ruinas aliquas Anglorum ex inconsideratione sua provenientes vestris velitis meritis arrogare curetis advertere qualiter qui in cœlis habitat fatuos sublimat et elevat ad modicum ut perpetuo allidat; sic certe olium populus Dei electus ante harum repertam civitatem pro unius Anathemate consortis versus in fugam quosdam suorum perdidit bellatorum: sic certe quater centena millia bellatorum duodecim tribuum Israel in suo numero et fortitudine confidentes ab unius tribus modico populo, occisis ex 40 millibus bellatorum, per vices varias sunt confusi: cum tamen purgato unius Anathemate, prædicta Civitas finaliter deleleta fuerit per illos, qui prius confusi fuerant; et per lacrymas placato domino cum jejuniis, oblatis sacrificiis, tribus illa quæ prævaluerat prius, per prius confusos quasi totaliter sit deleta; sic certe aliter flagellat dominus filios quos recipit, et aliter quos decernit ut arbores steriles extirpare. Ista vobis scribimus in cordis amaritudine ab his partibus recedentes, nec prenidicare intendimus salubriori consilio, si vobis cœlitus destinetur, nec latre vos volumus quod nullum per vos invenimus excusationis sufficiens remedium, quo obstante minime debeatis in excors Irnam incidisse pernuntiari: dudum latet in Oxon consilio contra pacis regiæ turbatores, viam autem pacis aliam invenire non possumus, nec adhuc in spe tumus aliud

obtinendi. Sed ſi nobis aliquid conſultius videatur agendum, vobis numquam claudemus gremium, nec auxilium denegabimus opportunum. Dat. apud Ruthelan 18 Calend. Decemb. Ann. Dom. 1282.

Lewelinus autem princeps Walliæ prædictus ſpretis omnibus oblationibus et pacis formis poſt ſcriptis, invaſit hoſtiliter terram domini regis Angliæ deſtruendo eam incendio et rapina, nec non homines terræ illius ad ſe trahendo, et à bonitate pacis regiæ ſeparando. Qui tamen princeps infra menſem illum ignominoſa morte primus de exercitu ſuo occiſus eſt, per familiam domini Edmundi de mortuo mari, filii domini Rogeri de mortuo mari; et totus exercitus ſuus vel occiſus, vel in fugam converſus in partibus Montis Gomerici die Veneris proximo, ante Feſtum S. Lucæ, videlicet 3. Id. Decemb. ſub Anno. Dom. 1282. In——decima litera dominicali D. currente.

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Edwy	-	-	955.
Edgar	-	-	959.
Edward the Martyr		-	975.
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Canute	-	-	1017.
Harold Hareſoot		-	1036.
Hardiknute	-	-	1039.
Edward the Confeſſor		-	1041.
Harold	-	-	1066.
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Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, one of the chieftains in Powys, baniſhed by Llewelyn, 408. Returned to his allegiance, and took and demoliſhed the caſtle of Mold, 420.

Gryffydh ap Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt, having defeated and ſlain Jago ap Edwal, ſucceeded him in the government of North Wales, 190. Received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants of South Wales, 191. but was oppoſed by Howel and other competitors, 191—193. Joins with Algar earl of Cheſter in ravaging the borders of England, 196, 197. Had a narrow eſcape from the Engliſh, 199. His country ſubdued in his abſence, 200, 201. Put to death by his own ſubjects, 202. His character, 202, 203.

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Gryffydh ap Rhys ap Tewdwr, having remained in Ireland for ſafety, returned at the age of twenty-five into South Wales, 254. For fear of king Henry, ſeeks protection with Gryffydh ap Cynan king of North Wales, 255. Makes his eſcape from Gryffydh, to avoid being delivered up to Henry, 256, 257. Takes ſeveral fortreſſes from the Engliſh, 257, 258. The chieftains of Caerdigan eſpouſe his cauſe, 258, 259. His death and character, 270.

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Henry I. ſettled a colony of Flemings in South Wales, 251. Prepares to ſubdue the Welſh, 251—253. Makes peace with them, 254. Invites and entertains Gryffydh king of North Wales, 255, 256. His wicked meaſures againſt Gryffydh ap Rhys, 260. Marches with an army into Wales, 262—264. His death, and the conſequence, 265.
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Howel, king of Armorica, aſſiſts his uncle Arthur againſt the Saxons, 66. Is aſſiſted in Armorica by Arthur, 70, 71.
Howel, the younger ſon of the late king Roderic Moelwynoc, contends with his brother Cynan for the iſland of Mona, 124.
Howel Dha, prince of South Wales, obtained the ſovereignty of Powys and North Wales, and united the three principalities into one kingdom, 143. Collected the cuſtoms and laws of Wales into one code, 143—145. His death and character, 146. His laws, 147—171.
Howel, the ſon of Jeuav, defeats his uncle Jago, depoſes his father, and attains to the ſovereignty of North Wales, 174, 175. Puts out the eyes of his uncle Meyric, 174. Defeats Alfred earl of Mercia, 178. Was ſlain fighting againſt the Engliſh, 179.
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Jago ap Beli, prince of North Wales, founded the deanery of Bangor, 79.
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NAMES *of* PLACES, *and ſome other Words*, BRITISH *and* ENGLISH.

ABER, that point where a river diſcharges itſelf into another river or the ſea.

Aberdaugleddau, Milford Haven.

Abergefni, Abergavenny.

Aberhonddu, Brecknock.

Aleth, Allectus, the name of a prince.

Ap, ſon.

Arddyfieich, inhabitants north of the Dyfi; Ordovices.

Arglwydhi, lords.

Beirdd, bards.

Bela, martin.

Brenhin Cymru Oll, king of all Wales.

Brenhin Prydain Oll, king of all Britain.

Brigyntwys, firſt-comers, Brigantes.

Bryneich, Bernicia.

Caer-ar-Clwyd, a town ſtanding on the Clyde; Dun Barton.

Caer Badan, Bath; by Ptolomy, Aquæ Calidæ; by the Saxons, Bathe.

Caer Efrog, York; Euerwyke, by the Saxons; Eboracum, by the Romans.

Caer Gawr, Stone-henge.

Caer-Lleon-ar-Ddyfrdwy, the city of the legions upon the water of Dee; Cheſter; by the Saxons, Legan-Ceſtre; in Latin, Deva.

Caer-Lleon-ar-Wyſg, the city of legions upon the river Uſke.

Caer Ludd, from king Ludd; Llundain; London.

Caer Went, Wincheſter.

Camaled-ddin, and *Camddin*, Camulodunum.

Cantref Coch, the foreſt of Dean.

Caradog, Caractacus.

Caron, Carauſius.

Caſwallon, Caſſivellaunus.

Cathgoed, polecat.

Cefn-y-bedd, the top of the grave.

Clawdh Offa, Offa's dyke.

Corn-buglin, cornet, or bugle horn.

Cymru, Wales.

Cymry, the Welſh.

Cyndeyrn, Cantigern, (Vortimer's brother.)

Cynfelyn, Cunobeline.

Cynwy, or chief water, Conway.

Cyſtenyn Ddu, Conſtantine the Black.

Deifr, Deira.
Derwyddon, or *Drywidion*, Druids.
Dial Rodri, Roderic's revenge.
Dinas Beli, from having been the reſidence of Belus; originally Tronewydd; London.
Dinas Vawr, or the great palace; Dinevawr.
Dinbech, Denbigh.
Dinwydr, Widdrington.
Dinoeth, Dunothus (abbot of Bangor.)
Dyfed, Pembroke.

Emrys Wledig, Ambroſius.

Glwmaen, the tribute of the black army.
Goch, red head.
Goeangiaid, a number of ſtout young men belonging to each nation, whoſe buſineſs was to protect the cattle; Cangi.
Gwrtheſyr Fendigaid, eldeſt ſon Vortimer.
Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau, Vortigern.
Gwy, Wye.
Gwydd, (a conſpicuous place;) Iſle of Wight.
Gwynedd, p. 21. *Gwynedh*, p. 135. North Wales; the *Venedocia* of the Romans.
Gwyr-y-mars, the men of Mercia.

Hafren, Severn.
Hen Fynyw, Menevia.

Iſelwyr, Lowlanders.
Iwrch, roebuck.

Law-hir, long-handed.
Llanymddyfri, Llandovery.
Lloegr, England.
Llydaw, (along the water) Armorica.

Macſen Wledig, Maximus.
Maelged, a tribute.
Maes Mawr, Saliſbury plains.
Manaw, Iſle of Man.

Medd, mead.
Meddrawd, Mordred.

Pengwern, (the head of a place where alders grow) Mathraval.
Pennillion, ſtanzas.
Pibgorn, pipe, (a muſical inſtrument.)

Rhuddlan, red banks.
Rhyd Ychen, the ford of Oxen; by the Saxons, Oxenford; Oxford.

Saeſon, Saxons.
Saeſonaeg, the Saxon language.
Seaxes, a ſcythe.
Sirigi, the rover.

Tabwrdd, tabret.
Tafwyſc, or Tame water; Thames.
Tegeingl, Tegenia by the Romans; Englefeld by the Saxons; a part of Strath-Clwyd.
Telyn, harp.
Teyrnged, royal tribute.
Trallwng, Pool (in Montgomeryſhire).
Treffynnon, Holywell.
Tre'n-obantwys, Trinobantes.
Tronewydd, or New Troy; London.
Ty Dewi, St. David, formerly Menevia.
Ty Gwyn ar Dâf, Whiteland in Caermarthenſhire.
Tywi, the river Towi in Caermarthenſhire.

Uchcyniaid, upper ſettlers; Iceni.

Wledig, illuſtrious.

Ynys Afallon, or *Ynys Wydrin*, Glaſtonbury abbey.
Yryri, mountains of ſnow, Snowdun.
Yſtrad Clwyd, Strath-Clyde.
Yſtrad Fflur, Strata-Florida, (in the county of Caerdigan.)
Yſtradgwy, bordering on the Wye; Radnorſhire.
Yſtrad Tiwi, the banks of the Towi.

THE END.

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